UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
Abstract of Thesis

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Title of thesis: **Which way is up? Motion verbs and paths of motion in Kubokota, an Austronesian language of the Solomon Islands**

Degree: **PhD Field Linguistics**

This thesis examines the syntactic and semantic behaviour of motion verbs in Kubokota, a North West Solomonic language.

In Talmy's (1985) typology of motion event lexicalisation, verb-framed languages lexicalise the path of motion in the verb and the manner of motion in a satellite, while satellite-framed languages lexicalise manner in the verb and path in a satellite. A Kubokota motion verb may lexicalise any of manner of motion, path conflated with ground (PATHG), path conflated with deixis (PATHD), source, goal or route. With both path and manner being expressed within the verb or serial verb construction (as are all other motion event components), Kubokota is neither verb- nor satellite-framed, but is best understood as equipollently-framed (Slobin 2004). Motion event lexicalisation patterns are explored in a case study of "frog story" and route description narratives.

The thematic role of grounds such as source and goal depends on the semantics of the verb and cannot be determined from satellites such as prepositional phrases. This has implications for modality and event realisation. All PATHD 'go' verbs are goal-oriented, while 'come' verbs may be either source- or goal-oriented. Goal-oriented verbs are marked as irrealis while motion is in progress, because the goal has not been reached; source-oriented verbs are realis, because motion has left the source.

As in many Austronesian languages, motion verbs operate within an absolute frame of reference (Levinson 2003), being closely tied to physical geography. Small and large scale systems orient to different geographical features (coastline, slope, land-sea boundary, prevailing wind). The scope of these scales and the interaction of geocentric and egocentric (deictic) information is explored through observed data, and through an experimental study of the men-and-tree photo matching game, in which motion verbs are used to describe the orientation of a figure.

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Which way is up?

Motion verbs and paths of motion in Kubokota, an Austronesian language of the Solomon Islands

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Endangered Languages Academic Programme
School of Oriental and African Studies

A thesis submitted to the University of London in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Field Linguistics

February 2009

Declaration

I declare that the work presented in this thesis is my own original work, except where indicated. Due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used.

Mary Ruth Chambers

February 2009

Abstract

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Acknowledgements

This thesis went through many trials, including an 8.1-magnitude earthquake and tsunami (through which I travelled, with all my data, in a leaky fibreglass dinghy). It would not have survived, and indeed could not have been written at all, without the help of a huge number of people.

First and foremost, I would like to express my thanks to the people of Obobulu village, Ranongga Island:

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- to Bethwyn Evans, who made the suggestion that I should work on Kubokota, was my travelling companion during the first weeks in the Solomons, and taught me most of what I know about transitivity in New Georgia languages;

- to Debra McDougall, for introducing me to the community, and for sharing with me her knowledge and insights into the Kubokota language and culture;
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- to Ray Davidson, of the British High Commission in Honiara, who helped me through bureaucratic processes, and called my parents to let them know that I had survived the tsunami;
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Beyond the Solomons:

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- to Bill Palmer, for pointing out that prepositions are all the more interesting for being few in number;
- to Malcolm Ross, John Bowden and others at the Australian National University, for the welcome they gave me during my stay there, and for their willingness to share their expertise;
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- to Donald, who drew the maps, helped to rebuild a village, provided me with a town planner's view of lived space, loved me and distracted me;
- to Rowan, Marta, Sophie and Paul, who lived through it all with me;
- and finally, to Mum and Dad, who received phone calls on more than one occasion saying 'It's about your daughter!'

Leana jola.

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A note on the data

This description of Kubokota has been informed by language documentation principles and is based on a broad range of data types. As will be discussed in more detail in §1.2.1, different genres and types of data vary in "naturalness" and along various other parameters (Himmelmann 2002). Wherever possible, I have endeavoured to exemplify my points with spontaneously produced utterances from narratives or from observed speech; data elicited in response to a stimulus is preferred over written notes from formal elicitation sessions; and where I have had to resort to formally elicited data I have indicated this in the text.

Recorded data has been transcribed and translated in ELAN and exported to Toolbox; elicited, observed and lexical data has been entered directly into a Toolbox file. The reference numbers given after each example in this thesis are Toolbox record markers (although not all examples equate to a whole Toolbox record). Each record marker begins with a letter or sequence of letters which identifies both the file to which it belongs, and the data type:

a – audio recording of a monologue narrative (any genre, also including route descriptions)

w – written text: a text written by a Kubokota speaker, usually a written story or a letter

en – elicitation note: fieldnotes from unrecorded elicitation sessions

e – elicitation with audio recording, usually of stimuli-elicited data, including the cut-and-break and caused positions video clips and the men-and-tree photo matching game (where relevant, stimulus type is indicated after the reference number)

o – observations: naturally occurring utterances observed, written down and thereafter checked with consultants (sometimes leading to further semi-elicited data (en))

fs – frog stories: monologue audio recordings of speakers' retellings of the frog story (see Chapter Six)

email – email correspondence between myself and Kubokota speakers in Gizo and Honiara

Other components of the record marker identify the place of the text within that database, the speaker, and the clause number within the text. For example, in the record marker *a001BN_005*, *a* indicates that the text is an audio narrative, *001* that it is the first text in the audio narrative database, *BN* is the speaker code, and *005*

indicates the fifth record (usually a clause or intonation unit) within that text. Each example contains three lines of text: the language example in the first line, a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss in the second, and a free translation in the third.

Text:	*Gami*	*zale*	*kamu*	*pa*	*Obobulu,*
Gloss:	1PL.EX.R	come.up	arrive	IN.PRP	Obobulu
Free translation:	'We came up (and) arrived at Obobulu,' (a 001 BN _ 005)				

data type text number speaker record number

Audio files were divided into chunks, transcribed and translated in ELAN, and exported to Toolbox. A Toolbox record related to an audio file is therefore equivalent to one of these chunks. Initially, I segmented the audio file into whatever I could identify as an intonation unit. At a later stage, with more familiarity with the language, I divided audio files into units more akin to clauses. The way in which free translations were arrived at also evolved as my knowledge of the language increased. Initially, I worked with a consultant to transcribe and translate Kubokota audio files; the consultant usually provided a Pijin translation which I translated into English, and any semantic or grammatical issues arising would be discussed in Pijin. As time went on I became more able to do the transcription myself, and increasingly more of the translation, only asking my consultants to check my work, to fill in any gaps in either the transcription or the translation, and to discuss any issues, linguistic or cultural, arising from the data.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations used in interlinear glosses follow the Leipzig glossing rules (with a few exceptions) and are presented below:

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
AN.PRP	animate preposition
APPL	applicative
AVC	auxiliary verb construction
BEN	benefactive
CARD	cardinal numeral
CAUS	causative
COMIT	comitative
CONT	continuative
DET	determiner
DIST	distal demonstrative
DUB	dubitative
ED	edible possessive classifier
EMPH	emphatic particle
EX	exclusive
EXCL	exclamation
FOC	focus particle
FUT	future
GOAL	goal
HYP	hypothetical
IN	inclusive
IN.PRP	inanimate preposition
IRR	(prospective) irrealis
LIM	limiting particle
LOC	locative/location
MED	medial demonstrative
NMLZ	nominaliser
OBJ	object
PASS	passive
PERS	personal article
POS	possessive pronoun
PL	plural
PRES	presentative demonstrative
PROG	progressive
PROX	proximal demonstrative
PUNC	punctual
Q	question particle
R	realis
RECIP	reciprocal
REDUP	reduplication
SG	singular
SOURCE	source
SVC	serial verb construction
TOP	topic particle
TR	transitive

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

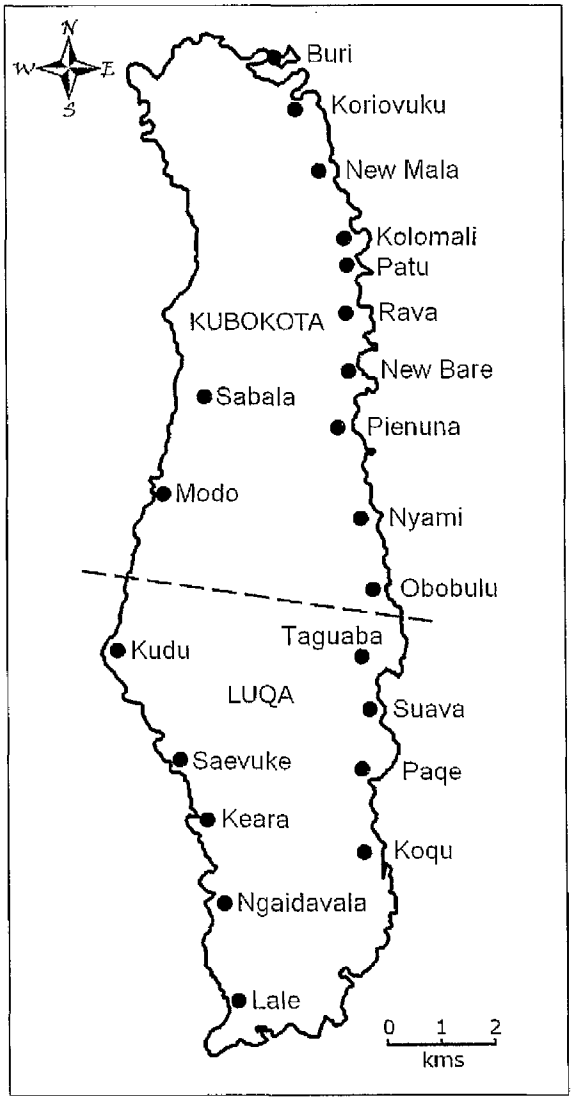
1.1 Language background

Kubokota is an Austronesian language spoken on Ranongga Island, Western Province, Solomon Islands. The Kubokota-speaking population of Ranongga was estimated at 2,508 by SIL in 1999 (Gordon 2005). The population of the whole island was recorded as 5,059 in the 1999 Census (De Bruijn 2000), the southern half of the island being occupied by speakers of the closely related Luqa language, and the northern half by Kubokota (see Map 1.1).

Kubokota is the Ranongga people's name for the language, and literally means 'mountain place'. Most previous literature refers to the language of northern Ranongga Island as Ganoqa.[1] In fact, Kubokota and Ganoqa were dialect areas, Kubokota being spoken on the east coast and Ganoqa on the west. The Ganoqa area was evangelised by the Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) church, which promoted the use of Solomon Islands Pijin and English, and Ganoqa is no longer spoken; most former Ganoqa speakers speak Kubokota. The Kubokota speakers converted to Methodism (now the United Church of the Solomon Islands) and have retained their language to a far greater degree. Kubokota is also spoken in SDA villages, with minor dialectal differences. Given the local preference for the name Kubokota, and to avoid confusion with the (probably extinct) Ganoqa variety, I will henceforth refer to the language as Kubokota.

[1] The name Ganoqa is also spelled Ghanongga, the former reflecting the Methodist spelling and the latter the Seventh Day Adventist. The name of the island, Ranongga, is a European mispronunciation of the name of the language, "r" being an interpretation of the voiced velar fricative /ɣ/. The neighbouring language, Luqa, is also spelled Lungga. See §2.1.4 for more details on Kubokota orthography.

Map 1.1: Ranongga Island, showing village locations and language areas

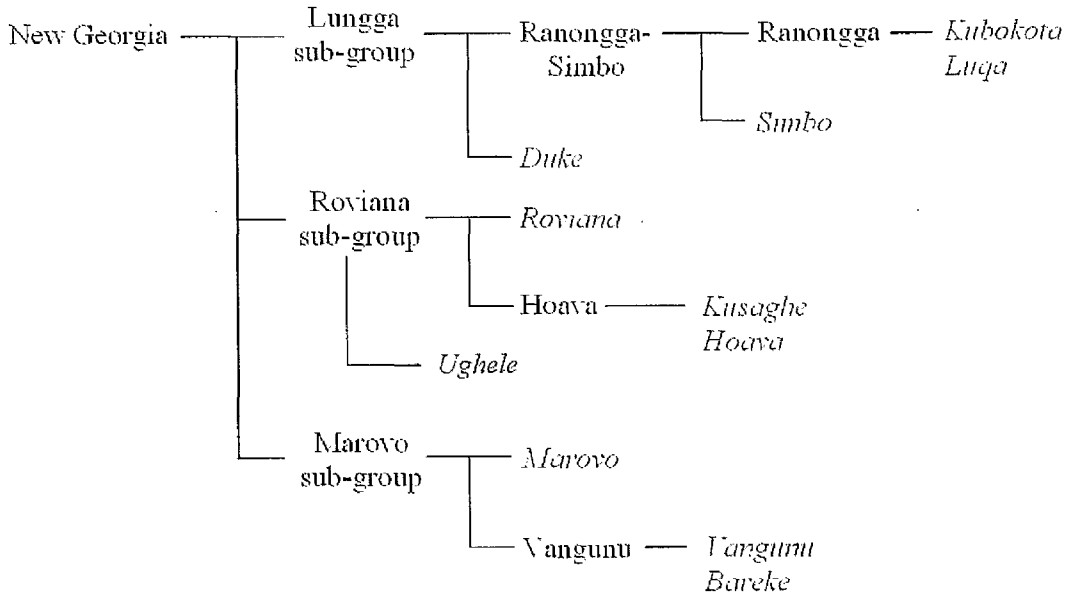


Kubokota is classified as a North West Solomonic (NWS) language of the New Georgia linkage (Ross 1986, Tryon 1982, Tryon and Hackman 1983, Wurm and Hattori 1981); it is closely related to Luqa (Tryon and Hackman (1983) calculate 78.9% lexical similarity), and both can be grouped with Simbo, the language of Simbo (Eddystone) Island immediately to the south (61.3% lexical similarity with Kubokota, 69.9% with Luqa). Relationships with other New Georgia languages are less close, and Simbo, Luqa and Kubokota (subgrouped by Dyen (1965) as the "Lunggic subfamily") exhibit various grammatical and lexical features that are not shared by other languages of the New Georgia linkage, in particular a complex set of portmanteau subject-mood markers (described in Chapter Four). They are also in close contact with the neighbouring non-Austronesian language, Bilua, spoken on

Vella Lavella Island (described by Obata (2003)); Kubokota in particular has a high number of Bilua lexical borrowings.

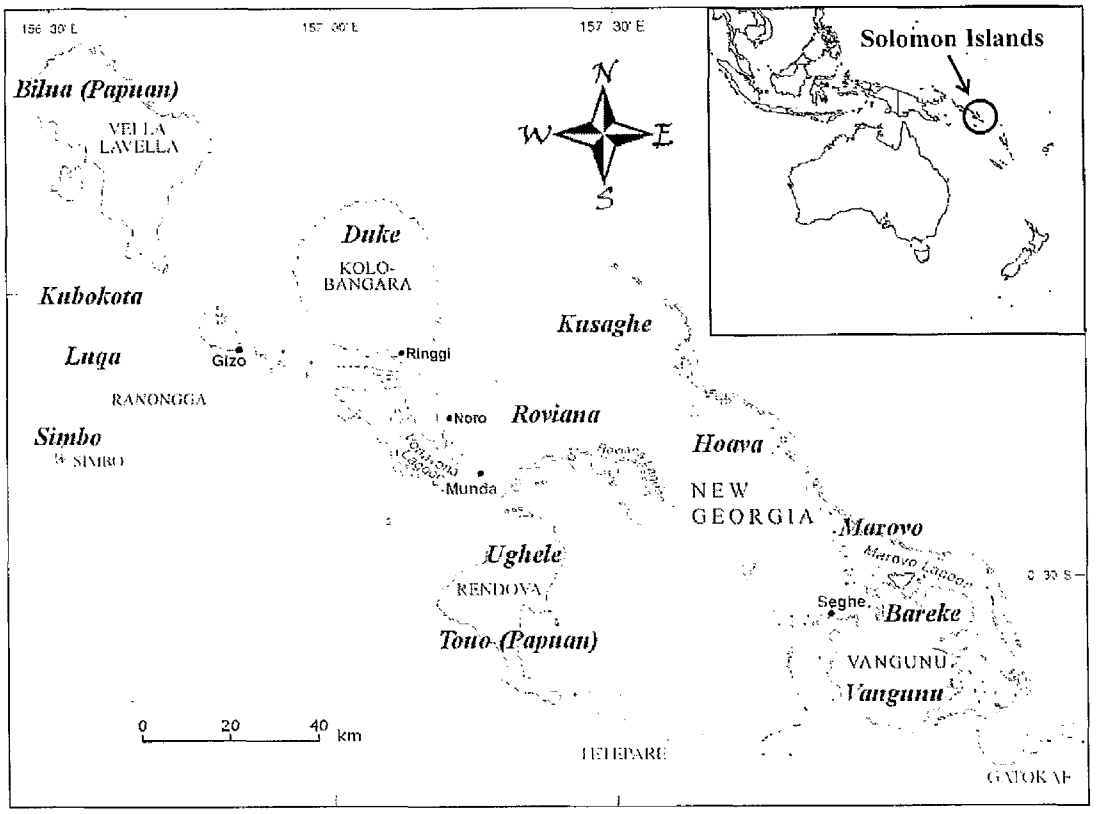
Figure 1.1 is a subgrouping of the New Georgia languages based on Dyen (1965) and Wurm and Hattori's (1981) proposals, and on lexicostatistical data from Tryon and Hackman (1983).[2] Kusaghe and Hoava, Vangunu and Bareke are probably best regarded as dialects rather than separate languages (see Davis (2003) for Hoava, Bourchier (2007) for Vangunu). The geographical locations of the New Georgia languages are shown in Map 1.2.

Figure 1.1: Sub-classification of New Georgia languages



[2] Although Tryon and Hackman (1983) express reservations about the quality of Dyen's (1965) data (the higher level linkages Dyen proposes contradict the now well accepted Oceanic hypothesis), they acknowledge that the subgroups he suggested are generally well supported by their own data; these subgroups are also consistent with my own understanding of relationships between the New Georgia languages.

Map 1.2: New Georgia languages (base map copyright W.S.R.D. 2008, used with permission)



1.1.1 Previous research

Previous research on Kubokota consists of wordlists, mainly in the form of unpublished fieldnotes (Grace 1955, Kettle n.d., McDougall 2000, n.d., Stubbs n.d., Tryon and Hackman 1983); three text collections (Roga 1991, Stubbs 1989, 1991); and an honours thesis on the Ganoqa (Kubokota) verb complex (Kettle 2000), based on Roga and Stubbs' text collections. McDougall (2004) is an anthropology PhD thesis on land ownership on Ranongga, which includes linguistic data relating mainly to kinship terms and spatial deixis; McDougall has also published various papers on issues in Ranonggan anthropology (McDougall 2000, 2002, 2003, 2005), some of which include linguistic data on both Luqa and Kubokota.

Alpheaus Zobule, a native speaker of Luqa, has translated the New Testament into Luqa and has also written a monolingual grammar of the language (Zobule 2006), published text collections, and conducted a series of grammar workshops, which have been attended by both Kubokota and Luqa speakers. Zobule's work is discussed further below.

1.1.2 Sociolinguistic situation

Kubokota is the language of everyday interaction on north Ranongga (in both United Church and SDA areas), and the vitality of the language is good. Young children learn Kubokota as their first language, generally only acquiring Solomon Islands Pijin when they reach school age. People marrying into the community from other language areas also tend to learn Kubokota and often attain considerable fluency in the language. Two such women who were friends of mine, one from Santa Isabel (Zabana-speaking) and one from Vella Lavella (Bilua-speaking), were enthusiastic about Kubokota and were vocal in encouraging me to learn it like them. Others, particularly those who spent more time in the capital, Honiara, than on Ranongga, found language acquisition difficult or not worthwhile, and spoke only in Pijin to their husbands and children.

Education is officially in English, but in practice is heavily facilitated by Solomon Islands Pijin. Older speakers are often educated only to primary level, which in the past was taught in Roviana (a related New Georgia language and mission lingua franca). High school up to Grade 10 is now available on the island, and some students also go away to complete their education beyond Grade 10. Most people speak or at least understand Luqa and Roviana; many also know Bilua, Simbo and other local languages through intermarriage and trade. Pijin is now the main language of inter-group communication.

Historically, Roviana has been the language of the United (Methodist) Church.[3] In recent years Pijin and English have become more prevalent in churches, particularly where ministers come from outside the language community. However, the publication of the Luqa New Testament and other church resources, such as a Luqa hymnal, have also brought Luqa into service as a religious language in Kubokota United Church communities. While raising the status of Luqa, this has encouraged the use of Kubokota as a language in which to preach and write or translate hymns as well, and has brought the matter of language use into public debate.

[3] Marovo was the missionary lingua franca of the Seventh Day Adventist church: the SDA missionaries also promoted the use of Pijin and English to a much greater degree, and traditional customs and beliefs are retained less in SDA villages (McDougall p.c.). I have been unable to spend time in SDA villages to explore the impact of this on language use.

The Luqa Bible translator, Alpheaus Zobule, and others, have founded the Kulu (Kubokota and Luqa) Language Institute, which aims, among other things, to *'facilitate the study of the Luqa and Kubokota languages by their speakers'* (Kulu Constitution, Zobule 2007). The Institute has been very active in Luqa, producing text collections and conducting grammar workshops, and recently beginning publication of a monthly newsletter, *Na Ovovele Nusa* 'The Island News'. Kubokota speakers have participated in the Luqa grammar workshops and feel that the Luqa grammar has given them "the Luqa languages" (sic), and that Kubokota is now lagging behind and needing its own grammar in order to catch up, an attitude which made most people very receptive to the presence and activities of a linguist in the community. In the words of Derek Jiru, a Kubokota man who is deeply interested in the promotion of the Kubokota language:

> *But today when a person gets up they speak words that have crossed over (from English). It's not right, because the (Kubokota) language has strength and big names. The language is the wisdom of our people's lives... The Kubokota language has not yet come out clear, and if it was translated the Kubokota people would know it. But tomorrow or the day after the Kubokota Grammar will come out and that's how we will know our language.*[4]

The work of the Institute is characterised by a rhetoric of linguistic purism (in both Luqa and Kubokota), whereby people are encouraged to eliminate Pijin and Roviana borrowings from their speech. The verb *lotu* is a much-repeated example: in Pijin it means 'worship', but in Kubokota it means 'fall'. There have been attempts to replace certain borrowed words, religious words in particular, with Kubokota neologisms: 'worship', for instance, is *vina-tara-zae* 'ORD-preach-go.up'. In practice most people continue to use the borrowed words, the neologisms being confined to use by the more educated people in speeches and sermons. Such speeches also tend to be liberally sprinkled with other English borrowings. McDougall (2002) points out a contradiction between these educated Ranonggans' extensive borrowing of long English words to convey an impression of intelligence and sophistication, and the linguistic prescriptivism that the same people try to promote.

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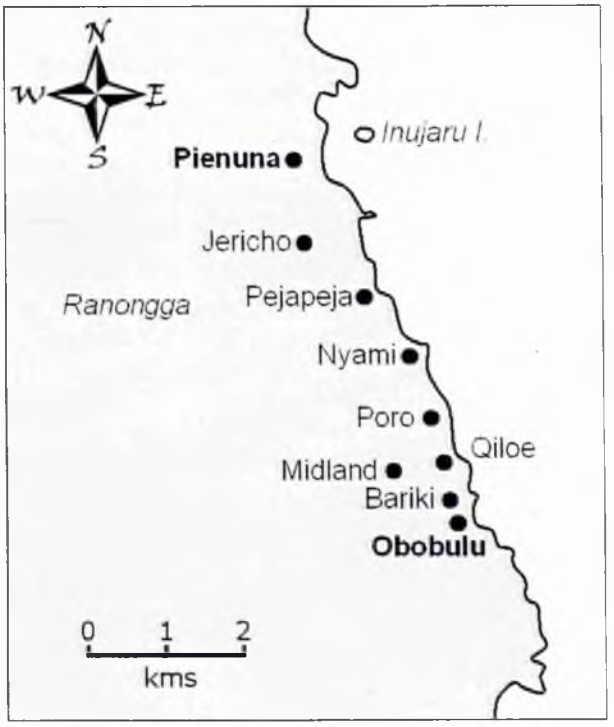
[4] *Ba pa ngenari pana zazae tinoni na paranga karovodi tu qari parangani. Zake sela, ura na paranga za kolea na neqi beto na izizongo lavatana. Na paranga na gigigalai pana toa tadigita na tinoni... Na paranga Kubokota za oqoro votu vakabere lame, ko bita peluku vei ko bi gigalaini na tinoni Kubokota. Ba uka riza vei mina votu lame na Kubokota Grammar azaea tana gigalaini gita nada paranga.*

1.2 Fieldwork

I conducted linguistic fieldwork on Ranongga between September and December 2006, and February and June 2007. I lived in Obobulu, a United Church village with a population of about 400, on the east coast of the island (see Map 1.1). I also stayed for short periods of time in neighbouring Pienuna, and in the Luqa-speaking village of Suava, collecting data on Luqa.

Map 1.3: Obobulu, Pienuna and neighbouring hamlets



In Obobulu I was hosted by Betsy and Caleb (Lamu) Lamupule and their family. I lived with them throughout my time in Obobulu, participating in the life of the family and contributing wherever I was able to. I engaged in basic daily tasks, washing clothes, helping to prepare food, learning to bake cakes in a stone oven, helping the older children with their English, accompanying Betsy to the garden and going fishing. I went to church and attended meetings of the women's fellowship, a lively church-based social group. I also assisted Betsy in her work in the community kindergarten, where she was keen to introduce a vernacular literacy programme.

Figure 1:2: Betsy and Lamu's housing area; my house is the one on the right (seaward)

Figure 1:3: Lamu and Betsy, my hosts and consultants in Obobulu

Living with a family, joining in their activities, and in particular hearing the short simple interactions between the parents and their children, was hugely beneficial: not only did it allow me to observe the language in use, but it also enabled me to begin learning the language. On a more formal level, Betsy and Lamu became my main linguistic consultants, Betsy developing a great interest in the grammar of her own language, while Lamu was skilled at translating, interpreting and explaining the cultural nuances of the stories that I recorded.

Everett (2001) argues for the advantages not only of learning the language under study, but of learning it monolingually, both through structured elicitation sessions with consultants, and through participation in community life, observing language in use and practising what has been learnt by constant interaction with speakers on a day-to-day basis. Not only does facility in the language give the linguist greater access to natural language data than would otherwise be possible, but also it immerses the linguist in the cultural context in which the data belongs. *'Learning a language monolingually requires copious recordings of cultural information, as much of the context of a particular utterance as is possible or feasible'* (Everett 2001:186). Unlike Everett, I began my language learning with Solomon Islands Pijin as a readily available "crutch", and I did not, in the first instance, learn Kubokota monolingually. I did, however, begin my fieldwork with language learning as a primary goal, and with the view that participant observation was fundamental to developing a real understanding of the language, particularly with such a culturally complex topic as space and motion as the object of study.

The circumstances of my fieldwork changed on 2nd April 2007, when an 8.1 earthquake and tsunami hit the Western Solomons. The island of Ranongga was uplifted by up to three metres above sea level, exposing shallow reefs and extending the shoreline by 70 metres in some places. Landslides on the steep slopes obliterated roads and gardens. The upraised reef made access to beaches much more difficult, and fishing areas were left high and dry. The entire Obobulu community took refuge on high ground away from the sea, building a large temporary camp on the school playing field.

Figure 1:4: Exposed reef in the Obobulu bay, following the earthquake

It seemed inappropriate to continue with formal linguistic work. Instead, I assisted the community in the recovery process: organising the reporting of earthquake damage to aid agencies and local government authorities; securing and arranging the transport of aid supplies; raising funds from friends and colleagues at home to build a community hall, which would replace the church and other community buildings that the earthquake had destroyed; helping to set up a community store which sold the basic goods that were now less easy to obtain, and the profits of which covered the cost of payment in kind for the labourers working on the hall; running a daily first aid clinic for those who could no longer reach the aid post in the next village because landslides had cut off the road; and acting as an interpreter and guide for the numerous Westerners – aid workers, seismologists, scientologists, radio journalists and marine scientists – who now began to visit the island.

These activities had two main effects. Firstly, they pushed me into much closer daily contact with the rest of the community, opening up my social network to include many older people who, unlike Betsy and Lamu, could not speak Pijin. I found myself in a situation where I had to speak Kubokota in order to act as an intermediary between these people and the outsiders, and as a consequence I became much more

fluent. As I became more fluent, people became less shy about interacting with me and included me more in their activities. This was facilitated by the arrival of my partner, Donald. Kin relationships are important in Kubokota, and to be seen as being without any is abnormal; the fact that I had a husband present normalised me as a person, just as did my ability to communicate. On a more practical level, Donald's presence meant that when I went to the river to wash our clothes, the women I met there had a safe topic with which to initiate a conversation: we could talk about our husbands. I spent hours sitting in the water, scrubbing clothes, discussing Donald's activities and moving on to all the other things that women talk about. Wherever I went in the village, people offered me hospitality. I had been accepted as an honorary member of the community, albeit one who behaved rather strangely at times – and one who also never ceased to be also an outsider and an observer. After the earthquake, language learning and data gathering through monolingual participant observation became the principal linguistic methodology available to me.

Figure 1:5: With members of the Obobulu community

The second effect of my post-earthquake activities was that, as members of the wider community saw that I was prepared to put my linguistic work aside for them, they became more concerned to assist me with that work, in whatever form it took. Prior to the earthquake, people had been happy to record stories for me but tended to be wary of anything that looked like a test, and it was difficult to persuade them to participate in any activity that did not result in an obvious (and easily explainable) community-oriented outcome such as a text collection; I had found it impossible to

find enough participants to carry out quantitative stimuli-based experiments such as the men-and-tree and animals-in-a-row tasks created by the Cognitive Anthropology Research Group (CARG, now the Department of Language and Cognition at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics). However, although I did very little in the way of translating narratives or eliciting grammatical structures after the earthquake, this new willingness to contribute meant that I was able to conduct these experiments, the results of which (presented in Chapter Eight) are a significant contribution to my understanding of the Kubokota directional system.

Bernard (1995:138-9) makes a distinction between participant observers and observing participants. Most anthropologists, he notes, are participant observers: they are present in the community and involved in aspects of its life but they do not fully participate – for instance, they do not cultivate a garden or go diving for trochus shells to sell in the market. Observing participants, on the other hand, become community members and take up community-internal roles for the purposes of observation; Bernard gives the example of Fleisher (1989), who trained as a federal correctional officer in order to be allowed into prisons to study prison life, although he continued to explicitly identify himself as an anthropologist.

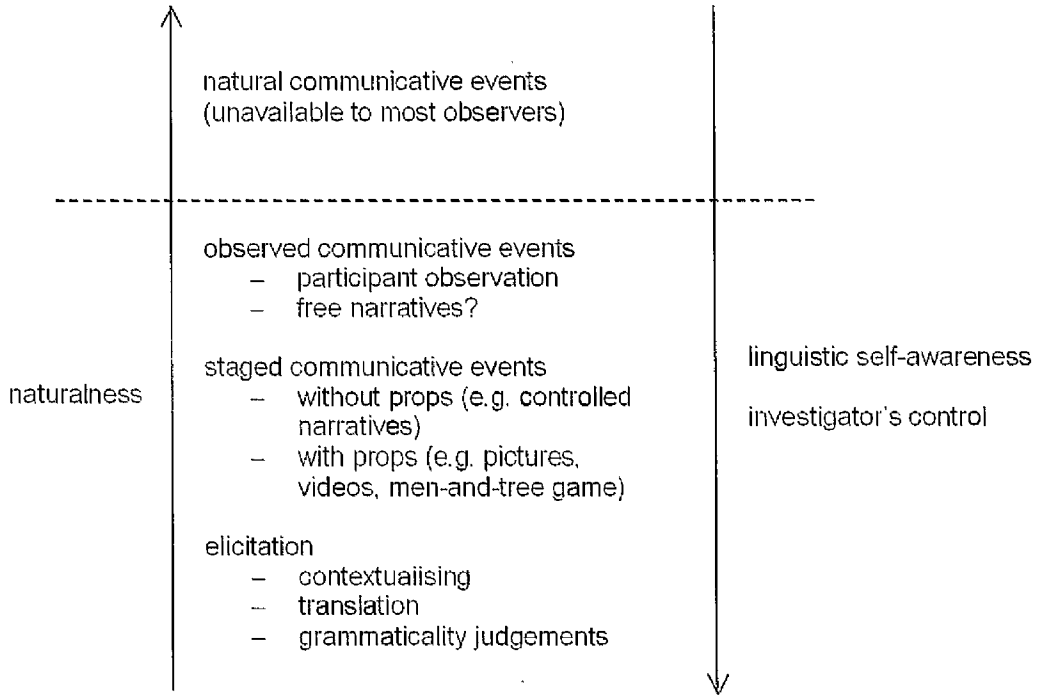
Similarly, Spradley (1980) presents a "degree of participation" continuum, ranging from non-participation (where the researcher is not present in the community at all), through passive, moderate and active participation, to complete participation (which should not be understood as "going native"; alongside full participation in community life, the researcher's role as an observer continues). Participant observation is therefore a matter of degree, and a researcher may spend time at different points along the scale. As an outsider, one is perforce more an observer than a participant, particularly at the beginning. Acquiring cultural and linguistic competence allows one to move along the scale; how far one becomes participant depends on the nature of the community, on individual ability and on the personal and academic choices that the researcher makes about the degree of involvement desirable (or possible). I prefer to make no claims about how far I travelled along Spradley's continuum, but there is no doubt in my mind that the earthquake and subsequent events took me very much further than I would otherwise have gone, and had a major impact on the outcomes of my research.

1.2.1 Methodology and data

There exists a vast range of linguistic methodologies. They vary in complexity, cross-linguistic comparability, naturalness of data and ease of execution in different cultural and technological contexts; for instance, some methods depend more than others on a reliable power source and other technology, and not all are suited to use in all cultural, social and political situations. Methods may encompass everything from elicitation questionnaires, visual stimuli such as pictures and video clips, narratives, conversations on controlled or free topics, to participant observation. Himmelmann (2002) considers the typical communicative event types that may constitute part of a language documentation, and distributes them along a scale of "naturalness". True "natural communicative events" are, in general, not available as language documentation material because the presence of an observer, perhaps making notes or recording the event, affects the naturalness of the data (the observer's paradox). At the top of the scale, therefore, are observed communicative events, which for Himmelmann means participant observation. Staged communicative events are *'communicative events which are enacted for the purpose of recording'*, i.e. they have no communicative function: they may involve props (such as pictures and videos), but Himmelmann also includes all recorded narratives here. Finally, elicitation is *'a type of communicative event invented for conducting linguistic research and documentation'* (Himmelmann 2002:27).

I see Himmelmann's scale as a continuum of naturalness, rather than a precise classification of communicative event types; in my view, as I will discuss below, narratives straddle the boundary between staged and observed communicative events, and certain elicitation methods (the BowPed topological relations pictures, for instance (Bowerman and Pederson 1993)) could be interpreted as either elicitation or staged communication. Figure 1.6 is an adaptation of Himmelmann's scale, showing some of the data types that I discuss below, and that are included in my database.

Figure 1.6: Scale of naturalness (modified from Himmelmann 2002:28)



Participant observation is a primary source of the data presented in this thesis. Throughout my fieldwork I carried with me a small red notebook, in which I made notes of the linguistic interactions that I heard going on around me, and the contexts in which they occurred. The book also contains the additional information people gave me when they realised that I was interested in what they had said – alternative ways of saying things, cultural explanations, and anything else they took it into their heads that I should know about.[5] These notes later formed the basis of elicitation sessions with Betsy, who would confirm the accuracy of what I had written and discuss any cultural or linguistic issues arising from my observations. Himmelmann uses the term "contextualising elicitation" for elicitation '*where native speakers are asked to comment on or provide contexts for a word or construction specified by the researcher*' (2002:28), and rates it higher on the naturalness scale than other elicitation types (such as translation and grammaticality judgements).

Throughout this thesis, observed data is presented not only in the form of linguistic examples with interlinear glosses and free translations, but also with

[5] This approach to data collection is consistent with Woodbury's requirement that a language documentation corpus should be, among other things, opportunistic (Woodbury 2003:47). The question of where speakers' unelicited metalinguistic comments fit in Himmelmann's scale of naturalness is one that would be worthy of further exploration.

explanations and sometimes diagrams providing the context. As such, the examples sometimes have an anecdotal quality that needs some justification. I concur with Everett that *'The annotation of cultural/contextual information is vital to reconstructing, within the linguist's grammar, the sinew and fiber of the speaker's grammar'* (Everett 2001:186). Particularly at the pragmatic level, a spatial reference system cannot be understood without contextual information. Much of my understanding of the Kubokota directional system derives from this data; the analysis presented in Chapters Three and Seven of this thesis would be weaker without it.

Observed data is only as good as the linguistic ability and accuracy of the linguist recording it; it can be checked with a native speaker but it cannot be verified by referring back to a recorded original source. This thesis also draws on an annotated database of over six hours of audio recordings of narratives. Like the broader communicative event types identified by Himmelmann, these vary in genre, naturalness, and the context in which they were recorded. The most staged are probably the frog stories, based on a prop in the form of Mercer Mayer's picture book *Frog, where are you?* (1969). For others, I controlled the topic to some extent: in route description narratives, I asked a speaker to describe a particular route to me, while in what I will call "diary stories", I would ask someone to tell the story of whatever we had done together the day before (the latter was a very useful language learning tool, not to mention producing valuable contextualised data, because I already knew what had happened and had usually acquired most of the relevant vocabulary during the event). Higher up the scale of naturalness, there are narratives where I requested a particular story ('Tell me about how the Kubokota people discovered fire') and narratives where people came and offered a story of their own. The latter included people's stories about what had happened to them during the earthquake, some of which also fall into the category of diary stories because I was with the narrators when the earthquake happened. The narratives also vary in terms of whether a native-speaking audience was present (in general, the frog stories, earthquake diaries and traditional narratives had an audience, but the route descriptions and other diary stories did not).

In Figure 1.6, I have indicated that at least some narratives should be categorised as observed communicative events, rather than as staged. Telling earthquake stories, for instance, particularly with an audience present, has a communicative function

beyond the purposes of simply recording linguistic data; it became an opportunity for people both to relate their experiences and to perform to an audience. Similarly, I recorded a story from an old man who was the custodian of a spirit object; before recording the story, he asked the spirit's permission, explaining that he wanted to tell the story in order to make its powers known to the wider world (Raymond forthcoming). The diverse types of narratives, rather than being regarded as a continuum on a scale like Himmelmann's, may be best seen as occupying a multi-dimensional space, their location within that space varying depending on genre, props, audience and the speaker's motivation for making the recording.[6]

François (2001:34-5) rejects the use of questionnaires, artificial stimuli and other formal methods of inquiry, advocating an entirely participatory approach – learning and studying the language through observation and involvement in community life, from volleyball games to conversations at church to kava evenings. While I agree, to a certain extent, with the sentiment of this, I found elicitation questionnaires and stimuli-based methods helpful as a more structured approach to language learning and analysis. Elicited and prop-based staged communication data is valuable in allowing the researcher to examine particular topics within the grammar in a structured and controlled way, often providing the kind of information about the language that could never be deduced from textual and observed data alone. My database contains nearly 16 hours of elicited and staged communications audio recordings, as well as two large notebooks full of notes on elicitation sessions (most of which were unrecorded because of power supply and digital storage restrictions). The cut-and-break and caused positions video stimuli were invaluable in developing my understanding of the Kubokota verb complex. Later, I used the men-and-tree photo matching game as an experimental way of examining the interaction between different geocentric scales and frames of reference. Although such tasks have certain disadvantages in terms of the naturalness of the data elicited and the artificial nature of the task, the men-and-tree game allowed me to explore the multiple parameters of a very complex system in a controlled, albeit "artificial", context; the resulting data in fact highlights the importance of contextual information and socio-cultural knowledge in understanding the pragmatics of the Kubokota system (see Chapter Eight for further details).

[6] Austin and Grenoble (2007:21) suggest that the place of "story telling" on Himmelmann's planned-unplanned continuum is also questionable; in some groups, narrative is dialogical, and successful storytelling may be dependent on responses from the audience.

1.3 Theoretical context and motivations for research

This thesis investigates verbs of motion and direction, examining their place and status in the grammar of the language, and their semantic-pragmatic behaviour as a means of describing motion and orientation in real physical space. Like other Oceanic languages, Kubokota has a complex system of geocentrically oriented motion verbs; these typically lexicalise meanings such as 'go', 'come', 'go up', 'come down', etc. The choice of a particular verb to describe a path depends on how that path is oriented and/or anchored with regard to geographically defined reference points or areas, such as local landmarks, the prevailing wind, the sea and the bush interior of the island. The study of geocentric and directional terms, particularly in Oceanic languages, has prompted a spate of research in the last few years (e.g. Bowden 1997, François 2003b, 2004, Hill 1997, Hyslop 1999, 2002, Ozanne-Rivierre 1997, 2004, Palmer 2002a, 2007, Ross 2003, 2004, 2000, 2001, Terrill and Burenhult 2008), including several edited volumes on the topic (Bennardo 2002, Fox 1997, Senft 1997, 2004, Wilkins and Levinson 2006). This thesis describes a directional system in a language that is in many ways typical of Oceanic languages, but like all languages has its own unique quirks. The thesis contributes to the existing body of knowledge about such systems with a detailed account of both structural and semantic-pragmatic aspects of the Kubokota directional system, and, in terms of the semantic-pragmatic analysis, explores the system both from an anthropological, participant observation perspective, and more formally and systematically with the use of cognitive linguistic tools such as the men-and-tree photo matching game. The latter, in particular, raises some interesting questions that could profitably be asked of other languages, both within the Oceanic family and cross-linguistically.

1.3.1 Background to the study of space

The study of spatial cognition is central to the cognitive sciences and the study of human thought (Levinson 1992). Understanding space, and acquiring the ability to talk about it and apply spatial metaphors to other domains, is fundamental to human cognitive development, from a baby's first ability to grab something, to the young child's concern with object permanence; 'I can't see' was the favourite phrase of my 2-year-old goddaughter for months, whenever conversation turned to anything that she couldn't physically locate or touch. As observed by Levinson, *'spatial thinking intrudes into thinking about almost all other domains: when an intellectual problem*

can be spatialized, it can be conceived clearly' (1992:5). This was apparent in the centuries-old importance of geometry in the Western educational tradition, which was regarded as crucial to the development of logic and the ability to reason.

Two intellectual traditions have dominated thinking about human cognition in the twentieth century. The first, empiricism, argued that knowledge is learned by experience, the Lockeian idea of the mind as a "blank slate" (Locke 1690); the second, rationalism, that the human mind has an innate capacity to think, to reason, and to acquire language, which cannot be accounted for by experience alone.[7]

The diverse proponents of empiricism included scholars such as Wittgenstein, who was concerned with the relationship between language and reality, emphasising the privacy or subjectivity of language and the limitations it places on perceptions of reality (Wittgenstein 1922); behaviourists such as Watson and Skinner, who proposed a theory of development based on the idea that all behaviour, human and animal, is a response to a stimulus, and that if we can identify and manipulate the stimulus we can control and predict the behaviour (Skinner 1953); and the linguist-anthropologists Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf, who, drawing on the ideas of Humboldt and the Romantics of earlier centuries, brought to the fore the idea that our view of the world is defined by the language through which we interpret it (Whorf 1956). Language, according to Whorf, is a cultural entity, and through language we make what he describes as "a provisional analysis of reality", which may be influenced by the culture and environment in which we find ourselves. Different languages make different analyses and express those analyses through different linguistic categories, which influence and may place limits on the categories and classes that we are able to perceive and distinguish. Whorf views the study of different categories across languages as giving us insights into the nature of reality, pointing out that if we fail to consider the evidence of other languages (whose provisional analyses are different, but equally valid), we run the risk of interpreting our own analysis as final (Whorf 1956:244). Whorf himself does not distinguish between linguistic relativism and linguistic determinism. He observes, for instance, in a relativist vein:

[7] Both traditions have a very much longer history in philosophical thought, rationalism having its origins in the thinking of Plato, while Aristotle reacted against Plato's teachings with a considerably more empiricist approach to philosophy that formed the foundations of modern science.

> *My own studies suggest, to me, that language, for all its kingly role, is in some sense a superficial embroidery upon deeper processes of consciousness, which are necessary before any communication, signaling, or symbolism whatsoever can occur...* (Whorf 1956:239)

Elsewhere, however, Whorf's emphasis, and that of subsequent Whorfians, is on the deterministic "provisional analysis" of the world through language, the view that our perception of the world is determined and restricted by the language we speak (that the categories our language provides us with are the only categories available to us), rather than on the potential influence of the environment on the linguistic provisional analysis.

The rise of the cognitive sciences from the 1960s onwards (e.g. Chomsky 1965) represented a rebellion against relativistic and behaviourist approaches to human cognition. The Whorfian hypothesis became unpopular and was seen as being politically loaded and potentially racist. Behaviourist accounts of learning were viewed as inadequate to explain both the richness of the human linguistic ability, and the similarities between diverse linguistic systems (see Chomsky's (1959) critique of Skinner (1957)). Generative grammar and its offshoots emphasised the identification of linguistic universals and the innate, unlearnable properties of language, to the exclusion or marginalisation of any observations on linguistic and cultural diversity.

Linguists tend now to be cautious and somewhat defensive about positing links (in either direction) between language and culture. Yet such links clearly exist. Levinson comments:

> *There is surely something wrong about a theory of human cognition that treats that great cultural bulk of human conceptual structure as obfuscating detail: the fact that human cognition is built for culture, and thus built for enculturated variation, is a central fact about it* (Levinson 1996b:177).

Lakoff and Johnson (1999) criticise one of the central tenets of Western philosophy, arguing that, rather than reason alone being the defining characteristic of human beings, our ability to reason comes from and is structured by our position in the world as embodied minds: the traditional dichotomy between mind and body (and between rationalism and empiricism) is false. They observe:

> *The mind is not merely embodied, but embodied in such a way that our conceptual systems draw largely upon the commonalities of our bodies and of the environments we live in. The result is that much of a person's*

> *conceptual system is either universal or widespread across languages and cultures* (Lakoff and Johnson 1999:6).

Both the human body and the environment that we inhabit are powerful influences on how we describe space (and the metaphorical extension of spatial language to other domains, such as time). Yet, although one human body is, in an abstract sense, much the same as another (we all have a front, a back, two arms, two legs and a head), there is considerable variation in the environments, both physical and socio-cultural, in which we find ourselves. Correspondingly, Lakoff and Johnson argue, languages will vary in how they represent the physical and socio-cultural space around them, and what aspects of that space are treated as salient.

Palmer (2004), for instance, demonstrates that physical space may be treated very differently where related languages occupy different environments; directional verb systems in Oceanic languages can differ radically depending on whether the language is located on a long island, a round island or an atoll. Conversely, it is not unusual for unrelated languages in similar environments to have similar systems for talking about space; Palmer gives the example of Florutz German, which has directional dimensions for watercourses (upriver/downriver) and altitude (uphill/downhill), a system comparable to those found in Dyirbal (Northern Queensland), Samo (Papuan) and Aralle Tabulahan (Austronesian) (Palmer 2004:14-16).

Languages also vary in how they make use of spatial terms to construct the socio-cultural framework within which our interactions with others take place. Hanks (1990) argues that traditional accounts of deictic systems fail to capture the complexity of their use in social interaction and performance; he proposes a theory of reference that is sociocentric rather than egocentric, maintaining that if reference is a social practice, and deixis a type of reference, the construction of deictic space will be culturally and socially determined. Toren (2002) exemplifies this for Fijian, showing how space-time coordinates inform Fijian ideas of person and kinship. In Fijian, hierarchies and equalities in social relationships are expressed in spatial terms; these relationships are also manifest in the organisation of domestic space (within the house), in the position of houses in village space (more prestigious members of the community building their houses nearer to the shore), and in the division of gardening land; thus, the physical environment, spatial language and social structures are

intricately connected. Hoëm (1993) discusses similar uses of spatial metaphors to express social hierarchies and even morality itself in Tokelau.

Past assumptions about the universals of spatial conception have been based largely on Indo-European languages. Even Whorf assumes that space is conceived of in relativistic and egocentric terms projected from facets of our bodies (front, back, left, right) and our experience of gravity (up, down): *'probably the apprehension of space is given in substantially that same form by experience irrespective of language'* (Whorf 1956:158). The recent investigation of data from a plethora of other language families, which vary considerably in how they represent the physical space around them, has not only provoked a re-examination of these assumptions, but has led to new proposals for "universal" tendencies or possibilities that are available to languages. It is the task of the linguist not only to describe the cultural details of linguistic spatial systems but also to seek to understand the cognitive basis for them, gathering theoretically-informed data across as wide a range of languages as possible, in order to make data-driven proposals about what is universal and what may be unique to a particular language and culture.

1.3.2 Theoretical frameworks for the description of motion events

Two major theoretical frameworks inform this study: Talmy's approach to the lexicalisation of motion events is used as a basis for describing the semantic components of Kubokota motion verbs (e.g. Talmy 1975, 1983, 1985, 2000), while Levinson's frames of reference typology is concerned with capturing the location and movement of an event in relation to features of the external world (e.g. Levinson 1992, 1996a, 1996b, 2003b). These frameworks are introduced briefly below; they are described in more detail in Chapters Three (Talmy) and Eight (Levinson).

1.3.2.1 Lexicalisation of motion events

Talmy (1975, 1983, 1985, 2000) develops a widely accepted set of concepts for breaking down the internal structure of a motion (or other spatial) event. A motion event consists of several components: the figure that moves, the path along which it moves, grounds such as source and goal to which the path may be anchored, the manner of motion, etc.

Languages lexicalise different combinations of these components in different parts of their syntax. English, for instance, tends to lexicalise manner in the verb and path

in a satellite: in the sentence *Rowan ran into the house*, the verb *ran* expresses manner of motion, and the preposition *into* describes the path. Italian, on the other hand, lexicalises path in the verb and manner in a satellite: *Marta entrò nella casa (correndo)* 'Marta entered the house (running)'. Here, the verb *entrò* 'entered' expresses the path of motion. Manner is often not expressed at all, particularly with boundary-crossing verbs such as 'enter'; if it is expressed, however, it is typically found in a satellite, such as the participle *correndo* 'running'.

This is the dominant semantic theory underlying Part Two of this thesis: it facilitates the description of the semantic components of motion verbs as lexical items, whether these contain information about path, ground, manner, source, goal, deixis or some combination of two or more of these components (Chapter Three). Verbs can then be categorised in a way that enables us to account for their effect on the choice of realis or irrealis subject-mood markers (Chapter Four) and their distribution and behaviour in serial verb constructions (Chapter Five).

1.3.2.2 Frames of reference

Levinson's (1992, 1996a, 1996b, 2003b) typology of frames of reference (FoR) is concerned with understanding the means by which a language expresses the location, movement and orientation of an object in real physical space. As noted above, both the human body and the environment are powerful influences on the way we describe space. Levinson posits three frames of reference that are found across languages: intrinsic and relative frames of reference are based on the body or abstractions from it; absolute frame of reference is based on the physical environment, to varying degrees of abstraction.

In an intrinsic frame of reference, objects are moved or located in relation to planes projected off the human body; I might say, for instance, *The tree is in front of me*, or *The knife is behind you*. 'In front' and 'behind' in these cases represent a binary relationship between a located object (the tree, the knife) and a facet of an asymmetrical figure (me, you); no information about the environment or anything else outside of this binary array is provided. A similar binary relationship between a figure and ground is captured in the motion event proposition *Rowan came to me*.

Relative frame of reference is also based on the person, but in this case the facets of the person are projected onto another object, and interpreted in relation to the

location of the viewpoint (person). In sentences such as *Rowan is behind the tree*, *The knife is to the left of the basket*, or *Donald came out of the house*, the relationship is ternary, between the figure (Rowan, the knife, Donald), the ground (the tree, the basket, the house) and the viewpoint (me). We are still provided with no information about the orientation of the array or its physical location in the environment.

In an absolute frame of reference, objects are located or moved in relation to each other with reference to fixed physical points; these may be cardinal directions such as north and south, or other environmental cues such as landward and seaward, uphill and down: sentences such as *Gower Street is east of Tottenham Court Road*, *Hampstead is uphill from Kentish Town* or *Rowan ran towards the sea* make no reference to the human body (beyond the implication in the last example that Rowan is oriented towards the sea and going forward) and are true regardless of the location of the viewpoint.

1.3.2.3 Indexical language, socio-cultural knowledge and lived space

The work of both Talmy and Levinson tends to focus on cognitive representations of space, i.e. on the semantic components (Talmy) and their application through certain schematic representations of spatial language (Levinson). These two approaches underpin the major part of this thesis. However, as already discussed in §1.2, participant observation is of vital importance in understanding a system of spatial reference, and has provided a significant proportion of the data discussed in this thesis. Talmy and Levinson's frameworks fall short of being able to handle the rich contextual information inherent in a participant observation situation. In particular, neither of them pays much attention to deixis. Deixis is defined as *'those linguistic elements whose interpretation in simple sentences makes essential reference to properties of the extralinguistic context of the utterance in which they occur'* (Anderson and Keenan 1985:259). Talmy refers to deixis only in terms of being a potential ground of a path or location (path deixis, e.g. 'come', 'go', versus site deixis, e.g. 'here', 'there' (Talmy 2000:161)). Levinson makes the (very pertinent) point that deixis is not a frame of reference per se, but that the deictic centre can be the origin of the coordinates in any of the three frames of reference (Levinson 2003b:34-8); thereafter, however, he refers to deictic issues only in passing.

More usefully, Hanks (1990) is an anthropological approach to what he terms "referential practice" – the actual linguistic habits of the embodied, enculturated person in lived space. Crucial to Hanks' analysis of spatial language in Maya is that people (and linguistic/ethnic communities) inhabit the space to which they are referring; language does not exist in an abstract, schematised vacuum. Thus, although we may construct a conceptual schema or schemas as part of our analysis of a linguistic spatial system, this schema is merely a semantic construct. For Hanks, space must have a centre or "be centred", and it is centred on the person (regardless of frame of reference). Thus, the Maya cardinal direction terms equivalent to our north, south, east and west are not used in isolation; they are centred on the embodied speaker (cf. Lakoff and Johnson's (1999) definition of embodiment in §1.3.1 above). If a person is said to have gone 'to the north', he must be in a location projected in a northerly direction from the speaker or centre; he is not in some specific cardinal location called 'north'.

I have not applied Hanks' approach in the same systematic way that I have utilised Talmy and Levinson's frameworks; to do so would require very much more research, and a deeper understanding of Kubokota pragmatics than is possible to achieve in nine months of fieldwork on the language. As my understanding of the Kubokota system has developed, however, I have become increasingly aware that deictic and contextual information is fundamental to speakers' use of spatial terms, and that a simple componential breakdown of the so-called deictic verbs (e.g. 'motion towards speaker' versus 'motion away from speaker') is far from sufficient to understand the use of these terms (and the contextually-influenced use of other terms that may not be obviously deictic) in everyday practice. This can only be understood when one appreciates that such terms are not used abstractly, but that the speaker, the figures and grounds that are referred to, are all embodied as physical beings or entities within the Kubokota spatial and socio-cultural environment.

As Hanks himself points out:

> *Orientation always involves the* combination *of established reference points with the centered, "local", knowledge and experience of the actor... In order to motivate the communicative choices speakers make in deictic reference, one must first understand the encompassing frame space to which their choices respond.* (Hanks 1990:296)

Much of this thesis is dedicated to understanding the "frame space", i.e. the schematised system that encodes the Kubokota physical environment. Only occasionally am I able to make any claims about the speaker (or actor) as an embodied figure within that space.

1.4 Research questions

The research questions addressed in this study cover two distinct areas: the interaction between the syntax and semantics of Kubokota motion verbs, on the one hand, and between the semantics and pragmatics, on the other.

Syntactic-semantic issues:

- What verbs are used to describe motion and direction in Kubokota?
- What are the semantic components of these verbs and how do these components allow us to assign the verbs to categories?
- If verbs of motion and direction fall into more than one semantic category, how do these categories behave differently in the grammar, for instance, in terms of their order and syntactic status where two or more motion verbs occur in a serial verb construction?
- Do different categories of motion verbs have different aspectual and modal properties, and how are these distinct from the aspectual and modal properties of other verbs?

Semantic-pragmatic issues:

- How are Kubokota motion verbs used to orient and direct motion in the physical environment?
- How are geocentric scales lexicalised, and if more than one geocentric scale is available, how do these scales interact and how do speakers indicate the use of one scale or another?
- What frames of reference are available to Kubokota speakers, and in what contexts are different frames of reference likely to be used?

- How does the location or orientation of the speaker affect the choice of geocentric scale and/or frame of reference?

1.4.1 Overview of analysis

This thesis consists of three parts. Part One is a general introduction to the Kubokota language, including a grammatical sketch (Chapter Two). In Part Two, I introduce Kubokota motion verbs (Chapter Three) and explore their behaviour in the language from a syntactic and semantic perspective (Chapters Four, Five and Six). Part Three is a more pragmatic approach to motion verbs as they are used in practice in real physical space (Chapters Seven and Eight).

1.4.1.1 Overview of syntactic-semantic issues

Chapter Three presents the basics of Talmy's approach to the lexicalisation of motion events. Within this framework, the semantics of Kubokota motion verbs, and how individual lexical items contribute to the construction of a motion event, are explored. Motion verbs can be divided into three major sub-classes:

- deictic path (PATHD) verbs conflate direction ('up', 'down' or neutral) with deictic information ('come', 'go');
- path + ground verbs (PATHG) describe path in relation to a ground. They include boundary-crossing verbs such as 'enter', 'exit' and 'cross'; point-on-path verbs such as 'pass', 'go around'; and geographical path verbs such as 'travel along beach' or 'move inland';
- MANNER verbs such as 'walk', 'run' and 'climb'.

The chapter also describes some of the non-motion functions of motion verbs: in particular, some motion verbs may describe static location in physical space. some may be used to describe perceptual motion (i.e. the directionality of looking, thinking or hearing) and some are extended to the temporal domain.

In Chapter Four I describe the interaction of PATHD motion verbs with the Kubokota portmanteau subject-mood markers. PATHD motion verbs such as 'come', 'go', 'go up', 'come down' etc., exhibit different modal properties from other verbs in the language with regard to realis and prospective irrealis mood markers. Specifically, a 'go' motion event cannot be marked as realis until the motion path is complete,

whereas all other event types can be marked as realis while they are in progress. 'Go' events contrast with 'come' events, which vary as to whether they are marked as realis or irrealis while in progress. This can be explained with reference to the different configurations of 'come' and 'go' paths of motion and whether they are anchored to a source or a goal, i.e. the motivation for the variation is primarily deictic.

Chapter Five discusses the distribution and status of motion verbs in serial verb constructions. Motion verbs occur in both sequential and concurrent serialisations. It is proposed that, although directionals are often analysed in the literature on verb serialisation as asymmetrical modifiers, directional PATHD and PATHG verbs in Kubokota behave as full lexical heads in both concurrent and sequential verb serialisations. Syntactic and semantic evidence is presented in support of this claim. The semantically-determined ordering of verbal components in motion event SVCs is also described: a typical motion event SVC may contain a MANNER verb as V1, a PATHG verb as V2 and a PATHD verb as V3; all three slots may be filled or any combination of two may occur. Motion event SVCs may also be layered, with apparently no upper restriction on the number of slots available, e.g. [MANNER + PATHD] + [MANNER + PATHD] + [GOAL].

Chapter Six is a case study of mono-verbal and serial verb constructions based on a dataset of route description texts and frog stories. The chapter considers the distribution of motion verbs in actual language use, in a quantitative and qualitative way. Among other issues, verb serialisations containing boundary-crossing verbs are explored in detail, with reference to the "boundary-crossing constraint" proposed by Slobin (2004). According to this constraint, verb-framed languages do not include manner information in clauses where a path crosses a boundary (e.g. 'enter', 'exit'). In Kubokota and other verb-serialising languages, this does not apply, lending support to Slobin's proposal that a third category of equipollently-framed languages should be added to Talmy's binary verb-framed versus satellite-framed typology. The claim that Kubokota is equipollently-framed is consistent with the claim in Chapter Five (see above) that there is no asymmetry between motion verbs and other lexical heads in a serial verb construction.

1.4.1.2 Overview of semantic-pragmatic issues

Chapter Seven describes the use of motion verbs to orient motion in physical space. Kubokota has four geocentric scales, two of them land-based and two sea-based. On land, domestic-level motion is described using the local scale, which consists of an inland-seaward axis lexicalised as '(come/go)up'/'(come/go)down' and an undifferentiated transverse ('come'/'go'). Over longer distances on land, the coastal axis is lexicalised as 'up' (south) and 'down' (north), and alternative inland-seaward terms are available; this is the intermediate scale. There is potential for ambiguity between the local and intermediate scales; their interaction is described in detail and compared between different village locations. Regarding the sea-based scales, small scale motion from the shore out to sea is described as 'up', and shoreward motion from the sea is 'down'; while on the larger, navigational scale, 'up' means 'upwind (i.e. south-east against the prevailing wind) and 'down' is 'downwind' (i.e. north-west). The use of the same terminology 'up' and 'down' on all four scales means that, at a given point on the island of Ranongga, any of three directions can potentially be described as 'up': south along the coast, up onto the sea, or up towards the interior. The chapter describes the observed use of the different scales, how they interact, and the pragmatic factors that influence the choice of one scale or another.

Chapter Eight presents an experiment examining how Kubokota speakers handle the ambiguities of scale described in Chapter Seven. Speakers were asked to describe the orientation of a figure in the men-and-tree photo-photo matching game, and used a number of different strategies to establish which scale they were using. Strategies (and their success) varied according to whether speakers were facing along the coastal axis or the inland-seaward axis. Facing along the coastal axis (which is geocentrically undifferentiated on the local scale), speakers tended to use egocentric terms such as 'come' and 'go' for orientation, together with ad hoc local landmarks such as the forest, the beach and speech act participants as grounds, regardless of the axis along which the figure was oriented. Conversely, facing along the inland-seaward axis, speakers used geocentric terms such as 'go up' and 'go down' for orientation, mainly using the locations of sunrise and sunset as grounds.

CHAPTER TWO

A grammatical sketch of Kubokota

2.1 Phonology

The syllable template in Kubokota is (C)V.

2.1.1 Consonants

The Kubokota consonant phoneme inventory is given in Table 2.1:

Table 2.1: Kubokota consonant phonemes in IPA symbols

	bilabial		alveolar		palatal	velar		glottal
	voiced	voiceless	voiced	voiceless		voiced	voiceless	
plosive	b	p	d	t		g	k	
nasal	m		n		ɲ	ŋ		
affricate					dʒ			
fricative	ß		z	s		ɣ		(h)
lateral			l					
trill			r					

The voiced plosives /b, d, g/ are always prenasalised word-medially. Prenasalisation may also occur across word boundaries.

(1) /babana/ [bambana] 'wall'
/kudekude/ [kundekunde] 'black'
/eguru/ [eŋguru] 'leaf'
/ŋudʒu/ [ŋundʒu] 'mouth'
/na gua baere/ [na ŋgu.a mba.ere] 'DET 1SG.POS friend (my friend)'

Utterance-initially, prenasalisation may or may not occur:

(2) /dai/ [da.i] ~ [nda.i] 'no'

The phonemic status of the bilabial consonants /b, p, m, ß/ is established by the following examples:

		word-initial			word-medial		
(3)	/b/	/batu/	'head'	/bebe/	[bembe]	'butterfly'
	/p/	/patu/	'stone'	/epe/		'sail'
	/m/	/mati/	'reef'	/jemere/		'red'
	/ß/	/ßato/	'burn.TR'	/ßeße/		'rope'

The phonemic status of the alveolar consonants /d, t, n, z, s, l, r/ is established by the following examples:

		word-initial			word-medial		
(4)	/d/	/dole/		'snake'	/nada/	[nanda]	'1PL.IN.POS'
	/t/	/tolo/		'fishing.line'	/bata/		'see'
	/n/	/nole/		'beach'	/nana/		'3SG.POS'
	/z/	/zolozo/		'deep.forest'	/aza/		'3SG'
	/s/	/sogolo/	[soŋgolo]	'jump'	/masa/		'meat'
	/l/	/loßu/		'mat'	/pala/		'FUT'
	/r/	/rio/		'axe'	/ara/		'1SG'

The phonemic status of the palatal consonants /dʒ, ɲ/ is established by the following examples:

		word-initial			word-medial		
(5)	/dʒ/	/dʒudʒu/	[dʒundʒu]	'push'	/madʒa/	[mandʒa]	'hit'
	/ɲ/	/ɲumu/		'sit'	/ɲaɲa/		'mummy'

The phonemic status of the velar consonants /g, k, ŋ, ɣ/ is established by the following examples:

		word-initial			word-medial		
(6)	/g/	/gasere/		'octopus'	/gogoele/	[goŋgoele]	'old.woman'
	/k/	/kadiki/	[kandiki]	'black.ant'	/toko/		'red.ant'
	/ŋ/	/ŋari/		'canarium.nut'	/boŋo/		'sore'
	/ɣ/	/ɣadue/	[ɣandue]	'possum'	/boroɣo/		'pig'

Kubokota has borrowed extensively from Roviana. The phoneme /h/ occurs only in Roviana borrowings such as /haßoro/ 'flower' (/aßoro/ is sometimes suggested as the original Kubokota form but is rarely heard) and /hoboro/ [homboro] 'without

purpose' (the Kubokota form is /Yoboro/ and does also occur, but may be a reanalysis).

2.1.2 Vowels

The following phonemic vowels are found in Kubokota:

	front		**back**
high	i		u
mid	e		o
low		a	

The phonemic status of the five vowels is established by the following minimal pairs:

(7)	/i, e/	/ia/	'area'	/ea/	'betelnut'
		/koi/	'EXCL'	/koe/	'coconut.shell'
		/ai/	'share'	/ae/	'where'
	/e, a/	/nana/	'3SG.POS'	/ne = ne/	'leg=3SG.POS'
		/aoro/	'year'	/eoro/	'crocodile'
	/a, o/	/paka/	'thunder'	/poko/	'cloth'
		/lea/	'good'	/leo/	'inside'
	/o, u/	/moa/	'before'	/mua/	'2SG.POS'
		/ao/	'2SG'	/au/	'laugh'
		/leo/	'inside'	/leu/	'fruit.bat'
		/izo/	'bonito'	/izu/	'nose'
	/u, i/	/mu/	'2SG.IRR'	/mi/	'3SG.IRR'
		/leu/	'fruit.bat'	/lei/	'sky'

There is no contrastive vowel length; sequences of two non-identical vowels are treated as two syllables. All possible combinations of non-identical vowels are attested, as shown in the following table.

Table 2.2: Vowel sequences

	i	e	ɑ	o	u
i	-	pie 'water'	piɑ 'here'	tio 'person'	ziu '1SG.OBJ'
e	zei 'who'	-	reɑ 'moonlight'	leo 'inside'	leu 'fruit.bat'
ɑ	dɑi 'no'	mɑe 'come'	-	ɑo '2SG'	ɑu 'laugh'
o	loi 'leave'	loe 'bamboo drum'	moɑ 'before'	-	ŋou 'cough'
u	tui 'tree.SP'	kue 'three'	muɑ '2SG.POS'	ruo 'tree.SP'	-

Sequences of vowels are treated as separate syllables and there is no evidence of the high vowels /i/ and /u/ becoming glides when they occur in sequences such as /iu/ 'wash', /iɑ/ 'area' or /uɑ/ 'howl'; stress falls on the first vowel and there is no reduction:[1]

(8) /iu/ > [ˈi.u] 'wash' /iɑ/ > [ˈi.ɑ] 'area' /uɑ/ > [ˈu.ɑ] 'howl'

Elision of word-final vowels is common preceding vowel-initial words, particularly of /ɑ/ in the definite article /nɑ/ and the third person singular realis subject marker /zɑ/. In some cases this has led to the lexicalisation of the elided form; both /eɑ/ and /neɑ/, for instance, are used to refer to betelnut.

(9)	/nɑ eɑ/	[neɑ] ~ [nɑ neɑ]	'DET betelnut'
	/nɑ ɑre/	[nɑre]	'DET top'
	/zɑ uke/	[zuke]	'3SG die'
	/zɑ ßɑ-uke=ɑ/	[zɑ ßukeɑ]	'3SG CAUS-die=3SG.OBJ'

[1] This is contrary to what Davis (2003) reports for the related language Hoava; in Hoava, vowel sequences are treated as separate syllables for morphological reasons, but high vowels in sequences such as /ia/ and /iu/ are reduced to glides.

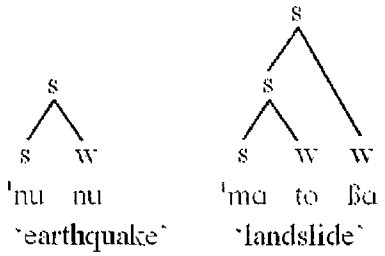
2.1.3 Stress

The phonological foot in Kubokota consists of two syllables. Words are parsed from left to right; any syllables at the right edge of the word that cannot be assigned to feet are extrametrical. Primary stress falls on the rightmost foot.

Thus in two- and three-syllable words, stress falls on the first syllable. Two-syllable words constitute a single foot; three-syllable words a foot plus an extrametrical final syllable.

	Two-syllable words		**Three-syllable words**	
(10)	/ˈmane/	'basket'	/ˈlikoto/	'bushknife'
	/ˈsi.e/	'dog'	/ˈkoburu/ > [ˈkomburu]	'child'
	/ˈnunu/	'earthquake'	/ˈboɣuzu/	'big.wave'
	/ˈβa.e/	'flood'	/ˈmatoβa/	'landslide'

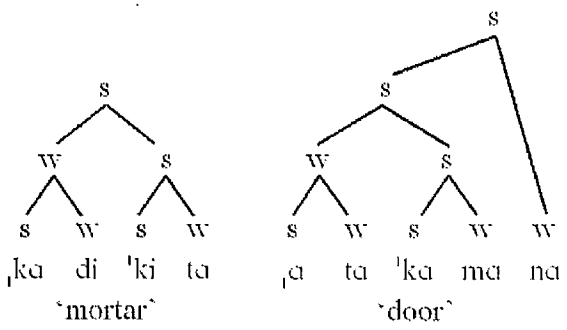
Figure 2.1: Stress in two- and three-syllable words



In words consisting of four or more syllables, secondary stress falls on the first syllable with stress on every alternate syllable to the right, and primary stress on the rightmost foot.

(11)	/ˌoreˈmari/	'cassava'
	/ˌkadiˈkita/	'mortar'
	/ˌtiviˈtivi/	'sarong'
	/ˌkuti-ˈkuti/	'REDUP-write'
	/ˌataˈkamana/	'door'

Figure 2.2: Stress in four- and five-syllable words



The monosyllabic prefixes /ta-/ 'PASS' (12) and /βa-/'CAUS' (13) are unstressed, unless two or more prefixes are available to form feet (14). The disyllabic reciprocal prefix /βari-/ is a foot and takes secondary stress on the first syllable (15).

(12) /ta-ˈloi/ 'PASS-leave'
/ta-ˈlomoto/ 'PASS-cut'
/ta-ˌlomo-ˈlomoto/ 'PASS-REDUP-cut'

(13) /βa-ˈleana/ 'CAUS-good'
/βa-ˌnama-ˈnama/ 'CAUS-REDUP-prepare'
/βa-ˌliYu=ˈria/ 'CAUS-behind=3PL.OBJ'

(14) /ˌβa-βa-ˈboŋi/ 'CAUS-CAUS-night' ('make it become night')
/ˌβa-ta-ˈβai=di/ 'CAUS- PASS-buy=APPL.PL' ('sell them')
/ˈYazoro ˌβa-βa-ˌtiti-ˈpoko/ 'rope CAUS-CAUS-hang-cloth' ('washing line')

(15) /ˌβari-ˈkamu/ 'RECIP-arrive'
/ˌβari-ˈelaβa/ 'RECIP-marry'
/ˌβari-ˌβaβaˈkato/ 'RECIP-tell.story'

If /βari-/ is followed by the causative prefix /βa-/, /βa-/ is treated as extrametrical, and stress falls on the first syllable of the verb root, even if the root is monosyllabic. If the root is vowel-initial, /βa-/ may be elided to /β-/.

(16) /ˌβari-βa-ˈmo/ 'RECIP-CAUS-sick'
/ˌβari-βa-ˈpaβu/ 'RECIP-CAUS-be.tired'
/ˌβari-βa-ˈau/ [ˌβariˈβau] 'RECIP-CAUS-laugh'
/ˌβari-ˌβari-βa-ˈlukana/ 'RECIP-RECIP-CAUS-cry'

Kubokota has a range of person- and mood-indexing subject markers. Monosyllabic subject markers are unstressed, but polysyllabic subject markers, or those to which the negative clitic /=ke/ attaches, form a phonological word and are stressed in the usual way.

(17) /za ˈuke/ > [ˈzuke] ‘3SG.R die’
/mi ˈuke/ ‘3SG.IRR die’
/ˈqa=ke ˈbati=a/ ‘1SG.R=NEG see.TR=3SG.OBJ’
/ˈmina ˈuke/ ‘3SG.FUT die’
/ˈmine=ke ˈuke/ ‘3SG.FUT=NEG die’

Monosyllabic enclitics and suffixes, including the transitive marker /-i/ ‘-TR’, the applicative enclitics, some direct object enclitics and some direct possession enclitics form part of the phonological word with the root, and are handled accordingly for purposes of stress assignment.

(18) /ˈbati=a/ ‘see.TR=3SG.OBJ’
/ˌdogoˈr-i=a/ ‘look-TR=3SG.OBJ’
/na ˈtina=mu/ ‘DET mother=2SG.POS’
/ˌβaβaˈkato=di/ ‘tell.story=APPL.PL’
/ˌβari-ˌelaˈβa=di/ ‘RECIP-marry=APPL.PL’

Polysyllabic enclitics form a phonological foot and take primary stress. However, if the root consists of more than two syllables, the secondary foot is aligned to the left of the root while primary stress still falls on the penultimate; any unfooted syllables in between are extrametrical.

(19) /ˌdogoro=ˈria/ ‘look=3PL.OBJ’
/ˌtaviti=ˈgita/ ‘COMIT=1PL.IN.OBJ’
/na ˌtina=ˈmami/ ‘DET mother=1PL.EX.POS’
/ˌtoka=di=ˈgita/ ‘help=APPL.PL=1PL.IN.OBJ’
/ˌβari-ˌlivuˌt=ai=di=ˈgita/ ‘RECIP-go.around=*AI*=APPL.PL=1PL.IN’

2.1.4 Orthography

Two different orthographies have been developed for the Kubokota language. The orthography developed by the Seventh Day Adventist Church uses <gh> for /ɣ/, <g>

for /g/ and <ng> for /ŋ/. In the Methodist or United Church orthography, <g> is used for /ɣ/, <q> for /g/ and <n̲> for /ŋ/. Prenasalisation is not written. /ɲ/ is written as <ny> and /β/ as <v> in both orthographies.

Following Kettle (2000), I use the United Church orthography in this thesis, with the exception of <n̲>, which Kettle replaced with <ng> in her Shoebox database because of the difficulties of getting Shoebox to recognise <n̲> as a single character. The same solution has been adopted by Alpheaus Zobule in his Luqa translation of the New Testament and in other materials produced in the Kubokota and Luqa languages by Zobule and others in the last few years. Zobule is keen to promote this orthography through the work of the Kulu Language Institute, and it therefore seems sensible to continue using it, both in my academic writing and in materials produced for the Kubokota community, rather than to risk setting up a rival standard.

This orthography is illustrated by the following examples, and will be used henceforth:

(20)	/g/	/gokolo/	<qokolo>	'boy'	/eguru/	<equru>	'leaf'
	/ɣ/	/ɣɑzoro/	<gazoro>	'rope'	/boroɣo/	<borogo>	'pig'
	/ŋ/	/ŋenɑri/	<ngenari>	'today'	/lɑŋo/	<lango>	'fly'
	/ɲ/	/ɲɑɲɑ/	<nyanya>	'mummy'	/βoɲu/	<vonyu>	'turtle'
	/β/	/βolɑzɑ/	<volaza>	'morning'	/loβu/	<lovu>	'mat'

2.2 Parts of speech

The two major word classes in Kubokota are nouns and verbs. There is no class of adjectives; noun modifiers are either nouns themselves (often directly possessed by the head noun), or are derived from verbs. Minor word classes include pronouns, articles, quantifiers, prepositions, demonstratives, conjunctions, particles and interjections.

Although some lexical roots are clearly identifiable as verbs, and others as nouns, it is not always apparent whether some roots are underlyingly nouns or verbs.[2] The boundaries between the major word classes, as in many Austronesian languages, are not always clear-cut, and in Kubokota it is frequently possible for a single lexical entity to act as either a noun or a verb without any derivational morphology. Distributionally, nouns can be identified by the fact that they tend to be preceded by articles and prepositions, and may be possessed (see §2.4), while verbs are preceded by subject markers and may carry object-referencing enclitics (see §2.5). *Tapo* 'sun is a verb in (21) and a noun in (22); in (23), *toa* 'life/live' is a verb, and in (24) it is a noun.

(21) *Za* ***tapo*** *na* *kota.*
3SG.R **sun** DET **place**
'The place is sunny.' (o0058)

(22) *Za* *vari-vai* *na* ***tapo.***
3SG.R RECIP-kill DET **sun**
'The sun is killing (us).' (o0308)

(23) *Za* ***toa*** *na* *iku.*
3SG.R **live** DET **fire**
'The fire lights/is alight.' (a041CV_005)

(24) *Za=ke* *vei* *na* ***toa*** *koviria* *ari.*
3SG.R=NEG be.like DET **life** now PROX.PL
'It wasn't like life these days.' (a008BL_002)

Certain members of minor word classes also occur as verbs; for instance, the conjunction *goto* 'but' (25) can be a verb 'be different' (26), as can the interjection *dai* 'no' (27), which in (28) means 'not want to' and in (29) expresses a prohibition (see also §2.5.8). The question of whether such items are underlyingly verbs or members of the relevant minor classes is a matter for further research.

(25) *Rerege* *peki-peki* ***goto*** *kopa* *lao* *ko.*
walk REDUP-little **but** PROG go EMPH
'It's going slowly but it is going.' (o0366)

(26) *Qa* *nyoro* *gu=ni* *bi* ***goto.***
1SG.R want say=APPL.SG 3SG.HYP **different**
'I want it to be different.' (o0711)

[2] As noted by Himmelmann (2008), with reference to Tagalog, there is not necessarily a direct correlation between lexical categories, but multiple derivations may be possible from a single lexical root.

(27) ***Dai,*** *leana gu.*
NEG good LIM
'No, (I'm) okay.' (a019BN_049)

(28) *ko qari* ***dai*** *dia lao nyumu pa tevolo.*
so 3PL.R NEG 3PL.POS go sit IN.PRP table
'and they didn't want to go and sit at the table.' (a042BN_068)

(29) ***Dai*** *leko.*
NEG stroll
'Don't wander about.' (o0555)

Nouns may be verbalised with no derivational morphology; conversely, verbs can be nominalised either with the nominalising enclitic *=na*, or as bare roots (see §2.4.2.2). Whole clauses can also be nominalised, as described in §2.4.6.

2.3 Word order

Kubokota has a strong tendency to be verb-initial. A person-indexing subject marker usually occurs immediately before the verb, but pronouns or noun phrases referencing subject and object usually follow. The unmarked word order is VSO, but SVO also occurs. VOS is relatively frequent too, and even OVS is occasionally found. Word order is motivated by pragmatic considerations; further research is required to establish the exact nature of these.

Examples (30) and (31) illustrate VSO word order.

(30) *Za teku pale=ni i Lamu na kau=na.*
3SG.R take source=APPL.SG PERS Lamu DET ash=3SG.POS
'Lamu took away the ash (of the lamp).' (o0199)

(31) *Beto za va-lotu-i=a na sie na vorivori ta=na muji.*
then 3SG.R CAUS-fall-TR=3SG.OBJ DET dog DET nest AN.PRP=DET bee
'Then the dog made the bees' nest fall,' (fs001LP_045)

In (32), the word order is SVO.

(32) *Pa=na totozo aza, ara Stephen Mamikera qa bati=a na*
IN.PRP=DET time 3SG 1SG Stephen Mamikera 1SG.R see.TR=3SG.OBJ DET
tomete,
spirit
'At that time, I Stephen Mamikera saw the devil,' (a031SM_030)

(33) illustrates the basic VS order for an intransitive clause; SV is also possible, although less common (34).

(33) *Za gore vei rari i Donald.*
3SG.R go.down be.like DIST.PL PERS Donald
'Donald went down that way.' (o0681)

(34) *I Lamu ari za gore vei.*
PERS Lamu PROX.PL 3SG.R go.down be.like
'Lamu went down that way.' (o0412)

Examples such as (35) and (36) depend on context for their interpretation. In (35), a VOS clause, Kiko has information of which Donald is not aware. In (36), where the word order is OVS, the preceding conversation has been about pigs; the addressees already know that Simon's pig has a large wound on its side.

(35) *Za oqoro poja=ni tu i Donald i Kiko?*
3SG.R not.yet tell=APPL.SG FOC PERS Donald PERS Kiko
'Has Kiko not told Donald yet?' (o0865)

(36) *Na borogo ti Simon za garat-i=a na sie pa*
DET pig AN.PRP.PERS Simon 3SG.R bite-TR=3SG.OBJ DET dog IN.PRP
bongi.
night
'A dog bit Simon's pig last night.' (o1002)

The order of direct and applicative objects occurring after the verb is also variable, as shown in (37) and (38).

(37) *Zae vani borogo na panakai.*
go.up give.APPL.SG pig DET potato
'Go up and give the pig the potatoes.' (o0146)

(38) *Zae vani cassava i Grace.*
go.up give.APPL.SG cassava PERS Grace
'Go up and give the cassava to Grace.' (o0459)

Word order seems to be determined more by information structure (e.g. new and old information) than by syntactic requirements. The data suggests, for instance, that focal or new information may occur either clause-initially or clause-finally. Further research is required to establish exactly how word order is decided.

2.4 Nouns and noun phrases

The constituents of the Kubokota noun phrase are as follows:

Pre-head:	[quantifier/ pronoun]	[article]	[possessive pronoun]		[attributive modifier]
HEAD:	NOUN/PRONOUN				
Post-head:	[attributive modifier]	[prepositional phrase]	[relative clause]	[possessor]	[demonstrative]

Not all constituents occur in one NP, but a variety of possible combinations are illustrated in examples (39) to (42). A quantifier or pronoun may precede the article (39), (40) (see §2.4.1.2 and §2.4.3 for more details), and a pronoun or NP referring to a possessor may follow the head noun (41).

	QUANTIFIER	ARTICLE	HEAD	POST-MODIFIER
(39)	*kori*	*na*	*buku*	*lomozo*
	two	DET	drink	cold

'two cold drinks' (a019BN_023)

	PRONOUN	ARTICLE	HEAD	PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE		
(40)	*ria*	*na*	*tinoni*	*pa=na*	*goto*	*abana*
	3PL	DET	person	IN.PRP=DET	different	island

'the people of a different island' (a016SM_033)

	ARTICLE	POSSESSIVE	HEAD	POSSESSOR
(41)	*na*	*mua*	*ruma*	*ao*
	DET	2SG.POS	house	2SG

'your house' (o0589)

More than one post-nominal attributive modifier is possible, as in (42). Post-nominal modifiers often carry an agreement enclitic co-referential with the head (*=na* in (42)); if more than one post-nominal modifier is present, the enclitic attaches to the final modifier in the NP (see §2.4.5). Pre-nominal attributive modifiers are less common, and only one may occur per NP (e.g. ***goto*** *abana* 'different island' in (40)).

	ARTICLE	HEAD	POST-MODIFIER	POST-MODIFIER
(42)	*na*	*tinoni*	*qaso*	*jeme-jemere=na*
	DET	person	tall	REDUP-red=3SG.POS

	RELATIVE CLAUSE					
	roiti	*pa*	*Solair*	*Office*	*pa*	*Gijo*
	work	IN.PRP	Solair	Office	IN.PRP	Gizo

'the tall red person who works in the Solair Office in Gizo' (a017SM_080)

2.4.1 Pronominal forms

Pronominal elements in Kubokota include independent pronouns, direct possessive suffixes, indirect possessive pronouns, and prepositional possessive proforms. They also include subject and object markers; these are discussed in §2.5.1 and §2.5.3

respectively, as they are not part of the noun phrase. As is typical in Oceanic languages, all sets of pronominal elements distinguish inclusive and exclusive in the first person, and singular and plural; some second person forms, however, do not make a number distinction. The independent pronouns additionally express dual and trial.

2.4.1.1 Independent pronouns

The independent pronouns are presented in the following table. They can occur as NP heads and can precede a lexical NP. The dual and trial forms consist of the numbers *kori* 'two', *kue* 'three' following the relevant plural pronoun or, in the third person, the plural demonstrative *ari* (see §2.4.8).

Table 2.3: Independent pronouns

	1EX	1IN	2	3
SG	*ara*		*ao*	*aza*
DL	*gamikori*	*gitakori*	*gamukori*	*arikori*
TL	*gamikuė*	*gitakue*	*gamukue*	*arikue*
PL	*gami*	*gita*	*gamu*	*ria*

As the head of a subject NP, an independent pronoun can either precede or follow the verb; it occurs in addition to the pre-verbal subject markers (some of the forms of which are the same as the independent pronouns).

In (43), the pronoun *ara* comes after the verb (in canonical subject position) in the first clause, but precedes the whole verb complex in the second (reported speech) clause.

(43) *Qa* *paranga* ***ara,*** *'Mary,* ***ara*** *ma* *lao* *sobulu* *kabisi,'* *qa*
1SG.R speak **1SG** Mary **1SG** 1SG.IRR go pull.up cabbage 1SG.R
gu=ni.
say=APPL.SG
'I said to Mary, "I'm going to pull up cabbages," I told her.' (a006BN_010)

(44) is a single clause with the realis subject marker *gami* preceding the verb (see §2.5.1 for discussion of subject markers), and the independent subject pronoun *gami* following.

(44) *'Na* *koqa'* ***gami*** *gu=ni* ***gami*** *ani.*
DET rubbing.stick **1PL.EX.R** say=APPL.SG **1PL.EX** PROX.SG
'This one we call *koqa*.' (a041CV_002)

The independent pronouns may also be grammatical objects (45); the plural independent pronoun forms are homophonous with the corresponding verbal object enclitics (see §2.5.3), but as with the subject markers, can co-occur with them (46).

(45) *beto za mule lagere, za lagere kamu=**ziu** **ara,***
then 3SG.R return come.down 3SG.R come.down arrive=**1SG.OBJ** **1SG**
'and she came back down, she came down to me,' (a019BN_013)

(46) *Za suvere taviti=**gita** **gita.***
3SG.R stay COMIT=**1PL.IN.OBJ** **1PL.IN**
'He's staying with us.' (o0668)

The pronouns can occur in apposition to a following noun or NP; this occurs with subjects (47), (48) and with objects (49).

(47) ***gami-gami qoqoele ari** ba ketakoi tu gami suvere*
REDUP-1PL.EX **old.woman** **PROX.PL** but there FOC 1PL.EX.R stay
'we old women, that's where we stayed' (a004MD_026)

(48) ***Ao Lamu** mu teku=a na wheelbarrow...*
2SG **Lamu** 2SG.IRR take=3SG.OBJ DET wheelbarrow
'You Lamu you take the wheelbarrow...' (a012LP_084)

(49) *Aza tu=gu na vavakato papaka mana ule vani=go*
3SG FOC=LIM DET story short 1SG.IRR.FUT tell BEN.APPL.SG=2SG.OBJ

*ara **ao** **koburu.***
1SG **2SG** **child**
'That's the short story I will tell (to) you child.'
(a007BL_043)

The third person plural pronoun *ria* is the primary means for indicating plurality in the NP. It precedes any articles or other pre-head elements in the quantifier slot of the NP.

(50) ***ria** na tinoni paleka=di*
3PL DET people wound=3PL.POS
'the wounded people' (a003MD_004)

(51) *Qe paranga kaki tinoni, **ria** tio qari gila-gila=ziu,*
3PL.R speak some people **3PL** people 3PL.R REDUP-know=1SG.OBJ
'Some people spoke, people who knew me,' (a012LP_093-94)

Ria is common as an NP head on its own, particularly in the phrase *ria pa moa* 'the (people) of before', and when referring to people belonging to a particular group or place.

(52) *nyonyola* *ta=di* ***ria*** ***pa*** ***Qiloe.***
small.watercourse AN.PRP=PL **3PL** **IN.PRP** Qiloe
'(the) small stream of the people of Qiloe.' (a030IB_028)

(53) *Doru* *na* *mati* *qari* *pate* ***ria*** ***pa*** ***WWF*** *ari,* *qari* *ale* *votu.*
all DET reef 3PL.R close **3PL** **IN.PRP** **WWF** PROX.PL 3PL.R float exit
'All the reefs that the WWF people closed, they're floating out (of the water).' (o0765)

In a further example of an appositional construction, it is common following the dual and trial pronouns to list the people included in the reference of the pronoun:

(54) *Qa* *vavakato* *vadi* ***ari-kue*** ***Roland,*** ***Morgan*** ***beto*** ***i*** ***Jack.***
1SG.R tell.story BEN.APPL.PL **PROX.PL-three** **Roland** **Morgan** **and** **PERS** **Jack**
'I told (the story) to those three, Roland, Morgan and Jack.' (a012LP_106)

(55) *Gami* *lao* *kamu* *gami-kori* *Mary* *beto* ***ari-kori*** ***koburu*** ***Keri***
1PL.EX.R go arrive 1PL.EX-two Mary and **PROX.PL-two** **child** **Keri**

beto ***i*** ***Tabura.***
and **PERS** **Tabura**
'We went and reached (them), Mary and I and the two children Keri and Tabura.' (a013BN_020)

As in many Oceanic languages, a dual pronoun preceding a noun phrase can refer to the speaker together with the person referred to by the noun phrase. Lichtenberk (2000) terms such constructions "inclusory pronominals":

(56) ***Gami-kori*** ***Mary*** *rane* *Sarere* *gami* *gore* *pa* *Qiloe.*
1PL.EX-two **Mary** day Saturday 1PL.EX.R go.down IN.PRP Qiloe
'Mary and I on Saturday we went down to Qiloe.' (a001BN_001)

Kubokota also allows trial pronouns as inclusory pronominals, and higher numbers can be elicited:

(57) *Gita-kue* *Danny.*
1PL.IN-three Danny
'We three including Danny.' (o0348)

Inclusory pronominals are not restricted to subject and object roles but can also occur as possessors:

(58) *Na* *mami* ***gami-kori*** ***Mary.***
DET 1PL.EX.POS **1PL.EX-two** **Mary**
'(That's) mine and Mary's.' (o0941)

2.4.1.2 Possessive pronouns

There are four types of possessive noun phrases in Kubokota:

- direct or inalienable possession, used for kin terms, body parts and part-whole relationships;
- indirect possession, including edible possession (for consumable items such as food and drink) and exclusive possession (for all other items);
- prepositional possession, largely covering the same domain as exclusive possession but with the possessor expressed in a prepositional phrase.

Possessed NPs are optionally followed by either an independent pronoun or noun phrase indexing the possessor. (59) and (60) are examples of direct possession with an overt possessor, (61) of indirect (exclusive) possession, and (62) of prepositional possession.[3]

(59) *na* *tina=**qu*** ***ara*** *ani*
DET mother=1SG.POS 1SG PROX.SG
'this mother of mine' (a007BL_038)

(60) *na* *tina=**na*** ***i*** ***Lamu***
DET mother=3SG.POS PERS Lamu
'Lamu's mother' (o0148)

(61) *ria* *na* ***qua*** *tite* ***ara***
3PL DET 1SG.POS forefather 1SG
'my forefathers' (a003MD_016)

(62) *na* *ragomo* *ta=**qu*** ***ara***
DET spirit AN.PRP=1SG 1SG
'my spirit/magic' (a003MD_021)

2.4.1.2.1 Direct possession

Direct possession is expressed by an enclitic on the possessed head noun of a noun phrase. The direct possessive enclitics, which also function as agreement markers, are given in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4: Direct possessive/agreement enclitics

	1EX	1IN	2	3
SG	*=qu*	-	*=mu*	*=na*
PL	*=mami*	*=da*	*=miu*	*=di*

[3] This pronoun or NP fills a possessor position within the NP and may be followed by a demonstrative, as in (59), i.e. it is not an appositive construction, in contrast with pre-head quantifiers and pronouns.

(63) *ria* *na* ***tama=di***
3PL DET **father=3PL.POS**
'their fathers' (a004MD_038)

(64) *na* ***lima=mu*** *ao*
DET **hand=2SG.POS** 2SG
'your hand'

(65) *na* ***pudapuda=di*** *na* *tinoni*
DET **bone=3PL.POS** DET person
'people's bones' (a014SP_032)

If a directly possessed body part noun is modified by a post-nominal attributive modifier, the possessive indexing may occur on the modifier. In (66), the directly possessed noun *lima* 'hand' is the NP head, but the possessive enclitic *=di* attaches to the modifier *matua* 'right'. The same is not true for kinship terms; in (67), the possessor must be indexed on the head noun *tu* 'offspring' rather than on the modifier *marene* 'male'.

(66) *Qari* *aru=ria* *na* *dia* *kolu* *pa* *kori* ***lima*** ***matua=di.***
3PL.R hold=3PL.OBJ DET 3PL.POS stick IN.PRP two **hand** **right=3PL.POS**
'They hold their sticks in their two right hands.' (e010SM4_053)

(67) *maka* ***tu=di*** ***marene***
one **offspring=3PL.POS** **male**
'one of their sons' (a038JW_007)

Although body part terms are usually marked for possession, the possessive enclitics are occasionally omitted; in (68), possession of the dead bones is expressed in a prepositional phrase. This, again, is not possible for kinship terms.

(68) *na* *raqoraqo* ***pa=na*** ***lima,*** *za=ke* *ta-bata.* *qe* *ta-teku.*
DET rib **IN.PRP=DET** **hand** 3SG.R=NEG PASS-see 3PL.R PASS-take
'the bones of the hand, they weren't (to be) seen, they had been taken.'
(a039JT_044)

In addition to kin terms and body parts, the direct possessive enclitics are productively used for possession of an object by an inanimate possessor, whether or not the possessum can be alienated (for which reason I prefer the term "direct" rather than "inalienable" possession). This may occur with nouns that are normally indirectly possessed (69), (70), and also with loanwords (71).

(69) *Kepore na* ***ruma=na.***
not.exist DET **house=3SG.POS**
'It hasn't got a house.' (o1035; referring to a flatbed utility truck with no cover over the back)

(70) *na* ***juke=na*** *na ruma*
DET **lamp=3SG.POS** DET house
'the lamp of the house' (en007_001; referring to a handheld kerosene lantern)

(71) *na* ***pila=na*** *na panakai*
DET **peeler=3SG.POS** DET potato
'the potato peeler' (o0032)

Locative nouns (expressing topological relations – see also §2.4.2.5.4) may also be possessed using the direct possession enclitics. The article preceding the noun is obligatory when a possessive enclitic is present (72), (74), but is otherwise optional (73), (75).

(72) *pa* ***leo=na*** ***na*** *mola*
IN.PRP **inside=3SG.POS** **DET** canoe
'inside the canoe' (a012LP_041)

(73) *pa* ***leo*** *mola*
IN.PRP **inside** canoe
'inside the canoe' (a048TN_023)

(74) *pa=na* ***are=na*** ***na*** *tevolo*
IN.PRP=DET **top=3SG.POS** **DET** table
'on top of the table' (e003LP_004 – Caused Positions)

(75) *pa(=na)* ***are*** *tevolo*
IN.PRP(=DET) **top** table
'on top of the table' (e003LP_014 – Caused Positions)

See §2.4.5 for details of the direct possession enclitics as agreement markers on post-nominal modifiers.

2.4.1.2.2 Indirect possession

Indirect possession encompasses both edible and exclusive possession, which are structurally very similar. The indirect possessive pronouns pre-modify the NP (immediately preceding the head noun) and can also occur as NP heads.

The edible possessive pronouns are formed by adding the direct possessive proforms to the edible classifier *ga/ge*. Most of the items that are edibly possessed can also be exclusively possessed (whether or not they are intended to be eaten). with

either a pre-nominal possessive pronoun (77) or a prepositional phrase (79) (see §2.4.1.2.3).

Table 2.5: Edible possessive pronons

	1EX	1IN	2	3
SG	*gequ*	-	*gemu*	*gana*
PL	*gemami*	*gada*	*gemiu*	*gedi*

(76) *na* ***gequ*** *viri* *ara*
DET **ED.1SG.POS** tobacco 1SG
'my tobacco' (edible) (o0122)

(77) *na* ***qua*** *viri* *ara*
DET **1SG.POS** tobacco 1SG
'my tobacco' (exclusive) (o0122)

(78) *na* ***gequ*** *ngiru*
DET **ED.1SG.POS** coconut
'my coconut' (edible) (o0122)

(79) *na* *ngiru* ***ta=qu***
DET coconut **AN.PRP=1SG.POS**
'my coconut' (prepositional) (o0122)

Cigarettes, betelnut and drinkable items can all be edibly possessed. I have also heard people referring to implements associated with eating and drinking with edible possession marking (e.g. *na gequ kapa* 'my cup'), but speakers tend to reject this as ungrammatical when questioned.

The edible classifier *ga* can also act as an NP head meaning 'consumption' or the act of eating (80).

(80) *Na* *tinoni* *mina* *ta-rabutu=ria* *na* *tini=na* *marina* *tuvaka*
DET person 3SG.FUT PASS-break=3PL DET body=3SG.POS 3PL.FUT cure

mule=ni *na* ***ga=na*** *na* *ragomo.*
again=APPL.SG DET **ED=3SG.POS** DET medicine
'(If) a person's body was broken, they would cure him again with the consumption of the (traditional) medicine.' (a003MD_019)

The exclusive pronoun paradigm is less regular than the edible paradigm, and is given below. The article *na* tends not to occur before *nana* and *nada*.[4]

4 This is probably due to a historical elision of the article *na* with a vowel-initial pronoun. The corresponding pronouns in Luqa are *ona* '3SG.POS', *oda* '1PL.IN.POS'.

Table 2.6: Exclusive possessive pronouns

	1EX	1IN	2	3
SG	*qua*	-	*mua*	*nana*
PL	*mami*	*nada*	*miu*	*dia*

(81) *na* ***qua*** *guguzu*
DET 1SG.POS village
'my village' (a031SM_004)

(82) *na* ***dia*** *ruma kuta sigu*
DET 3PL.POS house base birthhouse
'their birth house' (a004MD_003)

(83) ***nana*** *pie*
3SG.POS water
'her water' (o1058)

(84) ***nada*** *guguzu*
1PL.IN.POS village
'our village' (a002MD_020)

Possessive pronouns as heads may occur alone (85), but tend to require the article *na* (86), just as they do as NP-modifiers. Like other possessive constructions, they may be followed by a pronoun (87) or noun phrase (88) indexing the possessor.[5]

(85) *Gequ!*
ED.1SG.POS
'(That's) mine!' (o0231)

(86) *Na* ***mami.***
DET 1PL.EX.POS
'(It's) ours.' (a016SM_045)

(87) *Na* ***mami*** ***gami,*** *qa gua.*
DET 1PL.EX.POS 1PL.EX 1SG.R say
'(They're) ours, I said.' (o0647)

(88) *Na* ***mami*** ***gami-kori*** ***Mary.***
DET 1PL.EX.POS 1PL.EX-two Mary
'That's mine and Mary's.' (o0941)

[5] There is an issue here concerning whether possessive pronouns are heads or whether they modify an (elided) noun. Palmer and Brown (2007) propose that the possessive classifier is the head of the phrase, even where a lexical noun is present. However, Franjieh (2008) argues, for the languages of Vanuatu, that because the nature of the lexical noun determines the form of the possessive classifier (e.g. whether an edible or non-edible form is used), the lexical noun must be an elided head, and the possessive pronoun a modifier.

2.4.1.2.3 Prepositional possession

In prepositional possession the possessor is expressed in a prepositional phrase or proform with the preposition *ta*.[6] The use of the preposition *ta* is not restricted to possession but covers a range of thematic roles, including source, goal, location and benefactive. It licenses only human and animate NPs and it is animacy which distinguishes it from the other Kubokota preposition, *pa*, which fulfils a similar range of functions with inanimate NPs. *Pa* and *ta* are discussed in more detail in §2.6.1.

The prepositional proforms involving *ta* are given in Table 2.7. The singular forms are created by cliticising the direct possession enclitics to *ta* (89), (90); in the plural, the plural morpheme *=di* attaches to *ta* (91), (92). Either an independent pronoun (90), (91) or a full NP may follow the *ta* proform (92).

Table 2.7: Prepositional possessive proforms

	1EX	1IN	2	3
SG	*ta=qu*	-	*ta=mu*	*ta=na, tanaza (<ta=n(a)=aza)*
DL	*ta=di gami=kori*	*ta=di gita=kori*	*ta=di gamu=kori*	*ta=di ari=kori*
PL	*ta=di gami*	*ta=di gita*	*ta=di gamu*	*ta=di ria*

(89) *na baeke* ***ta=mu***
DET bag AN.PRP=2SG.POS
'your bag' (a012LP_075)

(90) *na butubutu* ***ta=qu*** ***ara***
DET tribe AN.PRP=1SG.POS 1SG
'my tribe' (a003MD_015)

(91) *ria na butubutu* ***ta=di*** ***ria*** ***pa*** ***Zabana***
3PL DET tribe AN.PRP=PL 3PL IN.PRP Zabana
'the tribe of those (people) of Zabana' (a003MD_002)

(92) *na ragomo* ***ta=di*** ***ria*** ***na*** ***qua*** ***tite*** ***ara***
DET spirit AN.PRP=PL 3PL DET 1SG.POS forefather 1SG
'the magic of my forefathers' (a003MD_016)

Where *ta* is followed by a singular noun phrase, it may form a phonological word with the article *na* (93). *Ta=na* also occurs as a 3SG pronominal form (94) in alternation with *tanaza* (95) (*=na* being the 3SG possessive enclitic and *aza* the 3SG independent pronoun).

[6] Very rarely, the preposition *pa* is also used to express possession, e.g. (68).

(93) *na bateu* ***ta=na*** *iliganigani*
DET breadfruit **AN.PRP=DET** giant
'the giant's breadfruit tree' (a038JW_057)

(94) *Tana dogor-i=a gita-kori, na blessing* ***ta=na.***
1PL.IN. FUT look-TR=3SG.OBJ 1PL.IN-two DET blessing **AN.PRP=3SG.POS**
'We two will see it, his blessing.' (o0881)

(95) *Zara za vei zana roiti* ***ta=n=aza.***
MED.PL 3SG.R be.like MED.SG work **AN.PRP=DET=3SG**
'That was what he did.' (lit. 'That was how his work was.') (a017SM_020)

The plural form *ta=di* need not necessarily be followed by a pronoun but can be followed by a full NP (96), often containing one or more proper nouns. In (97), Podo and Vaikera are possessors. In (98) and (99), however, the relationship is not possessive; *ta* in (98) expresses a source of a path of motion, and in (99) a comitative relationship. See §2.6.1 and §3.1 for further discussion of prepositional roles.

(96) *Na qua vari-va=na* ***ta=di*** ***ari-kori*** ***tina=mu*** ***betoko***
DET 1SG.POS RECIP-give=NMLZ AN.PRP=PL **PROX.PL-two** **mother=2SG.POS** **and**

na ***tama=mu***
DET **father=2SG.POS**
'This is my present for your mother and father.' (a010LP_012)

(97) *gami lao pa ruma* ***ta=di*** ***Podo*** ***i*** ***Vaikera.***
1PL.EX go IN.PRP house **AN.PRP=PL** **Podo** **PERS** **Vaikera**
'we went to the house of Podo and Vaikera.' (a044BN_053)

(98) *Beto, gami ta-loi* ***ta=di*** ***Mate,*** *gami mule zale gami-kori,*
then 1PL.EX PASS-leave **AN.PRP=PL** **Mate** 1PL.EX return come.up 1PL.EX-two
'After, we departed from Mate (and his family), (and) we two came back up,'
(a044BN_098)

(99) *Qu suvere* ***ta=di*** ***Elosi*** ***Danny*** *pa lolomo?*
2SG.R stay **AN.PRP=PL** **Elosi** **Danny** IN.PRP valley
'You were with Elosi and Danny in the valley?' (o0603)

2.4.2 NP heads

The head of a noun phrase can be a common or derived noun, a kinship term, a personal name, a placename or another local noun. Pronouns, demonstratives and quantifiers can also be NP heads; they are discussed in the relevant sections.

2.4.2.1 Common nouns

Common nouns may be preceded by either the common noun article *na* (100) or the indefinite-specific article *maka* (101).

(100) a. *na mola* 'the canoe'
b. *na panakai* 'the potato'
c. *na sie* 'the dog'

(101) a. *maka suvege* 'a tree'
b. *maka koburu* 'a child'
c. *maka butubutu* 'a tribe'

They can also be derived from verbs (102), with or without a nominalising or possessive enclitic (see §2.4.2.2):

(102) a. *na vari-va=na* 'the gift' (DET RECIP-give=NMLZ)
b. *na koko=na* 'his starting place/origin' (DET set.out=3SG.POS)
c. *na peka* 'the dance'

Common nouns in Kubokota can be preceded by quantifiers (103) and pronouns (104). The third person plural pronoun *ria* indicates plurality.[7]

(103) a. *kori marene* 'two men'
b. *ka=made bulo* 'four coconuts' (CARD=four coconut)
c. *kaki tinoni* 'some people'

(104) a. *ria (na) koburu* 'the children'
b. *ria (na) tina-qu* 'my mothers'
c. *ao (na) tinoni* 'you person'
d. *gami (na) koburu* 'we children'

2.4.2.2 Derived nouns

Common nouns can be derived from verbs with the nominalisation enclitic *=na* (105).

(105) a. *rerege* 'walk' *na rerege=na* 'a journey, a custom' (DET walk=NMLZ)
b. *vai* 'buy' *na mami vai=na* 'our purchase' (DET 1PL.EX.POS buy=NMLZ)

Verbs may also act as nouns (and nouns as verbs; see §2.2) without any derivational morphology. In other languages of the New Georgia area, including Hoava and Roviana, the infix *-in-* is used to derive nouns from verbs (Corston-Oliver 2002, Davis 2003). Roviana *toa* 'live', *t-in-oa* 'life' is an example (Corston-Oliver 2002:472). The *-in-* infix has been lost in Kubokota and *toa* 'live/life' can function either as a verb or as a common noun, as can many other roots (106).

[7] In this respect Kubokota differs from other languages in the region such as Hoava, in which *ria* is the plural definite article and occurs in complementary distribution with the singular article *na* (Davis 2003:55).

(106) a. *za toa* 'he lives' *na dia toa* 'their life'
b. *za okoro* 'it rains' *na okoro* 'the rain'
c. *za matagutu* 'he is afraid' *na dia matagutu* 'their fear'

Some verbs can occur as nouns both with and without the nominalisation enclitic:

(107) a. *vavakato* 'tell story' *na vavakato(=na)* 'the story'
b. *tekuteku* 'eat' (lit. 'take-take') *na tekuteku(=na)* 'the food'

Verbs that are nominalised with *=na* often describe an attribute of the entity referred to. They tend to occur in attributive non-verbal clauses.

(108) A: ***Lomozo=na.***
cold=NMLZ
'It (the tea) is cold.'

B: *Dai, na* ***mangini=na.***
NEG DET **hot=NMLZ**
'No, it's hot.' (o0360)

(109) *Na=ke* ***zovai=na.***
DET=NEG **be.long.time=NMLZ**
'It's not a long time.' (o0283)

(110) ***Pugele=na*** *zana.*
be.full=NMLZ MED.SG
'That's full.' (o0198)

The nominalisation enclitic *=na* (which is cognate with Hoava *-ana* and Roviana *-na*) is homophonous with the third person direct possessive enclitic *=na*. It is not always straightforward to distinguish between these two enclitics, particularly as the possessive enclitics also occur on derived nouns. (111) and (112) contain non-verbal clauses, but *=na* indexes the third person singular possessor rather than being a nominalisation enclitic. In (111) the possessor is *na tinoni* 'the people'; in (112), *na peka* 'dance' is the possessor. *Peka* in (112) and *monyo* 'massage' in (111) act as nouns with no derivational morphology; more frequently, however, they occur as verbs.

(111) *ko zara na ginoa=na vei azae na monyo* ***na***
so MED.PL DET reason=3SG.POS be.how thus DET massage **DET**

va-neqi=na na tinoni
CAUS-be.strong=3SG.POS DET person
'and that's how the massage makes people strong' (lit. 'is the strengthener of people') (a014SP_030)

(112) *za* *vavakato=ni* ***na*** ***ve-vei=na*** ***na*** ***peka.***
3SG.R tell.story=APPL.SG **DET** **REDUP-be.how=3SG.POS** **DET** **dance**
'he taught us how to dance.' (lit. 'he told us the how of dancing')
(a017SM_022)

Verbal morphology, such as the causative, passive and reciprocal prefixes, can be included in a nominalisation:

(113) *na* ***va-rodomo***
DET **CAUS-be.dark**
'darkness spell' (a leaf that makes people invisible to their enemies) (o0963)

(114) *na* ***va-buku***
DET **CAUS-drink**
'medicine' (a001BN_018)

(115) *na* ***ta-paqala***
DET **PASS-split**
'the crack' (o1059)

(116) *na* ***vari-vari-poraka=na*** .
DET **RECIP-RECIP-smash=NMLZ**
'the smashed thing' (fs001LP_059)

(117) *ba* *aza* ***na*** ***vari-va-gigal-ai*** *ta=n=aza,*
but 3SG **DET** **RECIP-CAUS-instruct-*AI*** AN.PRP=3SG.POS=3SG
'but that was his teaching,' (a017SM_086)

Nominalised verbs with reduplicated roots often describe the location where the action occurs (118)[8], or the instrument with which the action is performed (119).

(118)	a.	*le-leo=na*	'sports field'	(*leo* 'play')
	b.	*keza-keza=na*	'ladder'	(*keza* 'climb')
	c.	*kole-kole=na*	'bed'	(*kole* 'lie')
	d.	*la-lao=na*	'toilet'	(*lao* 'go')
	e.	*ji-jitiri=na*	'slide'	(*jitiri* 'slip')
	f.	*suve-suvere=na*	'balcony/living area'	(*suvere* 'stay')
	g.	*ma-maketi=na*	'market place'	(*maketi* 'market')

[8] This nominalisation process also applies to loan words such as *maketi* 'market', which, although it is a noun in the source language (English or Pijin), is analysed as a verb in the Kubokota nominalisation *ma-maketi=na* 'market place' (note that the underived form *maketi* also occurs both as a noun and a verb).

(119) a. *az-aza=na* 'cassava grater' (*aza* 'grate.cassava')
b. *lipa-lipa=na* 'bailer' (*lipa* 'bail')
c. *al-ale=na* 'floater (inflatable swimming ring)' (*ale* 'float')

A non-reduplicated nominalised verb may refer to an action rather than to a location. For instance, *suvere=na*, nominalised from the root *suvere* 'stay', means 'life', whereas *suve-suvere=na*, with reduplication, is a balcony or living area.

A noun stem can also be reduplicated and nominalised, again to refer to a location; *tovo-tovogo=na* 'the place where the waves break' is derived from the noun *tovogo* 'wave'. Nouns referring to tree species are reduplicated (without nominalisation morphology) to refer to plantations of the same tree species:

(120) a. *ngiru* 'coconut' *ngiru-ngiru* 'coconut plantation'
b. *nea* 'betelnut' *ne-nea* 'betelnut plantation'
c. *ngari* 'canarium nut' *ngari-ngari* 'canarium nut plantation'

A noun can also be derived from a verb plus an incorporated object, again with no derivational morphology.[9] The incorporated object is always the direct object argument of the verb.

(121) *na* ***pi-piu*** ***tubu***
DET **REDUP-wrap.around** **sore**
'bandage' (en003_035)

(122) *na* ***gazoro*** ***va-va-titi*** ***poko***
DET **rope** **CAUS-CAUS-hang** **cloth**
'clothes line' (*va-va-titi-poko* 'hang clothes') (en003_033)

(123) ***va-va-kole*** ***peleta***
CAUS-CAUS-lie **plate**
'place for putting plates' (a010LP_035)

(124) *Vari-va-pavu* ***na*** ***pogozo*** ***pie.***
RECIP-CAUS-be.tired **DET** **carry** **water**
'Carrying water is tiring.' (o1000)

A verb with an applicative object can also be nominalised; the nominalised form must include the applicative enclitic.

(125) *na* ***va-va-garata=ni*** ***poko***
DET **CAUS-CAUS-bite=APPL.SG** **cloth**
'clothes peg' (lit. 'cause to bite cloth with it') (en003_033)

[9] See §2.5.4.3 regarding the reduplication of *va-* 'CAUS'.

(126) *Na* ***taola*** ***tavu-tavuru=ni*** ***nene.***
DET **towel** **REDUP-wipe=APPL.SG** **leg**
'(That's) the towel for wiping feet.' (o0399)

(127) *na* ***teku-teku=ni*** ***paranga***
DET **REDUP-take=APPL.SG** **speak**
'telephone' (lit. 'taker of speech') (en003_025)

(128) *Ketakoi* *za* *lao* *okoto* ***na*** ***vavakato=ni*** ***i*** ***Tuta,***
there 3SG.R go end **DET** **tell.story=APPL.SG** **PERS** **Tuta**
'That's the end of the story about Tuta,' (a036LP_038)

2.4.2.3 Kinship terms

As discussed in §2.4.1.2.1, kinship terms (see also McDougall 2004:81ff.) must be directly possessed; they are distinct from other directly possessed nouns in that the possessive enclitic is obligatory, and can attach only to the head noun, not to a noun modifier.

A small number of kinship terms are indirectly possessed:

(129) a. *na qua tite* 'my grandparent'
b. *na dia koburu* 'their child'
c. *nana mabuzu* 'her grandchild'

In addition to kinship terms such as *tina* 'mother', *roa* 'in-law', Kubokota has a number of dyadic kinship terms for referring to groups of two or more kin members (Evans forthcoming). These usually incorporate the prefix *ta(ma)-*, the enclitic *=na* and a kinship term that identifies the relationship between the referents; for instance, *roa* 'in-law' becomes *tama-roa=na* to refer to a group of two or more people in an in-law relationship; *tina* 'mother' becomes *tama-tina* to refer to a mother and her child(ren); and *baere* 'friend' becomes *tama-baere=na* to refer to two or more people in a friendship relationship. Dyadic kinship terms never refer to less than two people, are usually preceded by a quantifier and may be followed by the name(s) of at least one of the people included. The dyadic kin terms include:

(130) a. *tamatina* 'mother and children (excluding father)' (*tina* = 'mother')
b. *tatamana* 'father and family' (*tama* = 'father')
c. *tamatazi* 'siblings'[10]
d. *tamaluluna* 'opposite sex siblings' (*lulu* = 'opposite sex sibling')
e. *tamaroana* 'in-laws' (*roa* = 'parent/child-in-law')
f. *tamabaerena* 'friends' (*baere* = 'friend')

(131) *qari* *zale* ***ari-kori*** ***tamatina,*** *Tina* *betoko* *i* *Pigaseda.*
3PL.R come.up **PROX.PL-two** **mother.and.children** Tina and PERS Pigaseda
'those two (mother and child) came up, Tina and Pigaseda' (a010LP_026)

(132) ***Kori*** ***tamaroana*** *qari* *keni* *dia* *pa* *Gijo* *ko* *qari* *koini* *mule.*
two **in.laws** 3PL.R go.away 3PL.POS IN.PRP Gizo so 3PL.R just return
'(Those) two in-laws (a man and his daughter-in-law) have been to Gizo and have just come back.' (o0171)

(133) *Ego,* *suve-suvere* *dia* *tu* ***ari*** ***ka=made*** ***tatamana,***
therefore REDUP-stay 3PL.POS FOC **PROX.PL** **CARD=four** **father.and.family**
'Now, once there lived a family of four,' (a038JW_001)

2.4.2.4 Personal names

Personal names, both indigenous and borrowed, are assigned to humans, pets, and to significant animal characters in stories. They are usually preceded by the personal article *i* (see also §2.4.4.3).

(134) a. *i Lamu* 'Lamu'
b. *i Timote* 'Timote'
c. *i Bagea* 'Shark'

Where the personal article *i* follows the preposition *ta*, they coalesce to become *ti*:

(135) *Na* *borogo* ***ti*** *Simon* *za* *garat-i=a* *na* *sie* *pa* *bongi.*
DET pig **AN.PRP.PERS** Simon 3SG.R bite-TR=3SG.OBJ DET dog IN.PRP night
'A dog bit Simon's pig last night.' (o1002)

(136) ***Ti*** ***zei*** *na* *mola* *zana?*
AN.PRP.PERS **who** DET canoe MED.SG
'Whose canoe is that?' (o0904)

(137) *Nyumu* ***ti*** *Mary.*
sit **AN.PRP.PERS** Mary
'Sit (next) to Mary.' (o0345)

The personal article is not used when addressing people, but proper nouns may be preceded by an appositive second person pronoun.

[10] *Tazi* reflects the form *tasi* 'younger sibling' found in other New Georgia languages, including Luqa; the Kubokota term for 'younger sibling' is *tai* (McDougall 2004:85).

(138) ***Ao*** ***Mary*** *zae* *pa* *nari.*
2SG **Mary** go.up IN.PRP DIST.SG
'You Mary move up there.' (o0756)

Where two or more personal names are conjoined they are often simply juxtaposed in a list, with no conjunctions between them; they are sometimes preceded by the demonstrative *ari*. The conjunctions *beto* or *betoko* may also occur. Only one name (often the last one) in a list of names usually has an article.

(139) ***ari*** ***Elo*** ***i*** ***Grace*** *tori* *keni* *tu* *pa* *imuma.*
PROX.PL **Elo** **PERS** **Grace** already go.away FOC IN.PRP garden
'Elo and Grace had gone to the garden.' (a044BN_114)

(140) *gami* *keqo* *gore* *pa* *ruma* ***ti*** ***Cherry*** ***Vero,***
1PL.EX turn.aside go.down IN.PRP house **AN.PRP.PERS** **Cherry** **Vero**
'we turned aside and went down to Cherry and Vero's house,' (a044BN_133)

(141) ***Mary*** *beto* ***ara,*** ***Keri*** *beto* ***i*** *Tabura*
Mary and **1SG** **Keri** and **PERS** Tabura
'Mary and I, Keri and Tabura' (a013BN_020)

(142) *ari* ***Tina*** *betoko* ***i*** ***Gaili***
PROX.PL **Tina** and **PERS** **Gaili**
'Tina and Gaili' (email001NS_010)

2.4.2.5 Local nouns and placenames

Local nouns are *'nouns used with reference to a specific location, a time, or an intrinsically located part of something'* (Ross 2003:224), often referring to familiar places and geographic areas. They are characterised by never taking articles or other modifiers (however, some local nouns can also be common nouns, and locative nouns may be marked for direct possession) and often occur in prepositional phrases with the preposition *pa*. They include placenames (143), nouns referring to physical locations (144), temporal nouns (145), and locative nouns (146).

(143) a. *(guguzu pa) Obobulu* 'Obobulu (village)'
b. *(kelekele pa) Seloro* 'Seloro (point)'
c. *(kubo pa) Kela* 'Kela (mountain)'

(144) a. *ivere* 'sea'
b. *zolozo* 'deep bush'
c. *nole* 'beach'
d. *ruma* 'house'

(145) a. *bongi* 'night'
b. *rane* 'day'
c. *ngenari* 'today'
d. *totozo* 'time'

(146) a. *moa* 'in front / in the past'
b. *ligu* 'behind / later'
c. *korapa* 'between / during'
d. *leo* 'inside'
e. *peguru* 'outside'
f. *keketai* 'side / beside'

2.4.2.5.1 Placenames

Placenames are preceded by the preposition *pa* in practically all grammatical roles where they function as the NP head. With placenames, therefore, *pa* functions like an article rather than a preposition, probably being extended from the locative construction in which placenames most commonly occur, to placenames in all grammatical functions. In (147), the placename is the subject of a non-verbal clause: aid workers come looking for the village of Obobulu, and are told that it is halfway along the island. (148) is a presentative structure in which we are approaching a village by boat; the speaker tells me that the name of the village is Lale.

(147) A: *Ae* ***pa*** ***Obobulu?***
Q **IN.PRP** **Obobulu**
'Where is Obobulu?'

B: ***Pa*** ***Obobulu*** *pa* *kora-korapa=na.*
IN.PRP **Obobulu** IN.PRP REDUP-middle=3SG.POS
'Obobulu's in the middle (of the island).' (o0633)

(148) *Lale.* ***Pa*** ***Lale*** *pani* *ke.*
Lale **IN.PRP** **Lale** here EXCL
'Lale. This is Lale here.' (o0770; on arrival in Lale village)

Direct object NPs do not normally require a preposition, but in (149) and (150) the placename argument is both indexed on the verb by a direct object enclitic, and preceded by *pa*.

(149) *Oqoro* *kamu=a* *ara* ***pa*** ***Pienuna.***
not.yet arrive=3SG.OBJ 1SG **IN.PRP** **Pienuna**
'I haven't been to Pienuna yet.' (en009_027)

(150) *I* *Donolo* *za* *oqoro* *bati=a* ***pa*** ***Suava.***
PERS Donald 3SG.R not.yet see.TR=3SG.OBJ IN.PRP Suava
'Donald hasn't seen Suava yet.' (en054_003)

If a placename acts as a noun modifier, as in (151) and (152), *pa* does not occur (nor are other noun modifiers preceded by an article).

(151) *Na* ***turu*** ***Gijo*** *mina* *lagere* *vei* *pa* *kolo.*
DET **wind** **Gizo** 3SG.FUT come.down be.like IN.PRP sea
'The Gizo wind will come down from the sea.' (o0598)

(152) *vei* *tonai* *lao* *dogoro* *gita* *na* ***tinoni*** ***Obobulu,*** *na* ***koburu***
if when go look 1PL.IN DET **person** **Obobulu** DET **child**

Obobulu, *na* ***reko*** ***Obobulu,*** *na* ***marene*** ***Obobulu*** *bi*
Obobulu DET **female** **Obobulu** DET **male** **Obobulu** 3SG.HYP

giro-giro=e
REDUP-tinea.imbricata=E
'so if we see that the Obobulu person, the Obobulu child, the Obobulu woman, the Obobulu man has the giro,' (a016SM_043)

2.4.2.5.2 Physical locations

Like placenames, nouns referring to physical locations are usually preceded by the preposition *pa* (although not in subject role) and are unmodified. As illustrated in (155), the addition of a further prepositional phrase identifying a possessor is possible (*pa ruma ti Lamu* 'to Lamu's house'), as is a modifier such as *lotu* 'worship', which identifies a particular type of house. *Ruma lotu* 'church' might be regarded as constituting a local noun in itself, there being only one such location in the village. Other modifiers, such as *korega* 'new', do not occur in the local noun construction but require an article (*na ruma korega* 'the new house').

(153) *gami* *mule* *zale* ***pa*** ***ruma,***
1PL.EX.R return come.up **IN.PRP** **house**
'we came back up to (our) house,' (a001BN_025)

(154) *Keni* ***pa*** ***inuma?***
go.away **IN.PRP** **garden**
'Are you going to (your) garden?' (o0064)

(155) *beto* *mule* *lame* *pa* ***ruma*** ***lotu*** *babi* *lame* ***pa*** ***ruma***
then return come IN.PRP **house** **worship** or come **IN.PRP** **house**

ti ***Lamu,***
AN.PRP.PERS **Lamu**
'and you will come back to the church or come to Lamu's house.' (a027DP_008)

The majority of local nouns can also function as common nouns (with articles, possessive pronouns and other modifiers). This is true for temporal and locative nouns as well as nouns referring to physical locations. Some local nouns are more likely to occur as common nouns than others. Local nouns such as *guguzu* 'village', *ruma* 'house' and *inuma* 'garden' occur quite frequently as common nouns. There are many villages, houses and gardens in the world; local nouns are only used where there is no doubt about the identity of the location referred to. A location identified by a local noun may either be generic (e.g. *ivere* 'sea', *tokutoku* 'forest', *nole* 'beach'), or, as illustrated above with *ruma* 'house' and *inuma* 'garden', specific to the person or persons referred to (usually in a possessive sense). In (153) and (154), there is an assumption that the house and garden belong to the persons concerned. In (156) and (157), the house and garden are identified more specifically (with possessive pronouns).

(156) *Korapa pa* ***nana*** ***ruma*** *tu!*
stay IN.PRP **3SG.POS** **house** FOC
'He's in his house!' (o0153)

(157) *Kolobai, pa ngenari, tana paja roiti pa* ***nada***
spider IN.PRP today 1PL.IN.FUT climb work IN.PRP **1PL.IN.POS**
inuma *gita-kori.*
garden 1PL.IN-two
'Spider, today let's climb (and) work in our garden, we two.' (a018LP_004)

2.4.2.5.3 Temporal nouns

Temporal nouns occur as local nouns (with the preposition *pa* and no modification) where a specific time is referred to. For instance, where *bongi* 'night' refers to a specific night, usually the night immediately preceding or following, it is a local noun, preceded by the preposition *pa*. In (158), *pa bongi* refers to last night and (159) to the coming night.

(158) *Qa puta-gita* ***pa*** ***bongi*** *ko qa=ke puta va-leana.*
1SG.R sleep-dream **IN.PRP** **night** so 1SG.R=NEG sleep CAUS-good
'I dreamed last night and I didn't sleep well.' (o0170)

(159) *Na mami puta* ***pa*** ***bongi*** *ani. ao muna*
DET 1PL.EX.POS sleep **IN.PRP** **night** PROX.SG 2SG 2. FUT
kopu=di=gami.
look.after=APPL.PL=1PL.EX.OBJ
'Our sleep this night, you will look after us.' (o0565 – prayer)

When *bongi* refers to 'nighttime', however, it requires an article; in (160), *na bongi* refers to the arrival of night, and in (161) to night in general.

(160) *Half past made za kamu na vaka ko* ***na bongi*** *gami*
half past four 3SG.R arrive DET ship so **DET** **night** 1PL.EX.R

mule kamu pa Obobulu.
return arrive IN.PRP Obobulu
'The boat came at half past four and it was night (when) we came back to Obobulu.' (a019BN_077)

(161) *ria na mami tite za, qe nyoro gu=ni ko bari*
3PL DET 1PL.EX.POS forefather TOP 3PL.R want say=APPL.SG so 3PL.HYP

suvere ria ***na bongi.***
stay 3PL **DET** **night**
'our forefathers wanted to stay (awake) at night.' (a016SM_016)

Temporal nouns are frequently verbalised in Kubokota. The subject of such verbs is usually *na kota* 'the place' (162). Borrowed English temporal nouns such as *belo* 'bell' (when the bell rings for church) (163), and hours (*made koloko* 'four o'clock') (164) can also be verbalised in this way.

(162) *Za* ***bongi=ni=ziu*** *na kota.*
3SG.R **night=APPL.SG=1SG.OBJ** DET place
'The place (became) night to me.' (o0213; i.e. I was caught after dark away from home)

(163) *Za* ***belo*** *na kota.*
3SG.R **bell** DET place
'It's bell time (in) the place.' (o0516)

(164) *ketakoi za* ***made koloko*** *na kota.*
there 3SG.R **four** **clock** DET place
'then (it was) four o'clock (in) the place.' (a012LP_025)

The same structure, with the subject *na kota* 'the place', is used with weather verbs (165). Certain temporal and weather verbs can take an applicative object, e.g. *bongi* 'night' (162), *okoro* 'rain' (166).

(165) *Za* ***bule*** *na kota.*
3SG.R **fine** DET place
'The place is fine.' (o0123)

(166) *Za* ***okoro=di=gita*** *na kota.*
3SG.R **rain=APPL.PL=1PL.IN.OBJ** DET place
'The place is raining on us.' (en031_003)

Locative nouns such as *moa* 'in front / in the past' and *ligu* 'behind / in the future' are also used to locate a discourse in time. Such examples suggest that the Kubokota expression of time involves a moving 'ego' progressing backwards through time, a common temporal metaphor in Austronesian languages; see §3.8.3 for further discussion.

(167) *Zara za vei na toa vari-elava* ***pa moa,***
MED.PL 3SG.R be.how DET life RECIP-marry **IN.PRP front**
'That was how married life was before,' (a008BL_030)

(168) ***Vuiki ligu-ligu*** *tu mina zae.*
week REDUP-behind FOC 3SG. FUT go.up
'The week after (next) she'll go up (to Honiara).' (o0572)

2.4.2.5.4 Locative nouns

Locative nouns are intrinsically located parts of the object to which they refer. They are often metaphorical extensions of body part terms (e.g. *batu* 'head/on top' (169)), but may also express topological relationships such as *korapa* 'middle', *nulu* 'above' (169), *are* 'on top' (170) and *leo* 'inside' (171). They usually occur in locative prepositional phrases with the preposition *pa*. They may optionally take articles (170), (172), and direct possession marking (172).

(169) *Za livut-i=a na patu beto za keza* ***pa batu***
3SG.R go.around-TR=3SG.OBJ DET stone then 3SG.R climb **IN.PRP head**

patu pa nulu.
stone IN.PRP above
'He went around a stone and he climbed up to the top of the stone above.'
(fs001LP_057)

(170) *turu dia tu* ***pa=na are patu.***
stand 3PL.POS FOC **IN.PRP=DET top stone**
'they stand on top of a stone.' (e016HM3_042)

(171) *qari va-iu=ria na dia koburu* ***pa leo ruma,***
3PL.R CAUS-wash=3PL.OBJ DET 3PL.POS child **IN.PRP inside house**
'they washed their babies in the house,' (a004MD_039)

(172) *Turu* ***pa=na leo=na na bara,***
stand **IN.PRP=DET inside=3SG.POS DET fence**
'It stands inside a fence.' (e016HM4_004)

2.4.3 Quantifiers

Quantifiers, including numerals, precede the noun phrase (cf. §2.4.1.1 on independent pronouns). The article *na* occurs between the quantifier and the lexical head, but is often omitted. Both of these structures can be seen in (173).

(173) *Gami luge lao, za vai=ria* ***kori na buku lomozo,*** *beto*
1PL.EX.R enter go 3SG.R buy=3PL.OBJ **two** DET **drink** **cold** and

kori peleta gani-gani.
two plate REDUP-eat
'We went in, she bought two cold drinks, and two plates of food.'
(a019BN_023)

Quantifiers may also be pronominal (174), (175).

(174) ***Kori*** *za pogoz-i=a i Mary,* ***ka=made*** *qa pogozo=ria ara.*
two 3SG.R carry-TR=3SG.OBJ PERS Mary **CARD=four** 1SG.R carry=3PL.OBJ 1SG
'Two Mary carried, four I carried.' (a006BN_027-28)

(175) *ko* ***kaki*** *qe roiti=di*
so **some** 3PL.R do=APPL.PL
'and some (still) make them' (a007BL_027-28)

In (176), the quantifier *ka=made* 'CARD=four' is preceded by an appositive independent pronoun *gami* '1PL.EX'.

(176) *Jola=ni* ***gami*** ***ka=made*** *na kelekele pa Totoa.*
pass=APPL.SG **1PL.EX** **CARD=four** DET point IN.PRP Totoa
'We four went past the point of Totoa.' (a013BN_026)

2.4.3.1 Numerals

Like other New Georgia languages, Kubokota has a decimal counting system, as set out below. The decimals above ten are followed by *puta* 'sleep', which is also used to describe something fixed or total; *puta* tends to be omitted when counting. The suffix *-ngavulu* is added to the numbers 4 to 9 to form decades over 30. The terms *tina* and *vuro* are used more or less interchangeably for 1000; *tina* is probably a Roviana borrowing (McDougall p.c.).

(177)

maka	1	*manoga lima*	15
(k)ori	2	*rabete puta*	20
(k)ue	3	*rabete maka*	21
made	4	*rabete kori*	22
lima	5	*ue-ngavulu puta*	30
vonomo	6	*ue-ngavulu maka*	31
vitu	7	*made-ngavulu puta*	40
vesu	8	*lima-ngavulu puta*	50
sia	9	*vonomo-ngavulu puta*	60
manoga	10	*maka gogoto puta*	100
manoga maka	11	*tina*	1000
manogori	12	*vuro*	1000
manogue	13	*maka tina sia gogoto ue-ngavulu vesu*	1938
manoga made	14	*kori vuro vonomo*	2006

In compound numerals the initial consonant of *kori* 'two' and *kue* 'three' is deleted. The same occurs in the ordinal numerals *vin(a)-ori* 'ORD-two' and *vina-ue* 'ORD-three', the cardinal form *ka=ue* 'CARD=three', and in verb compounds involving these numerals, e.g. *lomoto-ori* 'cut-two' (i.e. 'cut (something) in two'.)

When modifying noun phrases, the cardinal proclitic *ka=* is used with numbers 4 to 9 (and compound numerals beginning with numbers 4 to 9). It also occurs with 2, 3 and 10, but this is regarded as ungrammatical by some speakers, and is subject to much variation.

(178)

a.	*(ka=)kori vudi*	'two bananas'
b.	*(ka=)kue loli*	'three lollies' (or *ka-ue*)
c.	*ka=made nene=na*	'four legs'
d.	*(ka=)manoga (puta) suvege*	'ten trees'

In (179) and (180), the first numeral has *ka=* and the second does not; this suggests that *ka=* is a proclitic with scope over the whole NP, although further data is needed to confirm this.

(179) *Gita* ***ka=made-ngavulu*** *babi* ***ue-ngavulu*** *tana* *loka.*
1PL.IN **CARD=four-decade** or **three-decade** 1PL.IN.FUT be.ready
'We forty or thirty we'll be ready.' (a023SM_038)

(180) *Ego* *ria* *doru* *ari* ***ka=ue-ngavulu*** *ba* ***made-ngavulu***
therefore 3PL all PROX.PL **CARD=three-decade** or **four-decade**

qe *loka* *gu.*
3PL.R ready LIM
'So all the thirty or forty of them waited.' (a023SM_042)

The cardinal proclitic *ka=* is used in the interrogative *ka=viza* 'how many' (181), (182); *ka=viza* also means 'few' (183).

(181) ***Ka=viza*** *za* *vavakato=ni?* ***Ka=kue?***
CARD=how.many 3SG.R tell.story=APPL.SG **CARD=three**
'How many (stories) did he tell? Three?' (o0445)

(182) ***Ka=viza*** *ngavulu?*
CARD=how.many decade
'How many tens?' (o0553)

(183) *qa* *rave=ria* ***ka=viza*** *igana,*
1SG.R catch.fish=3PL.OBJ **CARD=few** fish
'I catch a few fish,' (a047M_018)

Viza also occurs with the preposition *pa* to form an interrogative 'when' (184).

(184) ***Pa*** ***viza*** *tu* *mari* *keni* *ria?*
IN.PRP **when** FOC 3PL.IRR go.away 3PL
'When are they going?' (o0454)

The ordinal prefix, *vina-*, is derived diachronically from the causative prefix *va-* and the nominalising infix *-in-* (*-in-* is no longer productive in Kubokota but is fossilised in *vina-*; see §2.4.2.2). *Vina-* occurs with all numerals except *maka* 'one'; the verb *(mo)moe* 'go before' (itself derived from the local noun *moa* 'front') acts as a noun modifier meaning 'first'.

(185) a. *na koburu moe=na* 'the first child'
b. *vin(a)-ori pie* 'second river'
c. *vina-ue totozo* 'third time'
d. *vina-made rane=na* 'her fourth day (of mourning)'
e. *vina-maka gogoto rane=na* 'her hundredth day (of mourning)'

Vina- is also used productively as a nominalising element:

(186) a. *na vina-podo* 'inheritance down the male line' (*podo* 'be born')
b. *na vina-turu* 'laws' (*turu* 'stand')
c. *na vina-kabere* 'clarification' (*kabere* 'clear')
d. *na vina-ego* 'agreement' (*ego* 'therefore')
e. *na vina-tara-zae* 'worship' (*tarae* 'preach', *zae* 'go up')
f. *na vina-gilagila* 'sign' (*gila* 'navigation mark', *gilagila* 'know')
g. *na vina-beto=na* 'last one' (*beto* 'finish')

2.4.3.2 General quantifiers

General quantifiers are terms such as *doru* 'all', *kaki* 'some', *kubo* 'a lot', *ia peki* 'a little bit', *zoku* 'many'. All general quantifiers can precede a noun phrase in the same

position as numerals (e.g. *doru* in (187), (188), *ia peki* in (189)), and can also occur as NP heads themselves (*kaki* in (187)).

(187) *Votu* ***doru*** ***tinoni!*** ***Kaki*** *qari* *aqono* *nagaza,* ***kaki*** *qe* *rabu-rabu,*
exit **all** **people** **some** 3PL.R carry sand **some** 3PL.R REDUP-weed

kaki *qe* *geli* *livut-i=a* *na* *ruma...*
some 3PL.R dig go.around-TR=3SG.OBJ DET house
'All the people are out! Some carry sand, some are weeding, some dig around the house...' (o0736)

(188) ***Doru*** ***na*** ***mati*** *qari* *pate* *ria* *pa* *WWF* *ari,* *qari* *ale*
all **DET** **reef** 3PL.R close 3PL IN.PRP WWF PROX.PL 3PL.R float

votu.
exit
'All the reefs that WWF closed, they're floating out.' (o0765)

(189) *Zara* *gu* *za* *vei* ***na*** ***ia peki*** ***vavakato*** *mana* *vavakato*
MED.PL LIM 3SG.R be.thus **DET** **little.bit** **story** 1SG.FUT tell.story

vani=go.
BEN.APPL.SG=2SG.OBJ
'That's the little story I wanted to tell you.' (a008BL_037)

The phrase *ia peki* 'a little bit' occurs more commonly as an adverb than a nominal quantifier:

(190) ***Ia peki*** *muna* *iolo.*
little.bit 2.FUT take.flight
'In a bit you will take off (in an aeroplane).' (o1040)

(191) *minere* ***ia peki,***
rest **little.bit**
'(we) rested a bit,' (a001BN_006)

The person and number of the head noun may be marked on a quantifier with the agreement enclitics. Quantifers marked for number may occur both before the NP (192) and as post-nominal modifiers (193):

(192) *Ego,* ***doru=na*** ***na*** ***mati*** *pa* *kolo* *zara,* *ara* *qa*
therefore **all=3SG.POS** **DET** **reef** IN.PRP deep.sea MED.PL 1SG 1SG.R

gila-gila *beto* *pale=ni,*
REDUP-know finish SOURCE=APPL.SG
'Now, all the reef on the sea there, I know all of it,' (a046M_006)

(193) *Na mane,* ***na gigala=di doru=di ari*** *ba kole dia*
DET basket **DET sign=3PL.POS all=3PL.POS PROX.PL** but exist 3PL.POS

ok-okoto maka mane gami va-izongo=di gami.
REDUP-each one basket 1PL.EX.R CAUS-name=APPL.PL 1PL.EX
'*Mane* is the name for all of them (i.e. all baskets), but each basket we give a different name.' (a043BN_002)

Some quantifiers can also be verbalised (194):

(194) *Za* ***kubo*** *na seru.*
3SG.R **many** DET star
'There are lots of stars.' (o0218)

2.4.4 Articles

There are three noun articles in Kubokota: the common noun article *na*, the indefinite article *maka* (which is also the numeral 'one'), and the personal article *i*, which only occurs with proper names of persons. As discussed in §2.4.2.5.1, the preposition *pa* is becoming grammaticalised as an article for placenames. There is no plural article; plural NPs are indicated as such with the plural pronoun *ria*, which co-occurs with the general article *na* and is located in the quantifier slot of the NP (see §2.4.1.1). The distribution of the articles *na*, *i* and *pa* with particular categories of nouns suggests that a classifier system may be developing in Kubokota.

2.4.4.1 The common noun article *na*

The article *na* is used with common nouns and nominalisations. Nouns marked with *na* need not be either specific or definite, although they may be both. In (195), *roqo* 'mosquito' is generic; *toana* 'the live one' in (196) is indefinite and specific; in (197), *na koburu* 'the child' is definite and specific; in (198), *na borogo ti Simon* 'Simon's pig' is definite and specific, but *na sie* 'a dog' is indefinite and non-specific.

(195) *Za garata gojo=ziu* ***na roqo.***
3SG.R bite always=1SG.OBJ **DET mosquito**
'Mosquitos are always biting me.' (o0814)

(196) *Ani* ***na toa=na.***
PROX.SG **DET live=3SG.POS**
'This is a live one.' (o0824)

(197) *Na izongo=na* ***na koburu*** *aza i Tony.*
DET name=3SG.POS **DET child** 3SG PERS Tony
'That child's name is Tony.' (a012LP_058)

(198) ***Na*** ***borogo*** ***ti*** ***Simon*** *za* *garat-i=a* ***na*** ***sie*** *pa*
DET **pig** **AN.PRP.PERS** **Simon** 3SG.R bite-TR=3SG.OBJ **DET** **dog** IN.PRP

bongi.
night
'A dog bit Simon's pig last night.' (o1002)

This means that *na* can occur in virtually all common noun NPs, except for those in which the indefinite article *maka* occurs, or where it is omitted in the presence of a quantifier (see (173)). *Na* may be being reanalysed as a common noun classifier, in contrast with personal nouns, marked with the article *i*, and placenames, with *pa* (Stuart McGill p.c.).

In negated non-verbal clauses, the negative clitic *=ke*, which usually attaches to the subject marker, attaches to the article *na* (199) (see §2.5.8).

(199) ***Na=ke*** *voze.*
DET=NEG paddle
'It's not a paddle.' (o0181)

2.4.4.2 The indefinite-specific article *maka*

The article *maka* 'one' precedes nouns referring to indefinite-specific referents:

(200) *Muleduri* ***maka*** ***qoqoele*** *za* *roiti=ni* *na* *va-buku.*
Muleduri **one** **old.woman** 3SG.R make=APPL.SG DET CAUS-drink
'Muleduri is an old woman who makes (traditional) medicine,' (a001BN_016)

(201) *Suve-suvere* *dia* *tu* *pa* ***maka*** ***guguzu*** *Kilikili* *betoko* *i*
REDUP-stay 3PL.POS FOC IN.PRP **one** **village** lizard and PERS

Kolobai.
spider
'In a village lived Lizard and Spider.' (a018LP_001)

(202) *Ara* ***maka*** ***koburu*** *na* *tio* *sikulu* *ba* *kamu=a* ***maka*** ***totozo***
1SG **one** **child** DET person school but arrive=3SG.OBJ **one** **time**

qa *nyoro* *gua* *tuti* *pa* *vaka.*
1SG.R want say follow IN.PRP ship
'I was a boy for school (i.e. a boy who liked school) but there came a (certain) time I wanted to follow in the ship,' (a017SM_046)

Maka is also used to contrast one identifiable entity with another which is in some way related to it; this is similar to the function of 'other/another' in English. Note that, like the plural pronoun *ria* and other quantifiers, *maka* in (204) co-occurs with the common noun article *na*, and is a quantifier rather than an article.

(203) *Lao teku=a, keta mi iqolo soga=i* ***maka!***
go take=3SG.OBJ lest 3SG.IRR wake again=3SG.OBJ **one**
'Go and get (the crying child) so she doesn't wake up the other one!' (o0934)

(204) *karov-i=a mule* ***maka na pie***
go.across-TR=3SG.OBJ again **one** DET **river**
'(we) crossed another river' (a029MP_015)

Maka coalesces with the local noun *kale* 'side' to mean 'one side' (205). *Makale* or *makalena* is frequently used to mean 'the other side' (206), and in particular the other side of the island. In (207), a speaker from the east coast is travelling in a boat down the west coast after the earthquake; she refers to the west of the island as *makalena*, even though that is where she is currently located.

(205) ***Makale lima=na*** *za garata teku pale=ni eoro.*
one.side hand=3SG.POS 3SG.R bite take source=APPL.SG crocodile
'One hand the crocodile bit off.' (o0943)

(206) *Ko qe lao ari-kori pa* ***makale=na na kobukobu,***
so 3PL.R go PROX.PL-two IN.PRP **one.side=3SG.POS** DET **log**
'And the two went to the other side of the log,' (fs001LP_083)

(207) *Logging ba kepore, ba* ***makale=na pani*** *ke! Za*
logging but not.exist but **one.side=3SG.POS here** EXCL 3SG.R
vari-va-gabara!
RECIP-CAUS-surprise
'There's no logging but this other side! It's surprising!' (o0775)

2.4.4.3 The personal article *i*

The personal article has already been discussed to some extent in §2.4.2.4. It occurs with personal names, and also with animals who are prominent characters in stories.

(208) *Paranga* ***i Sie,*** *'Aria gita-kori.'*
speak **PERS dog** let's.go 1PL.IN-two
'Dog said, "Let's both go."' (fs001LP_007)

The personal article is also required with the personal interrogative *zei* 'who', unless more than one person is referred to, in which case the plural demonstrative *ari* is used.

(209) ***I zei*** *za kuku pa nari?*
PERS who 3SG.R call IN.PRP DIST.SG
'Who's that calling over there?' (o0067)

(210) ***I*** ***zei*** *qu* *kuti* *vani* *leta?*
PERS **who** 2SG.R write BEN.APPL.SG letter
'Who are you writing a letter to?' (en020_005)

(211) ***Ari*** ***zei*** *qe* *kuti=a* *na* *leta?*
PROX.PL **who** 3PL.R write=3SG.OBJ DET letter
'Who (pl.) wrote the letter?' (en030_011)

Zei can also co-occur with other pronominal elements, such as the possessive pronouns:

(212) *Nana* ***zei?***
3SG.POS **who**
'Whose is that?' (o0121)

The personal article is often omitted, particularly with clause-initial proper nouns (which are usually subjects) in both verbal (213) and non-verbal clauses (214). This occurs more in elicitation than in naturally occurring speech, and more on subjects than on objects.

(213) ***Tina*** *za* *pogozo* *gore=ni.*
Tina 3SG.R carry go.down=APPL.SG
'Tina carried it down.' (o0180)

(214) ***(I)*** ***Rosie*** *na* *roa=qu* *ara.*
PERS **Rosie** DET in.law=1SG.POS 1SG
'Rosie is my daughter-in-law.' (en004_004)

I is obligatory with personal names acting as possessors, in both direct (215), indirect (216) and prepositional possession (217).

(215) *ko* *mina* *vani* *i* *Gaili* [*na* *tuga=na* ***i***
so 3SG.FUT give.APPL.SG PERS Gaili DET older.sibling=3SG.POS **PERS**
Nathan.]
Nathan
'and he will give them to Gaili, Nathan's older brother,' (a012LP_052)

(216) *Nana* *baere* ***i*** ***Betsy*** *zana.*
3SG.POS friend **PERS** **Betsy** MED.SG
'That's Betsy's friend.' (o0112)

(217) *gami* *keqo* *gore* *pa* *ruma* ***ti*** ***Cherry*** *Vero,*
1PL.EX turn.aside go.down IN.PRP house **AN.PRP.PERS** **Cherry** **Vero**
'we turned aside and went down to Cherry and Vero's house,' (a044BN_133)

I is also obligatory where the personal name is the NP predicate in a non-verbal clause. This means that in (219), *i* is obligatory in both noun phrases: Vojapiqe is the possessor and John Gamutu is the NP predicate.

(218) *Na tina=qu ara **i** **Doris.***
DET mother=1SG.POS 1SG **PERS** **Doris**
'My mother is Doris.' (en004_010)

(219) *Na marene=na [**i** **Vojapiqe**] [**i** **John** **Gamutu.**]*
DET husband=3SG.POS **PERS** **Vojapiqe** **PERS** **John** **Gamutu**
'Vojapiqe's husband is John Gamutu.' (en004_018)

2.4.5 Post-nominal modifiers

There is no category of adjectives in Kubokota; all post-nominal modifiers are either verbs or nouns.

Verbs can post-modify nouns both as bare stems (220) and with pre-verbal prefixes such as *vari-* 'RECIP' and *va-* 'CAUS' (221):

(220) a. *marene **leleo*** 'sportsman' (lit. 'man play')
b. *tio **papaka*** 'short person'
c. *vuiki **lame*** 'next week' (lit. 'week come')
d. *buka **jemere*** 'red book'
e. *mola **ep-epe*** 'sailing canoe' (lit. 'canoe REDUP-sail')
f. *vaka **tatava*** 'aeroplane' (lit. 'ship fly')

(221) a. *tio **vari-va-sikulu***
person **RECIP-CAUS-learn**
'teacher' (en023_001)

b. *tina=qu **va-karovo***
mother=1SG.POS **CAUS-cross**
'my aunt' (en048_014)

c. *na roiti **va-tu-tuturu=na** i Jonathan*
DET work **CAUS-REDUP-naughty=3SG.POS** PERS Jonathan
'Jonathan's naughtiness' (en007_013)

Post-nominal modifiers derived from nouns are exemplified in (222).

(222) a. *tio vaka* 'European' (lit. 'person ship')
b. *ruma kau* 'cooking house' (lit. 'house ash')
c. *koburu marene* 'male child'
d. *tekuteku volavolaza* 'morning food'

The person and number of the head noun may be indexed on noun modifiers derived from verbs with the agreement enclitics, as in (223). There is no evidence in my database of similar agreement marking on noun modifiers derived from noun roots (see §2.4.6 on possession of nominalised clauses, however).

(223) a. *nana* *peleta* ***gani-gani=na***
3SG.POS plate **REDUP-eat=3SG.POS**
'his eating plate' (a010LP_035)

b. *lebu* ***matua=na***
mango **be.ripe=3SG.POS**
'ripe mango' (en039_012)

c. *na* *kolobai* ***uke=na***
DET spider **die=3SG.POS**
'the dead spider' (o0162)

d. *na* *zona* ***gore=na***
DET road **go.down=3SG.POS**
'the downward road' (a012LP_082)

With at least some attributive modifiers, possessive agreement is optional, as shown with the verbs *lavata* and *peki* in (224) and (225). In other cases, it seems to be obligatory, and in still others, not permissible: for instance, **zona gore* 'downward road' is ungrammatical without the possessive marker (cf. *zona gore=na* in (223)), whereas **vuiki lame=na* 'coming week' is ungrammatical with it (cf. *vuiki lame* in (220)). The basis for these different categories remains to be determined.

(224) a. *borogo* ***lavata(=na)*** 'big pig'
b. *borogo* ***lavata(=di)*** 'big pigs' (o0164)

(225) a. *kubo bagea* ***peki-peki(=di)*** 'lots of small sharks'
b. *borogo* ***peki(=di)*** 'small pigs' (o0164)

A noun may also be modified by a verb phrase (i.e. a verb plus its object(s)) (226).

(226) *na* *reko* ***roiti*** ***bita***
DET female **do** **string.bag**
'woman (who) makes string bags' (en008_001)

If more than one post-modifier is present, agreement is usually on the final modifier in the noun phrase (hence my analysis of agreement markers as enclitics rather than suffixes; see §2.4.1.2); note that in (228), possession of the kinship term *tai* 'younger sibling' is marked on the head noun, while agreement with the person

and number of the head noun itself is on the final modifier. Agreement also falls on the final verbal modifier if a noun is modified by serialised verbs, as with *gore vei* 'go down towards' in (229); see also (233).[11]

(227) *Kole dia* ***kaki suvege lava-lavata peki-peki=di.***
exist 3PL.POS **some tree REDUP-big REDUP-small=3PL.POS**
'There are some big and some small trees.' (e003LP_008 – Caused Positions)

(228) *ari-kue* ***tai=qu marene va-karovo kakaza=di***
PROX.PL-three **younger.sibling=1SG.POS male CAUS-cross tall=3PL.POS**
'those three tall younger male cousins of mine' (en025_006)

(229) *Qa bati=a* ***na zona gore vei=na*** *pa Pienuna.*
1SG.R see.TR=3SG.OBJ **DET road go.down be.like=3SG.POS** IN.PRP Pienuna
'I saw the road going down to Pienuna.' (en039_014)

2.4.6 Nominalisation and possession

Whole clauses can be nominalised. The subject of a nominalised clause may be expressed by a possessive enclitic on the nominalised verb or verb complex, or by any of the possessive pronouns.[12] In (230) the act of washing is directly possessed; in (231) a general possessive pronoun is used; and in (232), prepositional possession and a proper noun possessor.

(230) *Za bata lea=ziu* ***na iu=mu.***
3SG.R see good=1SG.OBJ **DET wash=2SG.POS**
'Your washing looks good to me.' (o0571; mother to child who has washed himself)

(231) *Za gore=ria na masuru ria na tinoni ari pa*
3SG.R go.down=3PL.OBJ DET time.of.plenty 3PL DET people PROX.PL IN.PRP

korapa=na ***na dia votu tamaza.***
middle=3SG.POS **DET 3PL.POS exit spirit**
'A time of plenty went down to those people when they brought out the spirits.' (lit. 'through their bringing out the spirits') (a002MD_023)

(232) *na turu mule* ***ti Karaisto***
DET stand again AN.PRP.PERS Christ
'the resurrection of Christ' (o0863)

Each of examples (230) to (232) contains a nominalised verb or verb phrase as an argument of a verbal predicate. A predicate can also be nominalised and possessed; in

[11] I.e. agreement is marked on the same verbal element as would take the object enclitics in a verbal predicate.
[12] See Heine (1997) and Palmer (2003b) on the grammaticisation of possessors as agents.

(233) the non-verbal predicate is a nominalised serial verb construction *lotu gore* 'fall down', directly possessed by the subject *ruma* 'house'.

(233) *Na ruma ani* ***na lotu gore=na.***
DET house PROX.SG **DET fall go.down=3SG.POS**
'This building has fallen down.' (lit. 'this building is a fall down one') (o0543)

As the predicate of a non-verbal clause, a nominalised verb can be marked as co-referential even with a first or second person subject/possessor. In (234), the head noun is co-referential with the addressee subject, and in (235) with the speaker subject, this identity being indicated by the possessive enclitic on the modifier.

(234) *Koburu* ***lea=mu.***
child **good=2SG.POS**
'(You're a) good child.' (o0225)

(235) *Ara maka tio* ***kamu=qu.***
1SG one person **arrive=1SG.POS**
'I'm a person who has come to settle (on Ranongga).' (lit. 'I am an arrived person') (en032_009)

It is also possible to omit any possessive marking in a nominalised clause. The possessive enclitic is omitted in (236) and (237); in (236) it is optional, but in (237) the agent is unspecified.

(236) *Tio* ***pogozo(=mu)*** *ao, qari gua.*
person **carry(=2SG.POS)** 2SG 3PL.R say
'You're a carrying person (i.e. a person who is good at carrying), they say.' (o0159; en039_009)

(237) *Na=ke kole keni maketi.*
DET=NEG CONT go.away market
'(The purpose of the trip is) not for going to market.' (o0738)

2.4.7 Relative clauses

Relative clauses follow the head noun and are similar in structure to main clauses. There is no complementiser, and relativisation is by a gapping strategy: the relative clause follows immediately after the relativised noun and there are no resumptive pronouns, although the head noun may be referenced by a subject marker or object enclitic on the verb (as on main verbs).

In (238) and (239) the subject is relativised. Note that (239) contains two relative clauses, one of which, *na izongona i Mary*, is a non-verbal clause. Relative clauses

can be juxtaposed in this way, but the current database provides no evidence of embedded relative clauses.

(238) A: *I* *zei* *Ade?*
PERS who Ade
'Who is Ade?'

B: *Koburu* **[*za* *lame-lame* *vai* *rolo.*]**
child **3SG.R** **REDUP-come** **buy** **tobacco**
'(Ade is the) child who is always coming to buy tobacco.' (o0388)

(239) *Za* *paranga* *maka* *reko* *tio* *vaka* **[*na* *izongo=na* *i***
3SG.R speak one female person ship **DET** **uame=3SG.POS** **PERS**

***Mary*]** **[*za* *kamu* *suvere* *ta=di* *gami-kori* *Betsy.*]**
Mary **3SG.R** **arrive** **stay** **AN.PRP=PL** **1PL.EX-two** **Betsy**
'A white woman whose name is Mary who came to stay with me and Betsy spoke.' (a010LP_007)

In (240) the direct object is relativised, and in (241) the applicative object. (242) contains a relativised possessor.

(240) *qe* *bati=gami* **[*gami* *voze* *livutu* *pa* *kelekele* *nari,*]**
3PL.R see.TR=1PL.EX.OBJ **1PL.EX.R** **paddle** **go.around** **IN.PRP** **point** **DIST.SG**
'they saw us paddling around the point there,' (a042BN_024)

(241) *na* *dia* *besini* **[*qari* *iu=ni*** ***na*** ***koburu*]** *na* *tivo.*
DET 3PL.POS basin **3PL.R** **wash=APPL.SG** **DET** **child** DET betelnut.skin

tivo=na *na* *ea.*
betelnut.skin=3SG.POS DET betelnut
'their basin in which they washed the child was the betelnut skin, the skin of the betelnut' (a004MD_015)

(242) *Na* *vai=na* *na* *material* **[*qari* *zae* *vai* *lagere=ni*]**
DET buy=NMLZ DET material **3PL.R** **go.up** **buy** **come.down=APPL.SG**

ari-kue *Simon,*
PROX.PL-three Simon
'The price of the material that they went up to buy and bring down, the three of them including Simon,' (o0978)

Most relative clauses are in the realis mood. (243) is in the future irrealis.[13] and (244) is a possible hypothetical example (but see §2.5.8 for more on the defective verb *kepore* 'not exist').

[13] (243) appears structurally similar to the clause chains described in §4.5 and §5.3.1.3; it is not clear what would be a suitable diagnostic for distinguishing relative clauses from clause chains.

(243) *Tinoni* ***[mina*** ***gona=i*** ***London]*** *mine=ke* *gani=a.*
person **3SG.FUT** **shoot=3SG.OBJ** **London** 3SG.FUT=NEG eat=3SG.OBJ
'Anyone who shoots (stones at) London (the pig) won't eat him.' (o0791)

(244) *Kepore* *maka* *tinoni* ***[bi*** ***lame*** ***pani.]***
not.exist one person **3SG.HYP** **come** **here**
'No-one came here.' (o0804)

2.4.8 Demonstratives

As is typical in Austronesian languages, Kubokota demonstratives distinguish singular and plural number, and a three-way deictic spatial distinction: proximal (near speaker), medial (usually near addressee) and distal (away from speaker and addressee). They are presented in the following table:

Table 2.8: Demonstratives

	PROX	MED	DIST
SG	*ani*	*zana*	*nari*
PL	*ari*	*zara*	*rari*

The demonstratives can occur either as demonstrative pronouns or as modifiers. Examples (245) to (247) contain demonstrative pronouns. The entities indicated by the demonstratives are in various spatial configurations with regard to the speaker and addressee, and the choice of proximal, medial or distal is relative (rather than, for instance, medial being 'near addressee' and distal being 'away from both speaker and addressee').

In (245), the speaker meets someone walking along the road, and the proximal demonstrative *ani* refers to the person that the speaker is walking with; in (246), the speaker has her child (the addressee) on her lap and the medial demonstrative *zana* refers to me, sitting nearby.

(245) *Keni* *loi=a* ***ani.***
go.away leave=3SG.OBJ **PROX.SG**
'(We're) going (to Obobulu) to leave this one (i.e. to take this person home). (o0124)'

(246) ***Zana*** *i* *Mary* *ke!*
MED.SG PERS Mary EXCL
'That's Mary!' (o0061)

(247) contains two demonstratives, both of which identify the location of the soap. The speaker is sitting inside the house and the soap is by the door. The distal

demonstrative *nari* is used while the addressee is standing just outside the door, close to the soap; the proximal demonstrative *ani* is used as the addressee runs away, leaving the soap behind (and therefore relatively nearer to the speaker).

(247) *Lao iu, **nari** sopu. E, **ani** sopu!*
go wash **DIST.SG** soap hey **PROX.SG** soap
'Go wash, there's the soap. Hey, here's the soap!' (o0062)

Demonstrative modifiers usually follow the head noun as the final element in the noun phrase (248), (249); however, a demonstrative may occasionally precede the head noun, usually where no other modifiers are present (250) (also (252)).

(248) *i Keni maka kuta tinoni pa **guguzu ani.***
PERS Keni one base person IN.PRP **village PROX.SG**
'Keni is one of the leaders of this village.' (a031SM_025)

(249) *qa ude=ni **na tina=qu ara ani***
1SG.R wrap=APPL.SG **DET mother=1SG.POS 1SG PROX.SG**
'I wrapped this mother of mine (in the sheet)' (a007BL_037-8)

(250) *Za keza-i=a **zana bateu,***
3SG.R climb-TR=3SG.OBJ **MED.SG breadfruit**
'He climbed that breadfruit tree,' (a038JW_028)

The proximal and medial demonstratives, in particular, are used for anaphoric reference within narratives, to participants or entities that are more or less topical (249), (250); the distal demonstratives tend to be used in narratives only to refer to entities that are physically distant in space (251) or time (252). The woman in (252), pre-modified by a proximal demonstrative, is highly topical.

(251) *Qe rerege ko qe paja zae zae zae kamu pa*
3PL.R walk so 3PL.R go.inland go.up go.up go.up arrive IN.PRP

dia inuma nari,
3PL.POS garden DIST.SG
'They walked and climbed up up up to that garden of theirs,' (a018LP_014)

(252) *Kamu=a **na totozo nari** za viti-vitigi tu **ani***
arrive=3SG.OBJ **DET time DIST.SG** 3SG.R REDUP-pain FOC **PROX.SG**

na reko.
DET woman
'That time (in the past) came when this woman's (childbirth) pains began.' (lit. 'It arrived at that time when this woman hurt.') (a004MD_006)

The dual pronoun *ari-kori* incorporates the proximal plural demonstrative *ari*. *Ari* as a component of the dual pronoun loses its proximal meaning and any of the plural

demonstratives may co-occur with the dual pronouns; in (253), the demonstrative is distal.

(253) *Pae mari lao* ***ari-kori rari?***
where 3PL.IRR go **PROX.PL-two** **DIST.PL**
'Where are those two there going?' (o0149)

A juncture of two or more proper nouns, either listed (254) or conjoined (255), is usually preceded by a proximal demonstrative (see also §2.4.2.4).

(254) *qari votu lame* ***ari*** ***Podo, i Ailida, i Vezi.***
3PL.R exit come **PROX.PL** **Podo** **PERS** **Ailida** **PERS** **Vezi**
'they came out, Podo, Ailida and Vezi.' (a044BN_055)

(255) *ura* ***ari*** ***Gaili betoko Rose*** *qari va-votu=ria pa ruma*
because **PROX.PL** **Gaili** **and** **Rose** 3PL.R CAUS-exit=3PL.OBJ IN.PRP house

qari suver-i=a.
3PL.R stay-TR=3SG.OBJ
'because Gaili and Rose, they put them out of the house where they stayed.'
(email001NS_007)

2.4.8.1 Plural demonstratives with generic reference

A noteworthy feature of Kubokota is that where the entity referred to by a demonstrative is generic or uncountable, the demonstrative is plural rather than singular. In (256) and (257), the demonstratives refer to mass nouns.

(256) *Nyoqoto* ***ari.***
pudding PROX.PL
'This is pudding.' (o0363; referring to contents of pot)

(257) ***Ari*** *na pie.*
PROX.PL DET water
'Here's the water.' (o0411; referring to a large bottle)

Proximal time is also referred to with the plural demonstrative *ari* (258), and is lexicalised in the temporal noun *ngenari* (< *ngena-ari*) 'today' (cf. distal time in (252), which is singular):

(258) *Za=ke vei na toa* ***koviria ari.*** ***Koviria ari,*** *podalai*
3SG.R=NEG be.like DET life **now** **PROX.PL** **now** **PROX.PL** start

gu pa manogori aoro ko mi zae ani.
LIM IN.PRP twelve year so 3SG.IRR go.up PROX.SG
'It wasn't like life now. Now (sex) starts from twelve years and upwards.'
(a008BL_002-3)

The verb *vei* 'be like' is frequently accompanied by the plural demonstratives, often translatable as 'be thus'.

(259) *Za okoro* ***vei*** ***ari,*** *za vari-garata na roqo.*
3SG.R rain **be.like** **PROX.PL** 3SG.R RECIP-bite DET mosquito
'(When) it rains like this, the mosquito bites.' (o0707)

(260) ***Zara*** *za* ***vei*** *ke.*
MED.PL 3SG.R be.like EXCL
'That's how it is.' (o0728)

Vei plus a plural demonstrative occurs with motion verbs to express the notion 'towards' or 'in that direction', where a precise goal is unspecified or unknown; the function of *vei* with motion verbs is discussed further in §3.3.1.

(261) *Za gore* ***vei*** ***rari*** *i Donald.*
3SG.R go.down **be.like** **DIST.PL** PERS Donald
'Donald went down that way.' (o0681)

(262) *Gona gore* ***vei*** ***zara.***
shoot go.down **be.like** **MED.PL**
'Steer down that way.' (o0533)

2.4.8.2 Locative demonstratives

Locative demonstratives are preceded by the preposition *pa*. The proximal demonstrative *ani* coalesces with *pa* to become *pani* 'here' (263), and the distal form is *pa nari* with the distal singular demonstrative *nari* (264). The medial form is *pa tana* (265). No plural forms occur with locative function (note, however, the use of the plural demonstratives to denote a direction or area in (261) and (262) above).

(263) *Nyumu* ***pani.***
sit **here**
'Sit here.' (o0037)

(264) ***Pa*** ***nari*** *tu, pa pata-lao=na.*
IN.PRP **DIST.SG** FOC IN.PRP side-go=3SG.POS
'(My house is) over there, on the far side.' (o0569)

(265) *Mune=ke va-lao* ***pa*** ***tana.***
2.FUT=NEG CAUS-go **IN.PRP** **MED.LOC**
'Don't put it in there.' (o0229)

The demonstrative pronouns can also be used to indicate a location, usually of an entity specified by a noun phrase, in a non-verbal clause (see also (247) and (257) above).

(266) *qa* *paranga* *ara,* *'Mary,* ***rari*** *ria* *reko,'* *qa* *gua* *ara.*
1SG.R speak 1SG Mary **DIST.PL** 3PL female 1SG.R say 1SG
'I spoke, "Mary, there are the women," I said.' (a042BN_026)

Kubokota also has a presentative demonstrative *pia*, which again probably incorporates the preposition *pa*.

(267) ***Pia!*** ***Pia*** *na* *panakai!*
PRES **PRES** DET potato
'Here! Here's a potato!' (o0036)

2.5 Verbs and verb phrases

The Kubokota verb phrase consists of the following elements:

Pre-head:	[adverb]	[subject marker]	[=negative]	[adverb]	[reciprocal-] [passive-/causative-]
HEAD:	VERB(S)				
Post-head:	[valency enclitic]	[object marker]	[adverb]	[possessive pronoun subject indexing]	

The head of a VP may be a single verb or a serial verb construction, usually consisting of two or three verbs but occasionally four or more. A detailed account of serial verb constructions is given in Chapter Five.

2.5.1 Subject markers

Kubokota and its immediate neighbours, Luqa and Simbo, are conservative among the languages of the New Georgia group in preserving four sets of portmanteau subject markers that express modality as well as the person and number of the subject.[14] A relatively detailed account of subject markers is presented in this section, in order to provide the background for the analysis of subject markers with motion verbs in Chapter Four.

The subject markers occur in the majority of verbal clauses, immediately preceding the verb. They are summarised in Table 2.9:

[14] Following Palmer (1997), on Simbo, Kettle (2000) uses the terms "indefinite irrealis" and "definite irrealis" for my prospective and future irrealis respectively. It is clear from usage, however, that Kettle's "definite irrealis" expresses future action, whereas the prospective irrealis forms are used for actions which are imminent or certain. This is discussed further in §2.5.1.2 and §2.5.1.3.

Table 2.9: Subject markers

	first			second		third	
	1SG	1PL.IN	1PL.EX	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
realis	*qa*	*taqe*	*gami*	*qu (qo)*	*gamu*	*za (qi)*	*qari, qe*
prospective irrealis	*ma*	*ta*	*mami*	*mu*	*mu*	*mi*	*mari*
future irrealis	*mana*	*tana*	*mamina*	*muna*	*muna*	*mina*	*marina*
hypothetical irrealis	*ba*	*tabe*	*babi*	*bu*	*bu*	*bi*	*bari*

The future forms correspond to the prospective irrealis forms, plus the element *-na*. I regard the future and prospective irrealis as separate paradigms rather than as one constituting a subset of the other. There are certain overlaps in their functions, but there are also contexts in which one form or the other is excluded, as will be discussed in §2.5.1.2 and §2.5.1.3. Note that neither the prospective irrealis, nor the future or hypothetical, distinguishes between singular and plural in the second person.

The forms *qo* '2SG.R' and *qi* '3SG.R' are archaic and occur very rarely (more in Kettle's database than mine, and more in older people's speech than younger); as Kettle (2000:21) shows, they do not show any obviously different grammatical characteristics from the more common *qu* and *za*, or if there ever was any such distinction it has been lost.

2.5.1.1 Realis

As described by Kettle (2000:23), *'The realis subject markers are used when a situation or event is described which the speaker asserts to have (or have not) taken place, or to be currently taking place.'* Clauses marked as realis can refer to either past (268), (269) or present events (270), (271); the time of the event is inferred from the context.

(268) *Pa* *nyoro* *i* *Gavin* ***za=ke*** *va-gozoro.*
IN.PRP yesterday PERS Gavin **3SG.R=NEG** CAUS-straight
'Yesterday Gavin was naughty.' (lit. 'didn't do straight') (o0355)

(269) *Aza* ***gami*** *peka=ni,* *ba* *tonai* ***za*** *lame* *i* *Jack* *Hawkins*
3SG **1PL.EX.R** dance=APPL.SG but when **3SG.R** come PERS Jack Hawkins

za *vari-va-sikulu=ni* *tu* *aza* *na* *twisti.*
3SG.R RECIP-CAUS-learn=APPL.SG FOC 3SG DET twist
'That's what we danced (traditionally), but when Jack Hawkins came, he taught (us) the Twist.' (a017SM_025)

(270) ***Gami*** *burana* *gemami.*
1PL.EX.R hungry 1PL.EX.ED.POS
'We're hungry.' (o0208)

(271) ***Za*** *dogoro* *tari=go.*
3SG.R look GOAL=2SG.OBJ
'She's looking at you.' (o0664)

In languages that make a realis-irrealis contrast, negated clauses are often treated as irrealis, even when referring to the past (see Palmer 2001:173-6). In Austronesian languages of the Pacific area, however, it is not unusual for mood and negation to be independent of each other, such that negation can apply to realis clauses (Bugenhagen 1993). All four moods, including realis, can be negated in Kubokota. In negative clauses the clitic *=ke* attaches to the subject marker (see §2.5.8 for more detail on negation).

(272) ***Qa=ke*** *nongoro=ria* *ara.*
1SG.R=NEG hear=3PL.OBJ 1SG
'I didn't listen to them.' (a012LP_096)

(273) *Na* *tinoni* ***za=ke*** *boka* *lea* *rerege* *ba* *za* *boka* *va-rerege*
DET person **3SG.R=NEG** able good walk but 3SG.R able CAUS-walk
soga=i.
again=3SG.OBJ
'A person who was unable to walk, it could make him walk again.'
(a003MD_012)

All moods can also occur in interrogatives, another category which is sometimes treated as irrealis cross-linguistically, even when referring to the past (Palmer 2001:172-3).

(274) *Pae* *tu* ***gamu*** *suvere?*
where FOC **2PL.R** stay
'Where have you been?' (o0202)

(275) ***Qu*** *sari=a* *na* *qua* *ruma?*
2SG.R decorate=3SG.OBJ DET 1SG.POS house
'Did you decorate my house?' (o0152)

2.5.1.2 Prospective irrealis

The prospective irrealis (Kettle's "indefinite irrealis") is used to refer to events that are imminent or about to be realised. It also expresses volition or intention, and is used in imperative and purposive clauses (particularly following the conjunction *ko* 'so'; see §2.6.3.1). In (276), the giant issues a command to the boy up the tree, and announces an intention; the subject markers in both clauses of the speech are prospective irrealis.

(276) *Za* *paranga* *na* *iliganigani,* ***'Mu*** *gore* *lagere* *tu* *ko*
3SG.R speak DET giant **2.IRR** go.down come.down FOC so

ma *vai=go,'* *za* *gua.*
1SG.IRR kill=2SG.OBJ 3SG.R say
'The giant said, "You come down so I (can) kill you," he said.' (a038JW_037)

Kettle suggests that *'The indefinite irrealis is used in situations in which the speaker is not certain that the situation or event will take place'* (2000:34). This does not seem to be the case; rather, the prospective irrealis is used for future events that are almost certain to occur. In (277), for instance, the speaker is piling hot stones around potatoes to bake them; intention is expressed, but there is very little uncertainty about the event.

(277) ***Ma*** *naqoto.*
1SG.IRR bake.in.stone.oven
'I'm going to bake.' (o0256)

When the oven is sealed and the cooking is in progress, the realis is used.

(278) ***Qa*** *naqoto.*
1SG.R bake.in.stone.oven
'I'm baking.' (o0256)

Similarly, in (279), the speaker is enquiring about someone's future intention, but the use of the prospective irrealis indicates that there is very little doubt that the event will take place sometime. (280) describes the long term future for RAMSI (Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands, a peace-keeping force); again, the prospective irrealis gives a sense of certainty that they will be staying.

(279) *Pa* *viza* *tu* ***mari*** *keni* *ria?*
IN.PRP how.much FOC **3PL.IRR** go.away 3PL
'When are they going?' (o0454)

(280) *RAMSI.* *vitu* *aoro* *kole* ***mari*** *suvere* *pa* *Solomon.*
RAMSI seven year lie **3PL.IRR** stay IN.PRP Solomon
'RAMSI, seven years remain for them to stay in the Solomons.' (o0826)

For future events that are only probable, however, the future irrealis is used (281); see §2.5.1.3.

(281) *Pala* ***mina*** *gabara=ni=go* *i* *Beti.*
FUT **3SG.FUT** surprise=APPL.SG=2SG.OBJ PERS Beth
'Beth will be surprised at you.' (o0279)

The prospective irrealis often occurs in subordinate clauses following the conjunction *ko*, to describe purpose. The use of the quotative verb *gua* 'say' in (282) is discussed in §2.6.3.4.

(282) *Ego* *ko* *qe* *qaqiri* ***ko*** ***mari*** *keni* *pa* *inuma* *qe*
therefore so 3PL.R prepare so **3PL.IRR** go.away IN.PRP garden 3PL.R
gua.
say
'So they got ready to go to the garden.' (a018LP_006)

In imperatives, subject markers are frequently omitted, at least in main clauses (283); if they do occur, either the prospective (284) or the future irrealis (285) can be used.

(283) *Lao* *iu.*
go wash
'Go wash.' (o0083)

(284) ***Mu*** *lao* *puta.*
2.IRR go sleep
'Go sleep.' (o0143)

(285) ***Mune***=*ke* *lukana*=*ziu.*
2.FUT=NEG cry=1SG.OBJ
'Don't cry for me (tomorrow when I depart).' (o0277)

A subject marker is obligatory in verbal clauses with the negative clitic =*ke* (286). Subject markers are also required in subordinate clauses following the conjunction *ko* 'and/so that' (287), (288).

(286) ***Mu***=***ke*** *lukana.*
2.IRR=**NEG** cry
'Don't cry.' (a062BN_044)

(287) *Lao* *iu* ***ko*** ***mu*** *soga* *poko,* *ve?*
go wash so **2.IRR** change cloth okay
'Go wash and change clothes, okay?' (o0134)

(288) *Lao* ***ko*** ***mu*** *iu.*
go **so** **2.IRR** wash
'Go and wash.' (o0083)

The prospective irrealis is used with motion verbs while the motion event is in progress. Verbs of motion have different modal and aspectual properties from other verbs; this will be discussed in Chapter Four.

2.5.1.3 Future irrealis

The future irrealis is used for future events that are non-imminent, although many of the events that it refers to are events that are expected in the near future. It is optionally preceded by the future adverb *pala*. When the negative clitic *=ke* attaches to the future irrealis subject markers, the ending *-na* harmonises to *-ne*: *mane=ke* '1SG.FUT=NEG', *marine=ke* '3PL.FUT=NEG', etc.

(289) ***Pala*** ***mina*** *okoro.*
FUT 3SG.FUT rain
'It's going to rain.' (en009_001)

(290) ***Pala*** ***mina*** *lango-lango.*
FUT 3SG.FUT REDUP-fly
'(That food) will (get) flies (on it).' (o0066)

(291) *Betsy, na za* ***muna*** *kura=ni pa topa zana?*
Betsy DET what 3SG.FUT put.in=APPL.SG IN.PRP basket MED.SG
'Betsy, what will you put in that basket?' (o0131)

(292) *Zae loi=a i Nathan Sakolo ko* ***mina*** *keni pa*
go.up leave=3SG.OBJ PERS Nathan Sakolo so 3SG.FUT go IN.PRP
Honiara.
Honiara
'(We) went up to leave Nathan Sakolo (in Gizo) to go to Honiara.'
(a012LP_004)

A key semantic difference between the future and prospective irrealis is the degree of certainty expressed. The prospective irrealis indicates future events that are imminent or certain to occur; the future irrealis, by contrast, is used for events that are only possible or probable. In (293), the first clause expresses the speaker's intention to go to Honiara (in the prospective irrealis, with the quotative *gua* (see §2.6.3.4)). Whether the speaker will actually go depends on whether the Express boat comes; this is uncertain, and the following clauses are all in the future irrealis ((293) is conditional; see §2.5.1.4.1 for further examples of the future irrealis in conditional clauses). In (294), the speaker is talking about which day the subject might arrive from Honiara.

(293) ***Ma*** *zae pa Honiara,* ***qa*** ***gua.*** *Vei* ***mina*** *lame na*
1SG.IRR go.up IN.PRP Honiara 1SG.R say if 3SG.FUT come DET

Express ***mana*** *zae. Vei* ***mine=ke*** *lame na Express*
Express 1SG.FUT go.up if 3SG.FUT=NEG come DET Express

mane=ke *zae.*
1SG.FUT=NEG go.up
'I want to go up to Honiara. If the Express comes (to Gizo) I'll go. If the Express doesn't come I won't go.' (o0955)

(294) *pala* ***mina*** *lagere kaki rane Sunday ba rane Monday,*
FUT 3SG.FUT come.down some day Sunday or day Monday
'she will come down maybe Sunday or Monday,' (a044BN_095)

The prospective irrealis is often used for a future event that will take place as an inevitable consequence of a less certain, future irrealis event. In (295), the cutting of the mango tree is an event that will probably take place at some point in the future. When it does take place, however, there is no doubt in the speaker's mind that the pigeons that nest in the tree will leave.

(295) ***Mina*** *ta-rio na lebu ani,* ***mari*** *keni beto na kuru.*
3SG.FUT PASS-axe DET mango PROX.SG 3PL.IRR go.away finish DET pigeon
'(When) the mango is cut down, the pigeons will all go away.' (o0587)

The future irrealis is also used to describe customary behaviour, as in (296). The occurrence of the habitual past with irrealis marking is a little surprising. Palmer (2001), however, notes a number of other languages that do this, including Bargam (Papuan) and Manam (Austronesian) – and even English uses a modal verb for past habitual action, as in the sentence *We would go for a walk most weekends* (Chung and Timberlake 1995:221).

(296) *Aza na tinoni* ***marina*** *roiti=ni, tio* ***mina*** *uke toa mule.*
3SG DET people 3PL.FUT do=APPL.SG person 3SG.FUT die live again

mule.
again
'That's (the medicine that) the people would make, (and) a person would die (and) live again.' (a003MD_017)

In imperatives, the future irrealis imposes less deontic obligation on the addressee than the prospective irrealis does, tending to occur in situations where the speaker is

politely requesting (rather than commanding) the addressee to do something.[15] (297), for instance, is an invitation; (298) is a prayer to God.

(297) ***Mune=ke*** *matagutu=ni=ziu.* ***Muna*** *lame* *pa* *qua* *ruma.*
2.FUT=NEG fear=APPL.SG=1SG.OBJ **2.FUT** come IN.PRP 1SG.POS house
'Don't be afraid of me. You come to my house (in the future, to visit me).' (o0111)

(298) ***Muna*** *toka* *va-kamu=gami* *pa* *rane* *uka.*
2.FUT help CAUS-arrive=1PL.EX.OBJ IN.PRP day tomorrow
'Help us to reach tomorrow.' (o0563 – prayer)

The future irrealis is also used to express more general obligations and prohibitions (that hold for all time, not just in the immediate situation). (297), for instance, does not refer to a specific time or event, but is a general invitation that applies at any time. (299) expresses a permanent prohibition: at no time in the future will it be permissible to eat a *buni* nut; the future irrealis is used here even though the addressee is a child who is (imminently) about to put the poisonous nut into his mouth.

(299) ***Mune=ke*** *gani=a!* ***Mune=ke*** *gani=a* *na* *buni!*
2.FUT=NEG eat=3SG.OBJ **2.FUT=NEG** eat=3SG.OBJ DET tree.SP
'Don't eat it! Don't eat the *buni*!' (o0464)

2.5.1.4 Hypothetical

The hypothetical subject markers occur in hypothetical conditionals and in counterfactuals. They are also found in the complement clause of the desiderative verb *nyoro* 'want' or *nyoro gua* 'want say', and following the negative existential *kepore* 'not exist'.

2.5.1.4.1 Conditionals

Hypothetical conditionals describe unrealised situations, i.e. situations that are not the case but could come about if something else were the case:

[15] Kettle suggests that the prospective irrealis is more polite than the future, proposing that the future irrealis:

> *is used in commands in which there is a strong sense of deontic obligation imposed upon the subject to comply with the command given. For imperatives in which... the speaker wishes to impose less obligation upon the subject, the indefinite irrealis* [my "prospective irrealis"] *is used.* (Kettle 2000:41)

In my data, however, it is the prospective irrealis that regularly occurs in imperatives to children and others when the speaker desires an immediate (and obedient) response, while requests and prayers to God (a being whom one would expect to be approached politely) are in the future irrealis.

(300) ***Bi*** *vurungu* ***bi*** *vurungu* ***bi*** *vurungu* ***bi*** *zae*
3SG.HYP burn **3SG.HYP** burn **3SG.HYP** burn **3SG.HYP** go.up

kamu=a *na* *lebu.*
arrive=3SG.OBJ DET mango
'(If you set fire to the kitchen roof) it would burn and burn and burn and go up and reach the mango tree.' (o0303)

(301) *Ko* *vei* *tonai* *lao* *dogoro=gita* *na* *tinoni* *Obobulu,* *na* *koburu*
so if when go look=1PL.IN.OBJ DET person Obobulu DET child

Obobulu, *na* *reko* *Obobulu,* *na* *marene* *Obobulu* ***bi***
Obobulu DET female Obobulu DET male Obobulu **3SG.HYP**

giro-giro=e,
REDUP-tinea.imbricate=E
'And if when (you) go (and) look at us Obobulu people, the Obobulu child, the Obobulu woman, the Obobulu man has *tinea imbricata* (a type of skin fungus)…'

Hypothetical conditionals may also be marked with future irrealis subject markers:

(302) *Vin-ori* *pie,* *vei* ***muna*** *matikere* *ao,* ***muna*** *lao* *ketakoi,* *ko*
ORD-two river if **2.FUT** red.eye 2SG **2.FUT** go there so

muna *subi,*
2.FUT wash.face
'The second river, if you have red eye, you will go there and wash (your) face,' (a035JT_007)

(303) *Vei* ***mina*** *kole* *na* *tapata* *pa* *korapa=na,* *pala* *pa*
if **3SG.FUT** stay DET difficulty IN.PRP middle=3SG.POS FUT IN.PRP

korapa=na *pala* ***mari*** *makarai* *lame* *gore* *zana* *kori* *pie*
middle=3SG.POS FUT **3PL.IRR** together come go.down MED.SG two river

ari.
PROX.PL
'If the difficulty (i.e. adultery) is in the middle (of the village), those two rivers will come down there in the middle.' (a035JT_021-022)

The hypothetical is also used where the reality of a present situation is not known:

(304) *Ko* *qa=ke* *va-gilagila=i* *pa* *rane* *pa* *ngenari* ***bi***
so 1SG.R=NEG CAUS-know=3SG.OBJ IN.PRP day IN.PRP today **3SG.HYP**

korapa *toa* *ba* ***bi*** *uke.*
PROG live or **3SG.HYP** die
'And I don't know if he's still alive today or if he has died.' (a017SM_085)

2.5.1.4.2 Counterfactuals

Counterfactuals describe situations that cannot or are highly unlikely to be realised. Only the hypothetical subject markers can occur in counterfactuals. In negated

hypotheticals, the corresponding affirmative statement is true; in (306), for instance, Judas did tell them, and Jesus did die.

(305) ***Bi*** *kole* *na* *koe* ***tabe*** *roiti* *keki,* *goto* *na*
3SG.HYP stay DET coconut.shell **1PL.IN.HYP** make cake but DET

koe *kepore.*
coconut.shell not.exist
'If we had coconut shells (to burn) we would make cakes, but there aren't any coconut shells.' (o0391)

(306) ***Bi=ke*** *ule* *vadi* *i* *Judas,* ***bi=ke*** *uke* *i* *Jisas.*
3SG.HYP=NEG tell BEN.APPL.PL PERS Judas **3SG.HYP**=NEG die PERS Jesus
'If Judas hadn't told them, Jesus wouldn't have died.' (o0554)

The negative existential verb *kepore* is usually followed by the hypothetical subject markers in a verbal clause (307), (308); these clauses are similar to counterfactuals in that they tend to describe situations that could have arisen but did not.

(307) *Kepore* *maka* *tinoni* ***bi*** *toa,* *za=ke* *mota* *na* *butubutu*
not.exist one person **3SG.HYP** live 3SG.R=NEG plenty DET tribe

aza *pa* *Ranongga* *koviria* *ari.*
3SG IN.PRP Ranongga now PROX.PL
'Not one person was (left) alive, there aren't many of that tribe on Ranongga now.' (a023SM_048)

(308) *Taqe* *pera.* *Kepore* *tinoni* ***bi*** *paleka,* ***bi*** *uke.*
1PL.IN.R lucky not.exist person **3SG.HYP** be.wounded **3SG.HYP** die
'We're lucky. Nobody was hurt, (nobody) died.' (o0600)

The database contains a few examples where *kepore* is followed by a future subject marker, but all of these examples are elicited (309).

(309) *Kepore* *tinoni* ***mina*** *le-leo* *vari-taka* *pa* *ngenari.*
not.exist person **3SG.FUT** REDUP-play RECIP-kick IN.PRP today
'Nobody will play soccer today.' (en009_022)

2.5.1.4.3 Desideratives

Following the desiderative verb *nyoro* 'want' or *nyoro gua* 'want say', the hypothetical describes a situation that the subject desires, or does not desire, to be the case; the situation itself may or may not actually be the case. In (310), Veonona already has the riches and Seleveni doesn't like it.

(310) *Seleveni za=ke* ***nyoro*** ***gu=ni*** *ko* ***bi*** *izongo=ria i*
Seleveni 3SG.R=NEG **want** **say=APPL.SG** so **3SG.HYP** own=3PL.OBJ PERS

Veonona na izizongo zara.
Veonona DET possession MED.PL
'Seleveni didn't like Veonona having all those possessions.' (a048TN_011)

In (311) and (312), the hypothesised situation has not yet arisen, but (311) describes the forefathers' desire to be infected with a skin disease, and (312) the school teacher's desire not to take a particular child to Gizo with him because he has that disease.

(311) *Ria na mami tite za, qe nyoro gu=ni ko* ***bari***
3PL DET 1PL.EX forefather TOP 3PL.R want say=APPL.SG so **3PL.HYP**

suvere ria na bongi ko ***bari*** *kole gu garo-garo=a*
stay 3PL DET night so **3PL.HYP** lie LIM scratch-scratch=3SG.OBJ

na giro=di ko ***bi*** *lame ria na dia kana*
DET tinea.imbricata=3PL.POS so **3SG.HYP** come 3PL DET 3PL.POS enemy

bari=ke *puta ria goto* ***bari*** *kole gu suvere garo ria*
3PL.HYP=NEG sleep 3PL but **3PL.HYP** lie LIM stay scratch 3PL

ko ***bari*** *paro na qeto varipera.*
so **3PL.HYP** come.ashore DET war.canoe fight
'Our forefathers wanted to stay (awake) at night, so that they would stay and scratch and scratch their tinea imbricata so that if their enemies came to them they wouldn't be asleep but they would be awake scratching when the war canoes came ashore.' (a016SM_016-18)

(312) *Za=ke nyoro gu=ni=ziu ara* ***ba*** *tuti ura*
3SG.R=NEG want say=APPL.SG=1SG.OBJ 1SG **1SG.HYP** follow because

ara na giro-giro=qu.
1SG DET REDUP-tinea.imbricata=1SG.POS
'He didn't want me to go because I had tinea imbricata.' (a017SM_049)

Nyoro (gua) can also be followed by the future irrealis:

(313) *'Qa* ***nyoro*** ***gu=ni*** ***muna*** *garunu zae=ni pa Honiara*
1SG.R **want** **say=APPL.SG** **2.FUT** send go.up=APPL.SG IN.PRP Honiara

pa vaka tatava uka,' qa gu=ni.
IN.PRP ship fly tomorrow 1SG.R say=APPL.SG
'"I want you to send them up to Honiara by aeroplane tomorrow," I said to him.' (a012LP_048)

2.5.1.4.4 Avertives

Preceded by the future adverb *pala*, the hypothetical subject markers have what Kuteva calls an "avertive" meaning, i.e. *'an action that was potentially imminent but did not ultimately get realized'* (Kuteva 2001:78). Avertives such as 'I nearly died'

are ambiguous in terms of their scope over an event such as dying. (314) does not mean 'I was going through a process of dying but got better' but rather 'I was in a situation where I could have died (in the tsunami) but I didn't – I was completely unharmed'.[16]

(314) ***Pala*** ***ba*** *uke!*
FUT 1SG.HYP die
'I nearly died!' (o0996)

(315), with the verb *lotu* 'fall', can also be interpreted as describing the avoidance of an instantaneous change of state (that does not occur) rather than a change of state reached by a process (which may have begun and then been interrupted).

(315) ***Pala*** ***bu*** *lotu?*
FUT 2.HYP fall
'Did you nearly fall?' (o0973)

2.5.2 Dubitative marker *pu*

The dubitative marker *pu* occurs in the same structural position as a subject marker. The negative clitic *=ke*, which only attaches to the subject marker in a verbal clause, may attach to *pu*, and no other subject marker can co-occur with *pu*. However, *pu* is unmarked for the person and number of the subject, and is also found in non-verbal clauses.

Semantically, *pu* seems to be used as an indicator of doubt (McDougall p.c). It is not frequent in my data, but both positive and negative forms are attested, referring to past, present and future situations. The subject of a *pu* clause may be identified with a pronoun: in (316) the interrogative pronoun *zei* is used, and in (317) the first person singular *ara*. In (318), the subject is not specified but is understood as the addressee.

(316) *Koi!* *I* *zei* ***pu*** *juki=ni* *piko* *mola* *zana*
EXCL PERS who DUB use.inappropriately=APPL.SG tie canoe PROX.SG
galava=na *na* *vudi?*
banana.fibre=3SG.POS DET banana
'Hey! Who would use a banana fibre to tie up a canoe?' (a038JW_020)

[16] McDougall (p.c.) suggests that the alternative reading can be obtained with the adverb *tata* 'close' rather than *pala*, e.g. *Tata ba uke* 'I almost died (but I recovered)'; further investigation is needed to ascertain this. See §4.3 for further discussion of *uke* 'die' as a process versus an instantaneous change of state.

(317) *Dai qua, **ara** **pu=ke** la-lao pa tana*
NEG 1SG.POS **1SG** **DUB=NEG** REDUP-go IN.PRP MED.SG
'I don't want to, I don't go (to that house) there.' (a031SM_028)

(318) *Zara na teku-teku=na, keta **pu** nyoro teku-teku.*
MED.PL DET REDUP-take=NMLZ lest **DUB** want REDUP-take
'There's food there in case (you) want to eat.' (o0722)

In (319), *pu* occurs in a non-verbal clause.

(319) *Ara kale **pu** tite.*
1SG as.if **DUB** grandparent
'I am like a grandfather.' (McDougall p.c.)

Further data is needed to establish the precise function of *pu*.

2.5.3 Object enclitics

Objects are indexed post-verbally with a set of person- and number-marking enclitics. The behaviour of the object enclitics is relevant to the account of motion verbs in serial verb constructions given in Chapter Five, and it is therefore appropriate to provide a relatively comprehensive description of them here. The object enclitics attach to the main verb in a mono-verbal clause or to the final verbal element in a serial verb construction. There are two types of objects, direct and applicative, the choice between them being dependent on the argument structure of the verb. Only one object may be overtly indexed at a time; however, Kubokota does have derived ditransitive verbs, and a second object may be present in the clause (see §2.5.3.2). The object enclitics are essentially the same for both direct and applicative objects, with the exception of the third person forms. Third person applicative objects tend to be marked as zero, although overt marking is possible in the plural. The forms are presented in Table 2.10.

Table 2.10: Object enclitics

	1EX	1IN	2	3DIR	3APPL
SG	*=ziu*	-	*=go*	*=a/i*	*Ø*
PL	*=gami*	*=gita*	*=gamu*	*=ria*	*=ria/ Ø*

For direct objects, the object enclitics attach directly to the verb root, or, in certain circumstances, following the transitive suffix *-i* (a reflex of the 'close' transitive suffix reconstructed for POc by Pawley (1973)). For applicative objects, the applicative enclitic *=ni* (singular) or *=di* (plural) intervenes between the verb root and the object marker. The applicative enclitics are reflexes of Pawley's 'remote' transitive suffix,

the plural form =*di* constituting a merger of =*ni* and the POc plural object marker *-*di* (*-*di* has otherwise been lost in Kubokota transitivity marking) (Evans 2006, Kettle 2000:168).

The object enclitics can serve both as proforms (320), and can co-occur with an overt object noun phrase within the same clause (321) (grammatical agreement or object doubling (see Evans 2008)).

(320) *Teku-i=**a*** *aza* *ko* *za* *pogoz-i=**a*** *gore,*
take-TR=3SG.OBJ 3SG so 3SG.R carry-TR=**3SG.OBJ** go.down
'He took it and he carried it down,' (a038JW_042)

(321) *Teku=**a*** ***na*** ***mami*** ***mane,*** *pogoz-i=**a*** *i* *Mary* ***na***
take=**3SG.OBJ** **DET** **1PL.EX.POS** **basket** carry-TR=**3SG.OBJ** PERS Mary **DET**

voze,
paddle
'We took our basket(s), Mary carried the paddle,' (a042BN_010)

In (322) and (323), the object enclitic agrees with an independent object pronoun; object pronouns often have the same phonological form as the enclitics (323).

(322) *Qari* *lame* *kuku=**ziu*** ***ara***
3PL.R come call=**1SG.OBJ** **1SG**
'They came and called me' (o0735)

(323) *Za* *suvere* *taviti=**gita*** ***gita.***
3SG.R stay COMIT=**1PL.IN.OBJ** **1PL.IN**
'He's staying with us.' (o0668)

2.5.3.1 Direct objects

The behaviour of the direct object enclitics varies according to the shape of the verb root. Two-syllable roots ending in *-a* (i.e. CVCa roots) take the third person singular enclitic =*i*; all other two-syllable roots take =*a*.

(324) *gona=i* 'shoot=3SG.OBJ' *teku=a* 'take=3SG.OBJ'
kura=i 'be.in=3SG.OBJ' *bako=a* 'pull=3SG.OBJ'
maja=i 'hit=3SG.OBJ' *gani=a* 'eat=3SG.OBJ'

(325) *Tinoni* *mina* ***gona=i*** *London* *mine=ke* ***gani=a.***
person 3SG.FUT **shoot=3SG.OBJ** London 3SG.FUT=NEG **eat=3SG.OBJ**
'Anyone who shoots London (the pig) won't eat him.' (o0791)

Three-syllable roots with identical vowels in the final two syllables (i.e. $CVCV_iCV_i$) require the transitive suffix *-i* preceding 2SG and 3SG object enclitics.

These roots are reflexes of POc roots of the shape CVCVC, such as **kaRat* 'bite' (Kubokota *garata*) which had the transitive form **kaRat-i* (Evans 2003). In Kubokota, *-i* is now retained only with 2SG and 3SG objects.[17] The paradigm for words such as *garata* 'bite' and *pauzu* 'adopt' is presented in Table 2.11, and is contrasted with the paradigm for *teku* 'take'. The occurrence of *-i* with roots of the shape CVVCV, such as *pauzu*, constitutes evidence that vowel sequences are analysed as two syllables in Kubokota (root-medially, the sequence *ui* is attested, e.g. *tui* 'tree.SP'; see Table 2.2).

(326) *Koburu nari za pauz-**i=a** (*pauzu(-i)=a) maka nana bakarau.*
child DIST.SG 3SG.R **adopt-TR=3SG.OBJ** one 3SG.POS frog
'That child adopted a frog.' (fs001LP_002)

(327) *Mana lukan-**i=go**.*
1SG.FUT cry-TR=**2SG.OBJ**
'I will cry for you.' (o0277)

(328) *Qe abut-**i=a** i Donald.*
3PL.R run-**TR=3SG.OBJ** PERS Donald
'They ran to Donald.' (o0679)

Table 2.11: Object enclitics and the transitive suffix *-i*

object enclitic	***garata* 'bite'**	***pauzu* 'adopt'**	***teku* 'take'**
1SG	*garata=ziu*	*pauzu=ziu*	*teku=ziu*
2SG	*garat-i=go*	*pauz-i=go*	*teku=go*
3SG	*garat-i=a*	*pauz-i=a*	*teku=a*
1PL.EX	*garata=gami*	*pauzu=gami*	*teku=gami*
1PL.IN	*garata=gita*	*pauzu=gita*	*teku=gita*
2PL	*garata=gamu*	*pauzu=gamu*	*teku=gamu*
3PL	*garata=ria*	*pauzu=ria*	*teku=ria*

The verb *bata* 'see' has the transitive form *bati* whatever the person and number of the object marker (329) (the intransitive form is *bata*). *Bati* may occur even in the middle of a serial verb construction, with other verbs intervening between *bati* and the object enclitic (330).

(329) *Za **bati=gami**.*
3SG.R **see.TR=1PL.EX.OBJ**
'He saw us.' (a044BN_055)

[17] Note that 2SG and 3SG are the only monosyllabic object enclitics.

(330) *Za=ke* ***bati*** *gilagila=**ziu*** *na* *tama=qu.*
3SG.R=NEG **see.TR** know=**1SG.OBJ** DET father=1SG.POS
'My father didn't recognise me.' (a010LP_034)

The transitive suffix occasionally appears on two-syllable verbs such as *teku* and *kamu* which do not normally require it; this is observed only with third person singular objects, and does not appear to change the meaning significantly, although it may be a means of highlighting the object. In my database, Pienuna speakers use this innovative form far more frequently than Obobulu speakers; there may also be stylistic variation.[18]

(331) *Za* ***teku=a*** *na* *patu.*
3SG.R **take=3SG.OBJ** DET stone
'He took a stone.' (a038JW_023)

(332) *Qa* ***teku-i=a*** *na* *qua* *mane.*
1SG.R **take-TR=3SG.OBJ** DET 1SG.POS basket
'I took my basket.' (a010LP_013)

(333) *Beto=e* *muna* *gore* *gore* ***kamu-i=a*** *aza* *na* *plantation* *tiki.*
then=E 2.FUT go.down go.down **arrive-TR=3SG.OBJ** 3SG DET plantation teak
'Then you will go down down (and) arrive at a teak plantation.' (a025SM_009)

The third person singular object enclitic *=i* on CVCa roots such as *keza* 'climb' (334) is sometimes reanalysed as a transitive suffix and a further 3SG object enclitic *=a* is added (335). The same may occur with longer roots such as *jiraka* 'tear' which would normally be *jirak-i=a* but may copy the *keza-i=a* pattern to become *jiraka-i=a*. (336).

(334) *Za* *korapa* *keza=**i*** *aza* *zana* *bateu* *zana* *za,*
3SG.R PROG climb=**3SG.OBJ** 3SG MED.SG breadfruit.tree MED.SG TOP
'While he was climbing that breadfruit tree…' (a038JW_030)

(335) *Za* *keza-**i=a*** *zana* *bateu.*
3SG.R climb-TR=3SG.OBJ MED.SG breadfruit.tree
'He climbed that breadfruit tree.' (a038JW_028)

(336) *Za* *jiraka-**i=a*** *na* *poko.* *Za* *jirak-**i=a.***
3SG.R tear-TR=3SG.OBJ DET cloth 3SG.R tear-TR=3SG.OBJ
'She tore the cloth. She tore it.' (e008BNa_001 – Cut and Break)

Although the object enclitics express number, it is not unusual for a plural object NP to co-occur with a 3SG object enclitic (337). It is also comparatively rare for 3PL

[18] Corston-Oliver (2002:482) notes for Roviana that the transitive suffix *-i* is optional with monosyllabic and disyllabic verbs which do not end in *i*; he does not discuss the circumstances in which it does and does not occur.

marking to occur both on the verb and on the object NP; (338) is one of few examples, nearly all of which involve human participants. Evans (2008) notes for Marovo that *'The use of the 3SG object marker to index an object argument with plural reference seems to occur primarily when the participants denoted by the object argument are viewed as a group'*. Corbett (2006:156) makes a distinction between syntactic agreement, where a verb and NP agree in features such as number (e.g. *The committee(SG) has(SG) decided*) and semantic agreement, where agreement may be determined more by the semantic properties of the NP (e.g. *The committee (SG) have (PL) decided*). In Kubokota and Marovo, a group of objects, such as the coconuts in (337), may be treated as a single entity for agreement purposes. Animate groups, such as the children in (338), are more likely to be treated as plural.

(337) *Gami* *teku=**a*** ***ka=vonomo*** ***na*** ***sura.***
1PL.EX.R take=**3SG.OBJ** **CARD=six** DET coconut
'We took six coconuts.' (a006BN_026)

(338) *Qari* *va-pavu=**ria*** ***ria*** ***na*** ***koburu,***
3PL.R CAUS-be.tired=**3PL.OBJ** **3PL** DET child
'They're making the children tired,' (o0638)

2.5.3.2 Applicative objects

The applicative enclitics *=ni* and *=di* are used to increase the valency of the verb. Peterson (2007) defines applicative constructions as *'constructions... which involve a participant that normally would not be instantiated in a core object relation, but rather as an oblique of one or another sort, in a core (usually direct object) instantiation'* (Peterson 2007:39). In this definition, an applicative raises a peripheral argument to a higher status. In Kubokota, however, certain verbs always license an applicative object in their argument structure and there is no corresponding oblique construction; an applicative can also be used to license the presence of any non-core argument. As Peterson later notes, languages vary in terms of the obligatoriness of the applicative construction (2007:45).

The Kubokota applicative has four principal functions:

- it licenses a non-core argument, often a goal or instrument, on both transitive and intransitive verbs;

- it licenses an object on certain verbs which, although sometimes/always licensing two arguments, require an applicative rather than a direct object;
- it licenses the additional argument produced when a transitive verb is causativised;
- in serial verb constructions consisting of a transitive plus an intransitive verb, it indexes the direct object of the transitive verb as an applicative object on the intransitive verb (see §5.3.1.1).

With the exception of those verbs that require an applicative object as a core argument, the Kubokota applicative licenses a non-prototypical argument, one not necessarily predicted from the argument structure of the verb root itself.

In terms of transitivity, Kubokota verbs can be categorised as follows:

I) **strictly intransitive** – verbs that never take any kind of object (unless acted on by a causer), e.g. *puta* 'sleep', *lotu* 'fall'

II) **ambitransitive** – verbs that may be intransitive, transitive or ditransitive

i. verbs that are usually intransitive but allow an optional applicative argument, e.g. *au* 'laugh (at)', *qera* 'be happy (about)'

ii. verbs that are usually intransitive but allow either a direct or an applicative object argument, e.g. *lukana* 'cry', *paranga* 'speak'

iii. verbs that may be intransitive, but allow either a direct object (licensing two arguments) or an applicative object (licensing two arguments), or both (licensing three arguments), e.g. *iu* 'wash', *gona* 'shoot', *piko* 'tie', *toka* 'help'

iv. verbs that are usually transitive, but the second argument is licensed as an applicative rather than a direct object, e.g. *uma* 'plant', *roiti* 'make', *kopu* 'look after'

III) **transitive** – verbs that require a direct object; when acted on by a causer, the applicative licenses the extra object, e.g. *pogozo* 'carry', *maja* 'hit', *garata* 'bite'.

Table 2.12 summarises these categories, showing how they are distinguished according to which object roles are available, and whether or not an applicative object can be licensed.

Table 2.12: Verb categories and arguments

category	1 argument	2 arguments (direct)	2 arguments (applicative)	3 arguments (direct and applicative)
I) strictly intransitive	*za puta* 'he sleeps' *za lotu* 'he falls'	-	-	-
II-i) ambitransitive (optional applicative object)	*za au* 'he laughs'	-	*za au=ni* 'he laughs at her'	-
	za kera 'she sings'	-	*za kera=ni* 'she sings (a song)'	-
II-ii) ambitransitive (optional direct or applicative object)	*za lukana* 'he cries'	*za lukan-i=a* 'he cries (for) her'	*za lukana=ni* 'he cries (about) it'	-
	za paranga 'she speaks'	*za parang-i=a* 'she speaks (to) him'	*za paranga=ni* 'she speaks (about) it'	-
II-iii) ambitransitive (optional direct and applicative object	*za iu* 'she washes'	*za iu=a* 'she washes him'	?	*za iu=ni* 'she washes him in (the basin)'
	za gona 'he shoots'	*za gona=i* 'he shoots (the bird)'	*za gona=ni* 'he shoots (the stone)'	*za gona=ni* 'he shoots (the bird) with (the stone)'
II-iv) ambitransitive (applicative object if transitive)	*za roiti* 'he works'	-	*za roiti=ni* 'he makes (a canoe)'	-
	-	-	*za kopu=ni* 'she looks after (a child)'	
III) transitive	-	*za pogoz-i=a* 'he carries it'	-	*za va-pogozo=ni* 'he makes her carry it'
	-	*za garat-i=a* 'it bites her'	-	*za va-garata=ni* 'he makes it bite her'

In (339), the applicative enclitic *=ni* licenses an extra argument (a theme) on the more usually intransitive verb *lagere* 'come down'. 3SG applicative objects are zero-

marked, but the person and number of other applicative objects are indexed on the verb with the object enclitics presented in §2.5.3 (340).

(339) *Na za qu* ***lagere=ni*** *pani?*
DET TOP 2SG.R **come.down=APPL.SG** here
'What have you come down here for?' (a010LP_047)

(340) *ko qari* ***au=ni=ziu*** *ria na tinoni pa Gijo,*
so 3PL.R **laugh=APPL.SG=1SG.OBJ** 3PL DET person IN.PRP Gizo
'and the people of Gizo laughed at me,' (a012LP_113)

3PL applicative objects (following the plural enclitic *=di*) are usually also zero-marked (341); *=di* occasionally co-occurs with the object enclitic *=ria* if no object noun phrase is present (342). For other persons in the plural, the object enclitic is required (343).

(341) *Muna kole* ***kopu=di*** *na mane.*
2.FUT be.LOC **look.after=APPL.PL** DET basket
'You stay (and) look after the baskets.' (o1031)

(342) *Ko qari* ***roiti=di=ria*** *beto qari rave-rave*
so 3PL.R **make=APPL.PL=3PL.OBJ** then 3PL.R REDUP-catch.fish
'And they made (the fish hooks) and they fished' (a033JW_019-20)

(343) *Za* ***bongi=di=gita*** *na kota.*
3SG.R **night=APPL.PL=1PL.IN.OBJ** DET place
'The place benighted us.' (lit. 'The place is night to us.') (en031_003)

In the above examples, *lagere* 'come down' (339), *au* 'laugh' (340) and *bongi* '(become) night' (343) are intransitive verbs to which the applicative adds an argument; the thematic role of this argument is not predictable from the syntactic structure, but is dependent on the semantics of the verb.

Roiti 'work/make' (342) occurs as an intransitive verb but is usually transitive, while *kopu* 'look after' in (341) is always transitive; as transitive verbs, both *roiti* and *kopu* require an applicative rather than a direct object argument.

The two-place predicates *roiti* and *kopu* contrast with verbs such as *gona* 'shoot', *iu* 'wash' and *tabara* 'pay', on which the applicative may license a third argument. In each of (344) to (346), there are two object arguments. Only one argument, however,

is overtly indexed on the verb; it is not possible to index both the direct and the applicative object.[19]

(344) *Qa* ***gona=ni*** *na patu na kokorako.*
1SG.R **shoot=APPL.SG** DET stone DET chicken
'I shot the chicken with a stone.' (en006_005)

(345) *na dia besini qari* ***iu=ni*** *na koburu na tivo,*
DET 3PL.POS basin 3PL.R **wash=APPL.SG** DET child DET betelnut.skin

tivo=na na ea.
betelnut.skin=3SG.POS DET betelnut
'their basin in which they washed the child was the betelnut skin, the skin of the betelnut' (a004MD_015)

(346) *Na za muna* ***tabara=ni=ziu?***
DET TOP 2.FUT **pay=APPL.SG=1SG.OBJ**
'What will you pay me?' (o0558)

This is illustrated more clearly in (347) and (348). In (347), the verb *toka* 'help' is a transitive verb with one object ('help him'); as with *roiti* 'work', this object must be applicative.[20] In (348), both the person who is helped, and a second object ('the carrying of the bags'), are licensed, without the need for any further marking on the verb (cf. (344) to (346) above). A verb with an applicative enclitic, therefore, may license either one object or two; which is the case depends on the argument structure of the verb, and on whether a second object is available to be licensed (either within the clause, or anaphorically).

(347) *muna poja=ni ara pala mana boka* ***toka=ni*** *tonai vei*
2.FUT tell=APPL.SG 1SG FUT 1SG.FUT be.able **help=APPL.SG** when if

mina lame pa Solomon.
3SG.FUT come IN.PRP Solomon.Islands
'tell him I will be able to help him when he comes to the Solomons.'
(email004NS_011)

(348) *Mu* ***toka=ni=ziu*** *na pogozo=na na baeke zae pa*
2.IRR **help=APPL.SG=1SG.OBJ** DET carry=NMLZ DET bag go.up IN.PRP

Solair Office.
Solair Office
'You help me with carrying the bags up to the Solair Office.' (a012LP_057)

[19] If both object arguments are expressed as NPs, as in (344), the applicative object seems to come first, unless the direct object is an incorporated noun. Further research is needed to clarify this point; see also §2.3 on word order.
[20] There are no instances in my database of *toka* 'help' as an intransitive verb, nor with a direct object, although it does occur as a noun modifier (see (388)).

More prototypical transitive verbs, such as *pogozo* 'carry' or *gani* 'eat', require a direct object. However, if the valence of a transitive verb is increased with the causative prefix (i.e. if the verb is causativised), an applicative enclitic is required to license the displaced subject argument. Examples (349) and (350) both contain two agents (a causer, and the person who does the carrying or eating). The function of the applicative enclitic here is to license the presence of the core agent argument (i.e. the agent specified in the argument structure of the verb root), which is displaced from the subject function by the causer agent.

(349) *Za* ***va-pogozo=ni*** *i* *Debra.*
3SG.R CAUS-carry=APPL.SG PERS Debra
'Debra caused her to carry it.' (o0383)

(350) *qari* ***va-gani-gani=di*** *na dia* *taqala,* *na dia* *mimo,*
3PL.R CAUS-REDUP-eat=APPL.PL DET 3PL.POS shrub.SP DET 3PL.POS edible.leaf
'they fed her[21] their (traditional greens), their (traditional cabbage),'
(a004MD_031)

The applicative also occurs in transitive-intransitive serial verb constructions. In these constructions, the direct object of the transitive verb (V1) is referenced as an applicative object of the following intransitive verb (V2). This involves a rearrangement of the argument structure of the intransitive verb, and is discussed in more detail in §5.3.1.1.

(351) *Pogozo* *luge=ni.*
carry enter=APPL.SG
'Carry it inside.' (o0333)

2.5.3.2.1 Applicatives, object-indexing and number agreement

Kubokota is unusual among the New Georgia languages in that the applicative enclitic distinguishes singular (*=ni*) and plural (*=di*). As shown above, where two objects are licensed, only one can be indexed on the verb. However, although the presence of the applicative enclitic is required to license one of the objects, person and number indexing may refer to either object.

The verb *golomo* 'bury' usually takes a direct object, the undergoer of the act of burying, as in (352).

[21] See §2.5.3.2.1. The direct object here is the woman, who, from the context, is singular. The plural applicative enclitic agrees with the indirect object, the vegetables, which are expressed as an overt NP, whereas the direct object, the woman, is referred to anaphorically. See also example (447).

(352) *ko* *gami* *zae* ***golomo=ria*** *pa=na* *ia* *vei* *keta* *gami*
so 1PL.EX.R go.up **bury=3PL.OBJ** IN.PRP=DET place like there 1PL.EX.R

va-kole=ria *na* *mami* *bangara* *pa* *totozo* *koviria,*
CAUS-lie=3PL.OBJ DET 1PL.EX.POS chief IN.PRP time now
'and we went up and buried them in the place where we put our chiefs at this time,' (a039JT_064)

In (353), the applicative enclitic licenses an additional object, the place in which the people were buried. However, the object enclitic *=ria* on the verb *golomo* agrees with the direct object, the people who were buried. The applicative enclitic *=di* obligatorily agrees with the plural object enclitic.

(353) *na* *ia* *vei* *ketakoi* *qe* ***golomo=di=ria,*** *za* *zale=a*
DET place like there 3PL.R **bury=APPL.PL=3PL.OBJ** 3SG.R come.up=3SG.OBJ

na *tovogo,*
DET wave
'the place where they buried them, the waves were coming up to it,' (a039JT_017)

The presence of the applicative, therefore, licenses an additional participant in the clause but the applicative enclitic agrees in number with the object enclitic (whichever of the two object arguments it indexes). In (354), the object licensed by the applicative is the singular NP *na English* (i.e. the English language), but the applicative enclitic agrees with the plural direct object *=gami* '1PL.EX.OBJ'; in (355), the enclitic agrees with the singular applicative object enclitic *=go* '2SG', not with the plural NP *kori pakete Navy Biscuit* 'two packets of Navy Biscuits'.

(354) *za* ***va-sikulu=di=gami*** *na* *English*
3SG.R **CAUS-learn=APPL.PL=1PL.EX.OBJ** DET English
'he taught us English.' (a017SM_064)

(355) *Qa* *nyoro* *gu=ni* *mana* ***vani=go*** *kori* *pakete*
1SG.R want say=APPL.SG 1SG.FUT **give.APPL.SG=2SG.OBJ** two packet

Navy *Biscuit,*
Navy Biscuit
'I want to give you two packets of Navy Biscuits,' (a010LP_009)

Agreement of the applicative enclitic with the object enclitic is probably a recent innovation. Kettle's database includes at least one example, presented in (356), where there is no agreement between the applicative enclitic *=ni* and the object enclitic; (357) is one of two examples in my own database. (356) and (357) are probably archaic examples, and are similar in structure to the Luqa example in (358): in Luqa

and other New Georgia languages, the applicative enclitic is *=ni* and there is no possibility of number agreement with the object enclitic.[22]

(356) *mari* ***gona=ni=gami***
3PL.IRR **shoot=APPL.SG=1PL.EX.OBJ**
'They are going to shoot us with it.' (Kettle, 22:001)

(357) *Na butubutu ani, pa rane pa ngenari, qari*
DET tribe PROX.SG IN.PRP day IN.PRP today 3PL.R

poja=ni=ria *na butubutu tuturu.*
tell=APPL.SG=3PL.OBJ DET tribe crazy
'This tribe, today, they call it the crazy tribe.' (a023SM_003)

(358) *sa* ***ia=ni=ria*** *na tinoni qai toqo.*
3SG.R **share=APPL=3PL.OBJ** DET person 3PL.R sit
'he served (the bread) to the people who were sitting.' (Luqa NT, John 6:11)

In two-place predicates containing an applicative object, only one object is licensed, and agreement with that object is obligatory. In three-place predicates, two objects are licensed, but only one object can be overtly indexed on the verb. This is also the case for Hoava (Davis 2003:121) and other New Georgia languages (Evans p.c.). Kubokota is unusual in that, while the applicative licenses the presence of one of the objects, it may agree in number with the other, if that is the object that the object enclitic refers to. Further research is required to investigate the constraints on this agreement, the circumstances in which one object or the other may be indexed, and the possible order of the constituents where two object NPs are present.

2.5.3.3 Noun incorporation

The object enclitics license the occurrence of a full object noun phrase with a transitive verb; as shown in §2.3, full NPs enjoy considerable freedom of placement within the clause. However, it is also common for the enclitic to be omitted, and for an object noun to follow immediately after the verb; a full NP may *not* occur in this environment, but is usually a single bare incorporated noun. We therefore see patterns such as those in (359) (the verb *roiti* 'make', with an applicative object) and (360) (the verb *teku* 'take', with a direct object) below. If an object enclitic is present, the NP must have an article, and if the object NP has an article it must be indexed with an object enclitic. Incorporated nouns usually have non-specific reference and attention

[22] Examples (356) to (358) are all three-place predicates, but two-place predicates in Luqa are identical in form, e.g. *roiti=ni=ria* 'make=APPL=3PL.OBJ' ('make them').

is on the process expressed by the verb, rather than the effect of the process on the object argument.

(359) a. *Qa korapa **roiti ruma.***
1SG.R PROG **make house**
'I am house building.' (en022_004)

b. *Qa korapa **roiti=ni na ruma.***
1SG.R PROG **make=APPL.SG DET house**
'I'm building (a new) house.'

c. **Qa korapa **roiti=ni ruma.***
1SG.R PROG **make=APPL.SG house**

d. **Qa **roiti na ruma.***
1SG.R **make DET house**

(360) a. *Lao **teku=a na daramu** pa Pienuna.*
go take=3SG.OBJ DET drum IN.PRP Pienuna
'He went and got the drum from Pienuna.' (o0248)

b. *Lao **teku daramu** pa Pienuna.*
go **take drum** IN.PRP Pienuna
'He went and got (a) drum from Pienuna.'

c. **Lao **teku na daramu** pa Pienuna.*
go **take DET drum** IN.PRP Pienuna

d. **Lao **teku=a daramu** pa Pienuna.*
go **take=3SG.OBJ drum** IN.PRP Pienuna

The same rule applies to the indefinite article *maka* 'one':

(361) a. *Qa korapa **roiti=ni maka ruma korega.***
1SG.R PROG **make=APPL.SG one house new**
'I'm building a new house.' (en022_004)

b. **Qa roiti **maka ruma.***
1SG.R make **one house**

At first glance this would appear to be straightforward noun incorporation. However, it is also possible to "incorporate" nouns with either a post-nominal modifier (e.g. *mangini* 'hot' in (362)), or with a possessive pronoun (*gedi* '3PL.ED.POS' in (363)); a possessive pronoun can also be incorporated on its own (e.g. *gana* '3SG.ED.POS' in (364); note that *gana* refers to fish, which Gavin is not allowed to eat; the apparent resemblance to the possessive pronoun subject indexing (PPSI) described in §2.5.6 is coincidental). If there is no object enclitic on the verb, an object

noun or noun phrase can be incorporated on the condition that no article (or quantifier – see below) is present. The incorporated noun must follow directly after the verb.

(362) *Buku* ***kolo*** ***mangini*** *mae.*
drink **water** **hot** come
'(Let's) just drink tea first.' (o1045)

(363) *Qari* *korapa* *parogo* ***gedi*** ***pusi.***
3PL.R PROG cook.in.fire **3PL.ED.POS** **crayfish**
'They were cooking their crayfish.' (a044BN_086)

(364) *I* *Gavin* *za* *kole* *lukana* ***gana.***
PERS Gavin 3SG.R CONT cry **3SG.ED.POS**
'Gavin is crying for his (fish).' (o0369)

In contrast with the incorporated possessed NPs in (362) and (363), those in (365) and (366) are full NPs, (365) being preceded by the article *na* and (366) by the cardinal numeral *ka=made* 'CARD=four'. The presence of the object enclitic on the verb is obligatory in these examples.

(365) *Qa* *qera=**ni*** ***na*** ***gequ*** ***muji.***
1SG.R be.happy=**APPL.SG** **DET** **ED.1SG.POS** **honey**
'I'm happy about my honey.' (o0127)

(366) *Ari* *i* *Jonathan* *beto* *i* *Gavin* *qari* *izong-**i**=**a***
PROX.PL PERS Jonathan and PERS Gavin 3PL.R have-**TR**=**3SG.OBJ**

ka=made ***gedi*** ***loli.***
CARD=four **ED.3PL.POS** **lolly**
'Jonathan and Gavin have four lollies.' (en018_003)

In three-place predicates, where the applicative enclitic licenses a second object argument, one of the arguments may be incorporated even in the presence of the enclitic (this is not possible with applicative two-place predicates such as *roiti* 'make' (359) and *qera* 'be happy' (365)). In (367), the direct object, 'your canoe', is a full NP, but the applicative object *galava* 'banana fibre' is an incorporated bare noun. In (368) the applicative object is an unspecified goal; here the direct object, *muji* 'honey', is incorporated.

(367) *Mu* *piko=ni* ***galava*** *na* *mua* *mola.*
2.IRR tie=APPL.SG **banana.fibre** DET 2SG.POS canoe
'Tie up your canoe with a banana fibre string.' (a038JW_017)

(368) *Ma va-lao=ni* ***muji.***
1SG.IRR CAUS-go=APPL.SG **honey**
'I'll put honey on (the cake).' (o0210)

2.5.4 Verb prefixes

2.5.4.1 Reciprocal, collective and depatientive *vari-*

The Kubokota prefix *vari-* is a reflex of POc **paRi*. I have glossed it throughout this thesis as 'reciprocal'; however, in reality this is an adequate gloss for only one of its functions. Pawley (1973:151) notes that reflexes of **paRi* often express either *'unified or combined action by a plural subject, or unification of objects rather than the subject of the verb'*. In Kubokota, *vari-* is a valence-reducing element which has the semantic function of unifying some or all of the participants. Kettle (2000:73) identifies three functions for Kubokota *vari-*: reciprocal, collective and depatientive. As I will show, the function of *vari-* is determined by the argument structure of the verb, the thematic roles that it requires, and possibly also whether the subject is singular or plural.[23]

2.5.4.1.1 Reciprocals and collectives

Prototypical reciprocal constructions involve transitive verbs, which license two arguments, an actor and an undergoer. Reciprocal constructions have a plural subject and no object; the participants act on each other, sharing the actor and undergoer roles.

(369) *Ari-kori mari* ***vari-elava.***
PROX.PL-two 3PL.IRR **RECIP-marry**
'Those two are going to marry each other.' (o0688)

(370) *Pae tu beka tana* ***vari-dogoro?***
where FOC maybe 1PL.IN.FUT **RECIP-look**
'Where might we see each other (again)?' (o1047)

In collective constructions, the participants act together but not necessarily on each other; they are 'performers' of the action and 'companions' of the other participants (Kettle 2000:78). Collectives might be regarded as a type of concomitant construction (Lichtenberk 1991:28).

[23] I leave open the question of whether *vari-* is monosemous or polysemous. If all instances of *vari-* can be predicted from argument structure this would favour a monosemous analysis, but further research would be required to determine this.

(371) *qa* *dogor-i=a* *kubo* *tinoni* *qe* ***vari=kamu,***
1SG.R look-TR=3SG.OBJ many people 3PL.R **RECIP=arrive**
'I saw lots of people coming together,' (a012LP_086)

(372) *Qe* ***vari-kono*** *ke.*
3PL.R **RECIP-be.jealous** EXCL
'They're jealous of each other.' (o0604)

In contrast with reciprocals, the verb root in a collective construction is often intransitive; however, an object may be licensed by the applicative enclitic. In (373), the applicative object is a non-core argument (a goal) of the normally intransitive verb *abutu* 'run'; in (374), it is the patient argument required by the argument structure of the transitive verb *rikata* 'tear'.

(373) *Qari* ***vari-abutu=ni*** *Donald.*
3PL.R **RECIP-run=APPL.SG** Donald
'They ran together to Donald.' (o0679)

(374) *Qari* ***vari-rikata=ni*** *na* *jiraka* *poko.*
3PL.R **RECIP-tear=APPL.SG** DET tear cloth
'They tear the scrap of cloth together.' (e013RVa_032)

The 'GOAL' verb *tari* is used to increase valency, adding a thematic role (375).[24] *Tari* frequently occurs in collective constructions, and seems to combine the collective and reciprocal functions: the participants act together (i.e. collectively, as subjects of the intransitive verb) and with regard to each other (i.e. reciprocally). In (376) the participants are performing the same activity (seeing) in relation to each other. The comitative verb *taviti* also occurs in collective constructions (377) (see §5.2.4.1).

(375) *za* ***bata*** ***tari=a.***
3SG.R **see** **GOAL=3SG.OBJ**
'he's looking at it.' (e018RG2_094)

(376) *qari* ***vari-bata*** ***tari.***
3PL.R **RECIP-see** **GOAL**
'they are facing each other.' (e010SM4_029)

(377) *Qe* ***vari-puta*** ***taviti.***
3PL.R **RECIP-sleep** **COMIT**
'They sleep together.' (o0688)

As suggested earlier, whether the function of *vari-* is reciprocal, collective or depatientive seems to depend primarily on the argument structure of the verb. Most

[24] The added argument is usually goal-like, hence the gloss. *Tari* is discussed in detail in §5.2.4.2.

verbs in my database do not occur with more than one function. Kettle's database, however, contains both collective (378) and reciprocal (379) examples of the intransitive verb *paleka* 'be wounded' (Kettle 2000:76). In (369), the verb *elava* 'marry' is reciprocal, but in (380) it has a singular subject and is depatientive (see below).

(378) *qe* ***vari-paleka***
3PL.R **RECIP-be.wounded**
'they were wounded' (8:085)

(379) *qe* ***vari-va-paleka***
3PL.R **RECIP-CAUS-be.wounded**
'they wounded each other' (8:085)

(380) *Za uke na tina=qu ara, za* ***vari-elava*** *soga na*
3SG.R die DET mother=1SG.POS 1SG 3SG.R **RECIP-marry** again DET
tama=qu.
father=1SG.POS
'My mother died, my father married again.' (en004_014)

2.5.4.1.2 Depatientives

Depatientive constructions involve transitive verbs, but no object is expressed; the object is generic, the action being *'directed not at a specific participant but at any and all of a certain kind'* (Lichtenberk 1991:179). The structure can describe a specific event or state of affairs, but is particularly common in generic statements about states of affairs that are always true, such as (383).

(381) *Za* ***vari-vai*** *na tapo.*
3SG.R **RECIP-kill** DET sun
'The sun is killing (us).' (o0308)

(382) *Za* ***vari-vui.*** *Ke, za vui=ziu!*
3SG.R **RECIP-burn** EXCL 3SG.R burn=1SG.OBJ
'It burns! Hey, it burnt me!' (o0328)

(383) *Za okoro vei ari, za* ***vari-garata*** *na roqo.*
3SG.R rain like PROX.PL 3SG.R **RECIP-bite** DET mosquito
'(When) it rains like this, the mosquito bites.' (o0707)

Intransitive verb roots are also found in depatientive constructions, but the causative prefix *va-* is required to make the verb transitive, before the valence-decreasing *vari-* can apply (i.e. the causative prefix adds a participant, and depatientive *vari-* removes one).

(384) *Na zona ani za* ***vari-va-mo.***
3SG.R road PROX.SG 3SG.R **RECIP-CAUS-be.sick**
'This road makes one sick.' (o0498)

(385) *Vari-vari-va-lukana.*
RECIP-RECIP-CAUS-cry
'It causes one to cry.' (o1000)

Certain verbs in the depatientive construction require the suffix *-ai*. *-Ai* occurs only infrequently in the data and may no longer be productive in Kubokota. (386) and (387) are non-depatientive examples; both involve verbalisation, (386) of the local noun *kauru* 'below', (387) of the common noun *koburu* 'child'.

(386) *gami kaur-**ai** gore pa nole,*
1PL.EX.R below-*AI* go.down IN.PRP beach
'we took the lower road down to the beach,' (a044BN_084)

(387) *Za va-va-kobur-**ai** i Jonathan pan ti Betsy.*
3SG.R CAUS-CAUS-child-*AI* PERS Jonathan IN.PRP.DET AN.PRP.PERS Betsy
'Jonathan is behaving like a small child to Betsy.' (o0951)

On transitive verbs with *vari-*, *-ai* seems to have the function of reducing the valency, such that the action described by the verb is not directed towards a specific object, but generally (388). On intransitive verbs, conversely, the valency is increased, but again, the object is not specified (389), (390). Note that in the presence of *-ai*, the final vowel of the verb root is deleted; the roots in the examples below are *toka* 'help', *suvere* 'stay', *livutu* 'go around' and *gigala* 'know'.

(388) *Na tio vari-tok-**ai.***
DET person RECIP-help-*AI*
'(He's a) person who helps (others).' (o0673)

(389) *Ao qu vari-suver-**ai**?*
2SG 2SG.R RECIP-stay-*AI*
'Did you babysit?' (o0404)

(390) *Za pauku vari-livut-**ai.***
3SG.R black.cloud RECIP-go.around-*AI*
'There are storm clouds all around.' (o0702)

The applicative enclitic frequently licenses a specific object on *-ai* depatientives (391), (392).

(391) *Za* *okoro* ***vari-livut-ai=di=gita.***
3SG.R rain RECIP-go.around-*AI*=**APPL.PL=1PL.IN.OBJ**
'It's raining all around us.'

(392) *za* *leana* *ta=di* *gami,* *za* *boka* *vari-va-gigal-**ai=ni***
3SG.R be.good AN.PRP=PL 1PL.EX.OBJ 3SG.R HABIT RECIP-CAUS-know-*AI*=**APPL.SG**
na *English,*
DET English
'he was good to us, he taught (us) English,' (a017SM_062)

2.5.4.2 Passive *ta-*

Like *vari-*, the passive prefix *ta-* is a valence-decreasing device. A prototypical passive reduces the number of arguments by one, the subject of a transitive verb being omitted or demoted to the status of an oblique argument, while the object is promoted to subject function. The verbs *likoto* 'cut' and *golomo* 'bury' are transitive verbs which typically take direct object arguments; in (393) and (394), the patient role normally expressed as a direct object is expressed as subject, and the agent role is omitted.[25]

(393) *Za* ***ta-likoto,*** *za* *likot-i=a.*
3SG.R **PASS-cut** 3SG.R cut-TR=3SG.OBJ
'It's cut, she cut it.' (e013RVa_059)

(394) *Qe* ***ta-golomo*** *ari-kori,* *qe* *uke* *ko* *qe* ***ta-golomo*** *totozo*
3PL.R **PASS-bury** PROX.PL-two 3PL.R die so 3PL.R **PASS-bury** time
jola *tu.*
pass FOC
'The two of them were buried, they died and they were buried in time past.' (a039JT_014)

Keenan and Dryer propose that *'If a language has any passives it has ones which can be used to cover the perfective range of meaning... no language will have only passives which must be interpreted imperfectively'* (Keenan and Dryer 2007:340). In Kubokota, a passive verb must be perfective, i.e. it must describe a result state. (395) and (396) describe events that took place in the past and that have present consequences: in (395), the alarm clock has undergone a change of state (getting broken) that continues into the present; in (396), the fact that the bones have been taken means that they are no longer there to be seen.

[25] In many languages, the agent of a passive construction can be expressed in an oblique phrase (e.g. 'It was cut by the girl'). This seems not to be possible in Kubokota passives. Kettle (2000:65) finds only one potential (and dubious) candidate in her data, and there are no examples in mine.

(395) *Za nunu ko za* ***ta-piara.***
3SG.R earthquake so 3SG.R **PASS-break**
'There was an earthquake and (the alarm clock) got broken.' (o0655)

(396) *na raqoraqo pa=na lima, za=ke* ***ta-bata,*** *qe* ***ta-teku,***
DET rib IN.PRP=DET hand 3SG.R=NEG **PASS-see** 3PL.R **PASS-take**
'the bones of the hand, they weren't seen, they had been taken.' (a039JT_044)

Kubokota passives frequently involve verbs of cutting and breaking (393), (395). In (397), the verb *qete* 'stab' describes an event (of cutting something with a stabbing action) with a result state expressed by the verb *lomoto* 'cut' (being cut). (398) describes only the act of stabbing and not the result, and is therefore ungrammatical.

(397) *Za* ***ta-qete lomoto.***
3SG.R **PASS-stab cut**
'It was stab cut.' (e013RVb_144)

(398) **Za* ***ta-qete.***
3SG.R **PASS-stab**
'It was stabbed.' (e013RVb_145)

In the Kubokota corpus, the majority of verbs in passive constructions are underlyingly transitive, but there is a small class of verbs, mostly describing emotions, that occur only with the passive prefix, and are always syntactically intransitive.[26] There is usually an external cause for the emotions expressed by verbs in this category; other emotions, such as *qera* 'be happy', do not require the passive.

(399) *Ko qari* ***ta-kulanga*** *ari-kori.*
so 3PL.R **PASS-sorry** PROX.PL-two
'And the two of them felt sorry.' (email002NS_004)

(400) *Za kopa* ***ta-gigiri.***
3SG.R PROG **PASS-angry**
'He's (getting) angry.' (o0492)

The passive prefix can be preceded by the causative prefix, particularly with verbs of emotion (401) but also with transitive verbs such as *vai* 'buy' (402). It is highly unusual typologically for a causative morpheme to have scope over a passive.

(401) *pala mina kole* ***va-ta-gigiri=ria***
FUT 3SG.FUT lie **CAUS-PASS-angry=3PL.OBJ**
'it will make them cross' (a014SP_044)

[26] These verbs are reminiscent of dative experiencer verbs in languages such as Italian (e.g. *Mi piace* 'It pleases me', i.e. 'I like it') and German (*Es tut mir leid* 'It does me sorry') (Austin, p.c.).

(402) *ria* *qe* *roiti=di* *ko* *qe* ***va-ta-vai=di*** *ta=di* *ria*
3PL 3PL.R make=APPL.PL so 3PL.R **CAUS-PASS-buy=APPL.PL** AN.PRP=PL 3PL.OBJ
tinoni *vaka* *ari*
person ship PROX.PL
'they made them then they sold them to the white people' (lit. 'caused them to be bought by the ship people') (a007BL_025)

It is also possible for the passive to precede the causative, as in (403) and (404).

(403) *Za* *dai* *nana* *piko* *ko* *mine=ke* *lea* ***ta-va-uke.***
3SG.R NEG 3SG.POS tie so 3SG.FUT=NEG good **PASS-CAUS-die**
'(The pig) doesn't want to be tied and he won't be able to be killed.' (o0950)

(404) *Kau* *vari-kamu=di,* *ko* *mina* *lame* ***ta-va-peki*** *na* *topa* *ani.*
pull RECIP-arrive=APPL.PL so 3SG.FUT come **PASS-CAUS-small** DET basket PROX.SG
'Pull them together, and this basket will become smaller.' (o1043)

In (405), the root *kulanga* 'sorry' takes all three verbal prefixes – reciprocal, causative and passive – and is nominalised (with the possessive enclitic *=na*) as a noun modifier.

(405) *Maka* *nongoro* ***vari-va-ta-kulanga=na*** *mana* *ule* *vani=go.*
one hear **RECIP-CAUS-PASS-sorry=3SG.POS** 1SG.FUT tell BEN.APPL.SG=2SG.OBJ
'One piece of sad news I will tell you.' (w003BN_010)

2.5.4.3 Causative *va-*

The causative prefix *va-* alternates with *v-* when preceding vowel initial roots, except those beginning with mid-vowels:

(406) *va-uke*	/ˈβuke/ ~ /βaˈuke/	'CAUS-die'
va-ole	/βaˈole/	'CAUS-float'
va-ake	/ˈβake/ ~ /βaˈake/	'CAUS-be.on'
va-enga	/βaˈeŋa/	'CAUS-look.up'
va-ikere	/ˈβikere/ ~ /βaˈikere/	'CAUS-be.bad'

The causative prefix is used to increase the valence of a verb. It does this by adding an agent, which acts on the existing core arguments of the verb. The causative therefore alters the argument structure of the verb. Prototypically, an intransitive verb becomes transitive and a transitive verb becomes ditransitive, the original subjects of these verbs being demoted to objects (direct or applicative – see also §2.5.3.2). In Kubokota, the causative is also used to turn a stative verb into an intransitive dynamic verb, and to form "causative adverbials", where a causative-marked verb modifies the

preceding main verb, typically describing the way in which the action of the main verb is performed. The latter functions suggest that Kubokota *va-*, rather than merely increasing the valence of the verb, marks an increase in dynamicity (as opposed to stativity), whether this involves one argument acting on another (prototypical causation), a single argument acting in a more agentive or dynamic way, or the action described by one verb being "acted on" (in a metaphorical sense, grammaticalised in Kubokota by the causative adverbial construction) or performed in a manner described by a verbal modifier (i.e. causative adverbial).[27]

2.5.4.3.1 Causativisation of intransitives

The subject of an intransitive verb becomes the direct object in a causative construction. In (407) and (408), the usual actor subjects of the verbs *lukana* 'cry' and *ganigani* 'eat', become objects; they still perform the actions of crying and eating, but are acted on by an external participant (the subject) who causes them to do these things.

(407) *I* *zei* *za* ***va-lukan-i=a?***
PERS who 3SG.R **CAUS-cry-TR=3SG.OBJ**
'Who made him cry?' (o0426)

(408) *Qa* *gore* ***va-gani-gani*** *borogo.*
1SG.R go.down **CAUS-REDUP-eat** pig
'I went down to feed the pig.' (lit. 'to make the pig eat') (o0672)

In (407) and (408) the causative construction has scope over a single verb nucleus, in (409) and (410) over a verb serialisation.

(409) *Qari* ***va-leko-leko*** ***gobor-i=a*** *na* *borogo.*
3PL.R **CAUS-REDUP-stroll** **be.without.purpose-TR=3SG.OBJ** DET pig
'They let the pig(s) wander around.' (o0621)

(410) *Za* ***va-nyoro*** ***buku=ziu.***
3SG.R **CAUS-want** **drink=1SG.OBJ**
'It makes me want to drink.' (o0643)

A further argument can be licensed on a causativised intransitive verb by the applicative enclitic. In (411) the intransitive verb *keni* 'go away' is made transitive with the causative prefix and a direct object enclitic; in (412) the applicative makes it ditransitive (the extra argument being required by the preceding transitive verb *teku*

[27] François (2006) uses the term "event-argument serialisations" for such constructions, the head verb becoming an argument for the modifying (causativised) verb. More details are given in §5.2.2.

'take' in the SVC; see §2.5.3.2 and §5.3.1.1). With causativised directionals, the applicative often adds a goal argument (413).

(411) *Va-keni=ria!*
CAUS-go.away=3PL.OBJ
'Make them go away!' (o0076)

(412) *Mina lame i Tabura, mina teku* ***va-keni=di=gamu.***
3SG.FUT come PERS Tabura 3SG.FUT take **CAUS-go.away=APPL.PL=2PL.OBJ**
'Tabura will come and take it from you.' (o0465)

(413) *Ma* ***va-lao=ni*** *muji. Na gani-gani lea na muji.*
1SG.IRR **CAUS-go=APPL.SG** honey DET REDUP-eat good DET honey
'I'll put honey on it. Honey is good food.' (o0210)

2.5.4.3.2 Causativisation of transitives

When a transitive verb is made causative, it becomes ditransitive, the applicative enclitic being used to license the original actor argument (see §2.5.3.2).

(414) *Za* ***va-pogozo=ni*** *i Debra.*
3SG.R **CAUS-carry=APPL.SG** PERS Debra
'Debra made her carry it.' (o0383)

(415) *Koi, ko mina* ***va-garata=ni*** *na roqo.*
EXCL so 3SG.FUT **CAUS-bite=APPL.SG** DET mosquito
'Hey, he'll make him get bitten by mosquitos!' (o0692)

2.5.4.3.3 Derived intransitives

Stative intransitive verbs become dynamic with the addition of a causative prefix. They retain their intransitive status. In (416), the verb *gozoro* 'be right' is stative, describing an attribute of the subject; in (417) it is dynamic, describing the subject's behaviour. The first instance of the verb *hoboro* 'be without purpose' in (418) is stative, the second is causativised and dynamic (but still intransitive).

(416) *Za* ***gozoro.***
3SG.R **right**
'That's right.' (o0726)

(417) *Qu=ke* ***va-gozoro*** *ao.*
2SG.R=NEG **CAUS-right** 2SG
'You don't do right.' (o0726)

(418) *Ego* *ko* *doru=di* *na* *dia* *vina-nama-nama* *za=ke*
therefore so all=3PL.POS DET 3PL.POS ORD-REDUP-prepare 3SG.R=NEG

hoboro, *qari=ke* ***va-hoboro*** *ria.*
be.without.purpose 3PL.R=NEG **CAUS-be.without.purpose** 3PL
'So all their preparation was serious (lit. 'not without purpose'), they didn't do (it) lightly.' (a004MD_028-9)

Again, an applicative enclitic can be used to add a further argument, in (419) an experiencer:

(419) *Za* ***va-lingi=ni*** *na* *neni.*
3SG.R **CAUS-be.delicious=APPL.SG** DET nut.SP
'He likes the *neni* nuts.' (lit. 'The *neni* nut causes deliciousness to him.') (o0792)

Ikika 'rubbish' is a noun that can become an intransitive verb with the causative prefix (420); the underived construction, **za ikika* is ungrammatical. The synonym *nyanyau* 'rubbish' can be either a noun (421) or a verb (422) with no derivational morphology. This indicates that even nouns in Kubokota have a lexically specified argument structure.

(420) *Za* *va-ikika.*
3SG.R CAUS-rubbish
'It causes rubbish.' (o0259)

(421) *Za* *pugele* *na* *ikika / nyanyau.*
3SG.R full DET rubbish / rubbish
'It's full of rubbish.' (o0259)

(422) *Za* *nyanyau* *na* *leo* *ruma* *kau.*
3SG.R rubbish DET inside house ash
'The kitchen is (full of) rubbish.' (o0259)

In (423), a modified noun *tio lata* 'married person' becomes a causativised verb (*kole* here gives the sense of being put aside for the future):

(423) *Qe* *va-tio* *lata* *va-kole=go.*
3PL.R CAUS-person married CAUS-lie=2SG.OBJ
'They have betrothed you.' (lit. 'They have caused you (to become in future) a married person.') (o0219)

2.5.4.3.4 Causative adverbials

The causative prefix also occurs on the last element of a serial verb construction to modify the action described by the head verb; this element is often a stative verb

describing the manner in which the action is performed. These constructions, which I call "causative adverbials", are discussed in more detail in §5.2.2.

(424) *Aru* ***va-neqi=a.***
hold **CAUS-be.strong=3SG.OBJ**
'Hold it strongly.' (o0665)

(425) *qari* *suvere* ***va-leana.***
3PL.R stay CAUS-be.good
'they lived well,' (a002MD_036)

A causative adverbial can be derived from a noun (426) or even a quantifier (427), particularly when used to express the time at which an event takes place.

(426) *Muna* *iu* ***va-rane.***
2.FUT wash **CAUS-day**
'Wash while it's still daylight.' (o0472)

(427) *Gami* *gore* ***va-made.***
1PL.EX.R go.down **CAUS-four**
'We went down (for the fourth day of mourning).' (o0497)

2.5.4.3.5 Reduplication of causatives

The causative prefix is frequently reduplicated. The function of the reduplicated form is often to express iterative action in a causativised verb (see §2.5.5.2 on reduplication).

(428) *Qa* ***va-va-gore=a*** *na* *pou* *panakai.*
1SG.R **CAUS-CAUS-go.down=3SG.OBJ** DET root potato
'I planted potato roots.' (o0200)

(429) *Za* ***va-va-zae=a*** *na* *mua* *buti* *ao,* *ko* *za* *vai*
3SG.R **CAUS-CAUS-go.up=3SG.OBJ** DET 2SG.POS shoe 2SG so 3SG.R buy

vani *na* *mama.*
BEN.APPL.SG DET mama
'She's always putting on your shoes so her mother bought (shoes) for her.' (o0834)

Alternatively, a verb with a reduplicated causative prefix may be nominalised, usually to express a location in which an action habitually takes place, or an instrument with which it is performed; see also §2.4.2.2 on nominalisation of locations and instruments.

(430) *za* *gazavotu* *pa* *nole,* *pa=na* *dia* ***va-va-paro***
3SG.R go.seawards IN.PRP beach IN.PRP=DET 3PL.POS **CAUS-CAUS-go.ashore**
mola,
canoe
'he went down to the beach, to their canoe landing place,' (a038JW_006)

(431) *Na* ***va-va-garata=ni*** *poko* *za* *kole* *pa=na* *gazoro*
DET **CAUS-CAUS-bite=APPL.SG** cloth 3SG.R be.LOC IN.PRP=DET rope
va-va-titi *poko.*
CAUS-CAUS-hang cloth
'The peg is on the clothes line.' (en003_033)

Va-va- also occurs in a number of lexicalised verbs, where the meaning of the whole word is idiomatic, and not transparent from the meaning of the verb root.

(432) *Za* ***va-va-bongi.***
3SG.R **CAUS-CAUS-night**
'He's late.' (lit. 'He's causing night.') (o0400)

(433) *Za* ***va-va-kobur-ai*** *i* *Jonathan* *pa=n* *ti* *Betsy.*
3SG.R **CAUS-CAUS-child-*AI*** PERS Jonathan IN.PRP=DET AN.PRP.PERS Betsy
'Jonathan is behaving like a small child to Betsy.' (o0951)

2.5.5 Other transitivity processes

2.5.5.1 Transitivity and location

Kubokota has several verbs expressing locative concepts, where the intransitive form expresses static location and the transitive form expresses caused location. Structurally, the change of argument structure can be marked either with the causative prefix and a direct object enclitic, or with the applicative enclitic alone. In both cases, the located entity, which is a subject in the intransitive construction, becomes an object.

A locative verb such as *ake* 'be on' (434) can become a verb of caused location with the causative prefix and a direct object enclitic (435).

(434) *Za* ***ake*** *pa* *tevolo* *na* *ivata* *tevolo.*
3SG.R **be.on** IN.PRP table DET cloth table
'The table cloth is on the table.' (en034_029 – Topological Relations)

(435) *za* ***v-ake=a*** *pa=na* *are* *tevolo*
3SG.R **CAUS-be.on=3SG.OBJ** IN.PRP=DET top table
'he puts it on top of the table' (e003LP_015 – Caused Positions)

The verb *kura* 'be in' (436) becomes a verb of caused location with the applicative enclitic (437). The subject is the causer and the applicative indexes the located object. There are no other derivational changes.

(436) *qari* *korapa* ***kura*** *dia* *pa=na* *dia* *bara.*
3PL.R PROG **be.in** 3PL.POS IN.PRP=DET 3PL.POS fence
'they were in their cage.' (a044BN_059)

(437) *Betsy,* *na* *za* *muna* ***kura=ni*** *pa* *topa* *zana?*
Betsy DET 3SG.R 2.FUT **put.in=APPL.SG** IN.PRP basket MED.SG
'Betsy, what will you put in that basket?' (o0131)

Kura can also take a direct object, in which case the location or ground is the subject, and the located object or figure is the object (438). It is not uncommon for other intransitive positional roots such as *turu* 'stand' and *suvere* 'stay' to become transitive verbs with the ground as direct object (439), (440).[28]

(438) *Na* *banga* *za* ***kura=i*** *na* *koba.*
DET banga.shell 3SG.R **be.in=3SG.OBJ** DET hermit.crab
'The banga shell has a hermit crab in it.' (o1009)

(439) *Robert,* *mu* *lame* *vani=ziu* *maka* *piksa* *za* ***turu=a***
Robert 2.IRR come give.APPL.SG=1SG.OBJ one picture 3SG.R **stand=3SG.OBJ**
kori *suvege,*
two tree
'Robert, give me a picture in which stand two trees,' (e018RG2_105)

(440) *I* *Nake* *za* *vadi=gami,* *azae* *gami* ***suver-i=a*** *pani.*
PERS Nake 3SG.R give.APPL.PL=1PL.EX.OBJ thus 1PL.EX.R **stay-TR=3SG.OBJ** here
'Nake gave (the land) to us, therefore we live here.' (a056IP_074)

2.5.5.2 Verbal reduplication and (in)transitivity

Both root level and word level verbal reduplication occurs in Kubokota. Root level reduplicated verbs are usually intransitive, and a normally transitive verb root can be made intransitive by reduplication. Word-level reduplicated verbs express iterative or continuative action. Typically, the first two syllables of a root may be reduplicated in Kubokota, the reduplicated syllables preceding the main root (this is also true for nouns; see §2.4.2.2 for noun reduplication).[29]

[28] The transitive suffix *-i* derives from the POc locative preposition **i*; this is probably the motivation for treating a locative as a direct object (Evans p.c.).
[29] In Luqa, only the first syllable is reduplicated, e.g. *ki-kipu* 'REDUP-blink'. One-syllable reduplication is rare in Kubokota but does occur with the prefix *va-*, e.g. *va-va-gore* 'CAUS-CAUS-go.down', and occasionally in other contexts, e.g. *re-rerege* 'REDUP-walk'.

In (441) the verb *gani* 'eat' is transitive, with a direct object enclitic; in (442) it is intransitive and reduplicated (at root level). Semantically, the contrast between the two seems to be a contrast between a telic event (eating a nut) and an atelic process or activity of eating.

(441) *Mune=ke* ***gani=a!*** *Mu-ne=ke* ***gani=a*** *na* *buni!*
2.FUT=NEG **eat=3SG.OBJ** 2.FUT=NEG **eat=3SG.OBJ** DET tree.SP
'Don't eat it! Don't eat the buni (a poisonous nut)!' (o0464)

(442) *Adon-i=a* *na* *izo* *ko* *mu* ***gani-gani.***
wait-TR=3SG.OBJ DET tuna so 2.IRR **REDUP-eat**
'Wait for the fish (to be cooked) so you can eat.' (o0223)

Transitive verbs that have been reduplicated cannot take direct object enclitics (i.e. a reduplicated verb is a one-place predicate). (443) is ungrammatical. If a noun is incorporated without object marking, both reduplication (444) and non-reduplication of the verb is acceptable (445).

(443) **Qa* *gani-gani=a* *na* *panakai.*
1SG.R REDUP-eat=3SG.OBJ DET potato
'I ate the potato.' (en042_002)

(444) *Qa* *gani-gani* *panakai.*
1SG.R REDUP-eat potato
'I ate potatoes.' (en042_002)

(445) *Qa* *gani* *panakai.*
1SG.R eat potato
'I ate potatoes.' (en042_002)

Root-level reduplicated intransitive verbs can be made transitive again with the causative prefix *va-* (446) (i.e. root-level reduplication is a derivation that applies before causativisation, in contrast with the word-level examples below). In (447), a third argument is added (the thing eaten) with the applicative enclitic.

(446) *Qa* *gore* ***va-gani-gani=a*** *na* *borogo.*
1SG.R go.down **CAUS-REDUP-eat=3SG.OBJ** DET pig
'I went down to feed the pig.' (o0672)

(447) *qari* ***va-gani-gani=di*** *na* *dia* *taqala,* *na* *dia* *mimo,*
3PL.R **CAUS-REDUP-eat=APPL.PL** DET 3PL.POS shrub.SP DET 3PL.POS edible.leaf
'they fed her their (traditional greens), their (traditional cabbage),'
(a004MD_031)

Word-level reduplicated verbs express continuous (448) or iterative action (449).

(448) *za=ke* *boka* ***bata-bata***
3SG.R=NEG able **REDUP-see**
'he couldn't see' (a038JW_048)

(449) *Pani* *qe* ***lame-lame*** *iu* *dia.*
here 3PL.R **REDUP-come** wash 3PL.POS
'Here they (used to) come to swim.' (o0900)

If prefixes such as the reciprocal *vari-* or the causative *va-* are present, these are reduplicated instead of the root. Note that in (451), the root has the same transitive, causativised status as (452); this is in contrast with (446) above, where the causativisation process applies to the intransitive reduplicated root *gani-gani*.

(450) *Qari* *kopa* *nyumu* ***vari-vari-kamu*** *dia* *ketakoi.*
3PL.R PROG sit **RECIP-RECIP-arrive** 3PL.POS there
'They sat down together there.' (fs001LP_088)

(451) *gami* ***va-va-gore=ria*** *na* *kesi* *kavingi* *pa* *vaka.*
1PL.EX.R **CAUS-CAUS-go.down=3PL.OBJ** DET box carving IN.PRP ship
'So we went and took down the boxes of carvings to the ship,' (a012LP_030)

(452) *qa* *va-gore=a* *na* *tali.*
1SG.R CAUS-go.down=3SG.OBJ DET fishing.line
'I lower the fishing line.' (a047M_011)

The reduplication of certain intransitive verbs, weather verbs in particular, triggers a complete reassignment of roles. The subject of a reduplicated weather verb is the entity (usually a person) affected by the weather (453), (454). (455) is a non-weather example; the noun *lango* 'fly' is usually verbalised (without reduplication) to mean 'there are flies', but here the food affected by the flies is the subject..

(453) *Votu* *lao* *pa* *peguru* *ko* ***mu*** ***gava-gava.***
exit go IN.PRP outside so **2.IRR** **REDUP-wind**
'Go outside and (get some) wind (i.e. fresh air).' (o1027)

(454) ***Gami*** ***ok(o)-okoro***[30] *mami.*
1PL.EX.R **REDUP-rain** 1PL.EX.POS
'We (got) rained (on).' (o0584)

(455) *Pala* ***mina*** ***lango-lango.***
FUT **3SG.FUT** **REDUP-fly**
'(The food) will (get) flies (on it).' (o0066)

[30] Where reduplication creates a sequence of two identical vowels (i.e. with vowel-initial roots), the extra vowel is elided (cf. other vowel elision processes in §2.1.2).

2.5.6 Possessive pronoun subject indexing (PPSI)

A common feature of NWS languages is the use of the indirect possessive pronouns as post-verbal subject indexing pronouns.[31] Kettle (2000:193) analyses these pronouns in Kubokota as indexing absolutive arguments (both subjects and objects[32]), but investigation shows that possessive pronoun subject indexing (PPSI) is in fact used to reference only the subjects of intransitive and experiencer verbs (there is no such restriction on possessed nominalised clauses). PPSI is particularly common with stative verbs such as *nyumu* 'sit', *suvere* 'stay' and *kole* 'lie', and with directional verbs.

Across the NWS group, PPSI often occurs in constructions expressing durative or continuative aspect (Palmer 2005). In Kubokota, however, it can occur with any aspect, mood or illocutionary force, as is shown in the data presented below. Its function seems to be to index subjects with the thematic role of patient or theme, i.e. an argument which is moved or located (theme), or an argument that is in a state or condition, or undergoes a change of state or condition (patient).[33] Both the exclusive and edible possessive pronouns are used in PPSI; the exclusive forms are more common, and index actor themes (where the subject acts volitionally, or is less affected), while the edible forms index undergoers (where the subject acts involuntarily, or is more affected).

Examples (456) to (458) demonstrate that PPSI can occur in almost any modality: in (456), the mood is realis, in (457) it is irrealis and in (458) it is future irrealis.[34] In all three examples, the possessive pronoun is co-referential with the subject.

(456) *Qokolo,* ***za*** *uke* ***nana!***
boy 3SG.R die 3SG.POS
'Hey, (the stove) is dying!' (o0359)

(457) *Kole pale=ni* *ko* ***mi*** *suvere* ***nana.***
lie source=APPL.SG so 3SG.IRR stay 3SG.POS
'Leave her so that she will stay.' (o0393)

[31] There are interesting parallels between this and the use of any of the possessive pronouns to index the subject of a nominalised clause, as described in §2.4.6.
[32] Kettle's examples of these pronouns being used to index absolutive objects all turn out to be ordinary possessive pronouns, or are rejected as ungrammatical by my consultants.
[33] The Kubokota data suggests that patient and theme can be treated as a unified thematic role.
[34] No examples of PPSI with hypothetical mood are available.

(458) *Tata* ***muma*** *keni* ***mua.***
close **2SG.FUT** go **2SG.POS**
'Soon you will go away.' (o0240)

PPSI can also occur in any aspect. In (456), the stove is guttering and its dying can be interpreted as imperfective, but (459) comes from a story about the past in which the dying is completed. The motion events marked by PPSI in (460) and (461) are both complete; note that the verb *keni* coalesces with the forms *nana* '3SG.POS' and *nada* '1PL.IN.POS', being realised as *kenana*, *kenada*.

(459) *soqolo* *gore,* *qari* *gua,* *gore* *ko* *uke* *beto* ***dia*** *tu=gu*
jump go.down 3PL.R say go.down so die finish **3PL.POS** FOC=LIM

na *tinoni* *ari,* *ura* *qe* *mamata* *ko* *qe* *gore* *zana*
DET person PROX.PL because 3PL.R heavy so 3PL.R go.down MED.SG

gore *ko* *uke* ***dia*** *gu.*
go.down so die **3PL.POS** LIM
'they jumped down, they went down and all those people died, because they were heavy and they went down like that and they just died.'
(a023SM_030-031)

(460) *Za* *tula* *vi-viva* *na* *iku* *pa* *ruma* *kau* *ta=mu* *beto*
3SG.R smoke REDUP-much DET fire IN.PRP house ash AN.PRP=2SG.POS then

qa *votu* ***qua.***
1SG.R exit **1SG.POS**
'The fire in your kitchen is smoking a lot so I've come outside.' (o0137; said outside)

(461) *Za* *pote* *ko* ***za*** ***kenana.***
3SG.R full so **3SG** **go.away.3SG.POS**
'He's full so he's gone away.' (o0230; subject is out of sight)

There is no overt marking of perfective aspect in (459) to (461). (462) and (463) show that both progressive (*korapa*) and perfective (*tori*) aspect marking can co-occur with PPSI.

(462) ***Tori*** *luge* ***nana*** *tu.*
already enter **3SG.POS** FOC
'She's already gone inside.' (o0372)

(463) *Ego* *goto* *gami* *pani* *ba* ***gami*** ***korapa*** *suvere* *va-leana*
therefore but 1PL.EX here but **1PL.EX.R** **PROG** stay CAUS-be.good

mami *gu.*
1PL.EX.POS LIM
'But we here we are staying well.' (email001NS_003)

All the examples of PPSI presented so far are in declarative sentences. However, it is also common in interrogatives (464), (465), imperatives (466), (467) and exhortatives (468).

(464) *Gore* ***miu*** *pa* *Pienuna?*
go.down **2PL.POS** IN.PRP Pienuna
'Are you going down to Pienuna?' (o0249; said on road to Pienuna).

(465) *Dai* ***mua?***
NEG **2SG.POS**
'Don't you want any? (or 'Don't you want to?')' (o0094)

(466) *Keni* ***mua!***
go **2SG.POS**
'Go away!' (o0237)

(467) *Keza zale* ***mua,*** *mae.*
climb come.up **2SG.POS** come
'Climb up here, come.' (o0634)

(468) *Kenada.*
go.1PL.IN.POS
'Let's go.' (o0013)

As well as indexing the subjects of intransitive verbs, PPSI may refer to the subjects of transitive experiencer verbs such as *nongoro* 'hear', *bati* 'see' and *gilagila* 'know'. This is possible whether or not the object is overtly expressed with a NP.

(469) *Qu* *nongor-i=a* ***mua?***
2SG.R hear-TR=3SG.OBJ **2SG.POS**
'Have you heard (the news)?' (o0654)

(470) *Tamaza, qu tori dogor-i=a* ***mua*** *tu.*
God 2SG.R PERF look-TR=3SG.OBJ **2SG.POS** FOC
'God, you've already seen it.' (o0562)

(471) *Qu* *gilagila=i* ***mua*** *maka numu lavata korega.*
2SG.R REDUP-know=3SG.OBJ **2SG.POS** one earthquake big new
'Did you feel a big new earthquake?' (o0829)

2.5.6.1 PPSI with the edible possessive pronouns

The edible possessive pronouns are also used in possessive pronoun subject indexing, although much less commonly than the exclusive possessive pronouns. The edible possessive pronouns index the subjects of verbs such as *puta* 'sleep', *burana* 'be hungry', *lotu* 'fall' and *golugolu* 'be naked', i.e. undergoer subjects, who are more affected by and have less control over the event expressed by the verb.

(472) *Lao puta* ***gemu.***
go sleep **2SG.POS.ED**
'Go sleep.' (o0143)

(473) *Gami burana* ***gemami.***
1PL.EX.R be.hungry **1PL.EX.POS.ED**
'We're hungry.' (o0208)

(474) *Ego tu ko mu lotu* ***gemu!***
therefore FOC so 2.IRR fall **2SG.POS.ED**
'Alright then, you'll fall down!' (o0203)

(475) *Mari iko=a na mua poko ko mu golu-golu* ***gemu.***
3PL.IRR steal=3SG.OBJ DET 2SG.POS cloth so 2.IRR REDUP-be.naked **2SG.POS.ED**
'They'll steal your clothes and you'll be naked.' (o0606)

Edible PPSI also occurs with other verbs in contexts where the subject is acting in a very energetic or forceful way (that 'consumes' it in some way).

(476) *Za tuara mi lagere* ***gana.***
3SG.R be.strong 3SG.IRR come.down **3SG.POS.ED**
'He's speeding down.' (o0751; a boat approaching from Gizo at a great pace)

(477) *Aria* ***gada,*** *aria* ***gada*** *Mary!*
let's.go **1PL.IN.POS.ED** let's.go **1PL.IN.POS.ED** Mary
'Come on, come on Mary!' (o0836; woman cheering people on as we carry sacks of sand from the beach)

In (478) and (479), the verbs *lotu* 'fall' and *puta* 'sleep', which take edible PPSI, co-occur in serialisation with the directional verbs *luge* 'enter' and *gore* 'go down', that take exclusive PPSI. Where this happens, the choice of pronoun is determined by the verb adjacent to the pronoun. In (478), the subject of *lotu gore* 'fall down' is indexed by the exclusive pronoun required by *gore* 'go down'; in (479), the subject of *luge puta* 'enter sleep' is indexed by the edible pronoun required by *puta* 'sleep'.

(478) *za* ***lotu*** ***gore*** ***nana*** *pa pezo.*
3SG.R **fall** **go.down** **3SG.POS** IN.PRP ground
'it falls down to the ground.' (e003LP_31)

(479) *Ma* ***luge*** ***puta*** ***gequ.***
1SG.IRR **enter** **sleep** **1SG.POS.ED**
'I'm going inside to sleep.' (o0208)

2.5.7 Serial verb constructions (SVCs)

Serial verb constructions and verbal modifiers are described in Chapter Five.

2.5.8 Negation

Negation in Kubokota is expressed primarily by the second position negative clitic *=ke*, which occurs in both verbal and non-verbal clauses. A number of minor mechanisms for expressing negation include the pre-verbal adverb *oqoro* 'not yet', the post-verbal adverb *goboro* 'without purpose', the negative existential verb *kepore* 'not exist' (see also §2.5.1.4.2 for the use of *kepore* in hypothetical clauses), the negator *dai*, and the pre-clausal adverb *keta* 'lest'.

The general purpose clausal negator is the clitic *=ke*. In verbal clauses it attaches to the subject marker (480), (481); subject markers are therefore obligatory in negative clauses, including in imperatives, where they are frequently omitted in other circumstances (482).

(480) ***Qari=ke*** *kera tu.*
3PL.R=NEG sing FOC
'They're not singing.' (o0243)

(481) *Dai,* ***mine=ke*** *lea.*
NEG **3SG.FUT=NEG** good
'No, it won't be good.' (o0043)

(482) ***Mune=ke*** *va-lao pa tana.*
2.FUT=NEG CAUS-go IN.PRP there
'Don't put (it in) there.' (o0229)

In non-verbal clauses, *=ke* attaches to the article *na*. The non-verbal predicate is often a noun phrase (483), but *na* acts as a host for the negator in any non-verbal clause: in (484), the predicate is a nominalised verb, and in (485), a prepositional phrase.

(483) *Ara* ***na=ke*** *mua mama,*
1SG **DET=NEG** 2SG.POS mama
'I'm not your mother,' (o0788)

(484) ***Na=ke*** *vari-va-gabara=na.*
DET=NEG RECIP-CAUS-surprise=3SG.POS
'It's not surprising.' (o0878)

(485) ***Na=ke*** *ta=na Ranosi.*
DET=NEG AN.PRP=DET Ranosi
'It's not from Ranosi.' (o0658)

Oqoro 'not yet' is a pre-verbal adverb used with anticipated events that have not yet taken place. It occurs between the subject marker and the rest of the verb complex.

(486) *Za* ***oqoro*** *lame kamu i Lipa.*
3SG.R **not.yet** come arrive PERS Lipa
'Lipa hasn't come yet.' (o0289)

(487) *Za=ke* ***oqoro*** *zale pa=na ivere.*
3SG.R=NEG **not.yet** come.up IN.PRP=DET sea
'(The moon) hasn't yet come up from the sea.' (o0206)

Kepore (*~pore*) is a negative existential verb. It expresses the concept of something not existing or not being present; it can also mean something equivalent to English 'nothing'. It is usually followed by the hypothetical subject marker in verbal clauses.

(488) ***Kepore*** *pa Bikoi, gami mule gami-kori,*
not.exist IN.PRP Bikoi 1PL.EX.R return 1PL.EX-two
'They weren't on the Bikoi, (so) we two came back,' (a019BN_045)

(489) *Kaki kota* ***kepore,*** *kaki kota za kole gu.*
some place **not.exist** some place 3SG.R exist LIM
'Some places there isn't any (fish), some places it's still there.' (o0778)

(490) ***Kepore*** *maka tinoni bi lame pani.*
not.exist one person 3SG.HYP come here
'No-one came here (yesterday).' (o0804)

Kepore can also be nominalised; there is no difference in meaning between *pore=na* (491) and *kepore=na* (492).

(491) A: *Mae na moge, Betsy.*
come DET knife Betsy
'Give me the knife, Betsy.'

B: ***Pore=na.***
not.exist=NMLZ
'It's not here / there isn't one.' (o0939)

(492) *Ko na zakaza qu nyoro gani viti-vitigi ao* ***kepore=na.***
so DET thing 2SG.R want eat REDUP-pain 2SG **not.exist=NMLZ**
'So that thing you really want to eat (lit. 'painfully want to eat') is not here.' (a052EM_021)

The database contains one example where *kepore* is a normal verb preceded by a subject marker.

(493) *Mina* ***kepore*** *na lolomo tane=ke roiti. Mina kole*
3SG.FUT **not.exist** DET valley 1PL.IN.FUT=NEG work 3SG.FUT exist

nana na lolomo tana roiti.
3SG.POS DET valley 1PL.IN.FUT work
'If there's no break (in our busyness) we won't work (on linguistics). If there's a break we'll work.' (o0954)

The adverb *keta* 'lest' precedes the subject marker and is used to warn of negative consequences if an event should take place. The following clause is usually in the prospective irrealis mood. The gloss 'lest' is not intended to imply that *keta* occurs in subordinate clauses; it frequently occurs in a single independent clause.

(494) *Keta mu lotu ko mu paleka.*
lest 2.IRR fall so 2.IRR wound
'Be careful not to fall and hurt yourself.' (o0274)

(495) *Qa koini raro gu beto muna gani-gani, keta mu burana.*
1SG.R just cook.in.pot LIM then 2.FUT REDUP-eat lest 2.IRR hungry
'I've just cooked and you will eat, lest you be hungry.' (o0244)

(496) *E, keta piara picture!*
hey lest break picture
'Hey, don't let him break the picture!' (o0302)

(497) *Keta ta ok-okoro.*
lest 1PL.IN.IRR REDUP-rain
'We don't want to get rained on.' (o0500)

Contradiction is expressed using the negator *dai* 'no'.

(498) A: *Leko-leko?*
REDUP-stroll
'Are you (going for a) walk?'

B: *Dai, mami gore dogor=i=a na tina=na i*
NEG 1PL.EX.IRR go.down look-TR=3SG.OBJ DET mother=3SG.POS PERS

Lamu.
Lamu
'No, we're going down to see Lamu's mother.' (o0148)

Dai can act as a verbal predicate, often followed by the subject-indexing possessive pronouns (PPSI); this structure is used to express the subject's refusal or lack of desire to do something.

(499) *Za* ***dai nana.***
3SG.R **NEG** **3SG.POS**
'He doesn't want to.' (o0094)

(500) *ko qari* ***dai dia*** *lao nyumu pa tevolo.*
so 3PL.R **NEG** **3PL.POS** go sit IN.PRP table
'and they didn't want to go and sit at the table.' (a042BN_068)

Dai may also have a prohibitive meaning, as in (501).

(501) ***Dai*** *leko.*
NEG stroll
'No wandering.' (o0555)

Goboro (together with the borrowed Roviana cognate *hoboro*) is an adverb meaning to do something without purpose, or to do nothing. In (502) and (503), the speakers used *hoboro*, but *goboro* also occurs (504).

(502) *Qa suvere* ***hoboro*** *qua.*
1SG.R stay **be.without.purpose** 1SG.POS
'I'm not doing anything.' (en009_011)

(503) *Ego ko doru=di na dia vina-nama-nama za=ke*
therefore so all=3PL.POS DET 3PL.POS preparations 3SG.R=NEG
hoboro.
be.without.purpose
'So all their preparation wasn't for nothing.' (a004MD_028)

(504) *Za pavu leko* ***goboro.***
3SG.R tired stroll **be.without.purpose**
'He's tired from walking without purpose.' (o0136)

2.5.9 Non-verbal clauses

As already discussed in §2.4.6, non-verbal clauses are common in Kubokota. A non-verbal predicate may be a common noun or noun phrase (505). In (506) the non-verbal clause is a nominalised verb, and in (507) a pronoun followed by a relative clause.

(505) *Na reko zana* ***na reko bangara kalao,***
DET female MED.SG **DET** **female** **chief** **chief's.wife**
'That woman was the chief's woman,' (a039JT_012)

(506) ***Pugele=na*** *zana.*
full=3SG.POS MED.SG
'That's full (the thermos).' (o0198)

(507) *Na=ke* ***ao qu oke=a?***
DET=NEG **2SG** **2SG.R** **weave=3SG.OBJ**
'Wasn't it you who wove it?' (o0556)

In negated non-verbal clauses such as (507), the negative clitic *=ke* must attach to the article *na*, even if an article would not otherwise be required; this is described in §2.5.8.

The subject of a nominalised non-verbal clause may be referenced with a possessive pronoun; this is described in §2.4.6.

2.6 Beyond the clause core

2.6.1 Prepositions

The core of a verbal clause consists of a verb (or multiple verbs in a serial verb construction) and as many arguments as required by the argument structure of the verb(s). As described in §2.5.4 and §2.5.5, various valence-increasing and valence-decreasing prefixes can add to or reduce the number of arguments. A clause can also contain peripheral elements. These are often licensed by a preposition.[35] Kubokota has only two prepositions, *ta* and *pa*. Kettle (2000) analyses *ta* as a possessive preposition and *pa* as locative.[36] The data demonstrates, however, that although *ta* and *pa* do both of these things, they can both license a much fuller range of thematic roles, and the distinction between them is actually that *ta* licenses animate arguments, whereas *pa* licenses inanimates. Some of the thematic roles that *ta* and *pa* can express are listed below. The list is not intended to imply that *ta* and *pa* are polysemic, but simply that they are not differentiated in terms of the thematic roles that they can license; the thematic role is determined by the semantics of the verb (and by animacy constraints on possible roles), not by the preposition itself.

ta 'human/animate'	*pa* 'inanimate'
- source	- source
- goal	- goal
- possessor	- (possessor?)
- (location?)	- location
- benefactive	- instrumental
	- path

Ta preceding proper names coalesces with the personal article *i* and becomes *ti*; there is also a set of proforms consisting of *ta* plus a pronoun or person-indexing

[35] Additional arguments can also be licensed by prepositional verbs; these are part of the verb complex, and such arguments can be considered core arguments of the whole SVC; see §5.2.4.

[36] Corston-Oliver (2002:493) analyses Roviana *pa* as locational and *te* as possessive. In Hoava, however, Davis (2003:227-9) notes that *pa* only occurs with non-human entities and *ta* mainly with humans, although Hoava *ta* can also be used to mark a non-human as definite.

suffix (see §2.4.1.2.3). Both *ta* and *pa* form a phonological word with a following definite article *na*, becoming *ta=na* and *pa=na*.

In (508) and (509), *ta* and *pa* license sources: in (508) the person from whom the key must be taken, and in (509) the source of the path of motion.

(508) *Lao tepa=i* ***ta=na*** *ko mu lao revang-i=a.*
go ask.for=3SG.OBJ **AN.PRP=3SG.POS** so 2.IRR go open-TR=3SG.OBJ
'Go and ask her for (the key) so that you can go and open (the door).' (lit. 'Go (and) ask it from her in order to go (and) open it.') (o0993)

(509) *Koi, gami koko tu* ***pa*** ***Obobulu,*** *gami lagere.*
hey 1PL.EX.R set.out FOC **IN.PRP** **Obobulu** 1PL.EX.R come.down
'Hey, we started from Obobulu, we came down,' (a044BN_089)

In (510) and (511), *ta* (*ti*) and *pa* license goals: a person in (510) and a place in (511).

(510) *Lao* ***ti*** ***Tina.***
go **AN.PRP.PERS** **Tina**
'Go to Tina.' (o0017)

(511) *qa zae* ***pa*** ***ruma,***
1SG.R go.up **IN.PRP** **house**
'I went up to the house,' (a010LP_032)

As discussed in §2.4.1.2.3, *ta* is frequently used to indicate animate possession (512). Inanimate possessors with *pa* are less common, because inanimate possessors usually possess things directly (513) (see also §2.4.1.2.1); however, (514) is a possible example of inanimate possession with *pa*.

(512) *Za zae kamu=a na guguzu* ***ta=na*** ***iliganigani*** ***ani,***
3SG.R go.up arrive=3SG.OBJ DET village **AN.PRP=DET** **giant** **PROX.SG**
'He went up and arrived at the giant's village,' (a038JW_025)

(513) *na juke=na* ***na*** ***ruma***
DET lamp=**3SG.POS** **DET** **house**
'the lamp of the house' (en007_001)

(514) *pudapuda ria,* ***pudapuda*** ***pa*** ***nene,***
bone 3PL **bone** **IN.PRP** **leg**
'those bones (were) the bones of the leg(s),' (a039JT_043)

Ta is occasionally used for possession by inanimates, particularly with loan words such as *petrol* (515), and introduced institutions such as church, market and school (516), which are possibly perceived as animate entities (see (526) below, however). In

(517), the rain, which is usually inanimate, is personified and thanked for its assistance in filling the water tanks:

(515) *za* *bako-votu=ni* *na* *hose* ***ta=na*** ***petrol***
3SG.R pull-exit=APPL.SG DET hose **AN.PRP=DET** **petrol**
'so Caleb went and took out the petrol hose,' (a012LP_012)

(516) *gami* *zae* *pa* *area* *ta=na* *sikulu,* *pa=na* *ia* ***ta=na***
1PL.EX.R go.up IN.PRP area AN.PRP=DET school IN.PRP=DET place **AN.PRP=DET**
sikulu,
school
'we went up to the area of the school, to the place of the school,'
(a044BN_077-8)

(517) *Qa* *paranga* *lea=na* ***ta=na*** ***(*pa=na)*** ***okoro*** *ara.*
1SG.R speak good=3SG.POS **AN.PRP=DET** **IN.PRP=DET** **rain** 1SG
'I say thank you to the rain.' (o0625)

Inanimate *pa* locations are frequent (518), but *ta* locations are less common, animate entities tending not to occur in location roles. (519) and (520) are possible examples.

(518) *Suve-suvere* *dia* *tu=gu* ***pa*** ***guguzu*** ***lavata.***
REDUP-stay 3PL.POS FOC=LIM **IN.PRP** **village** **big**
'They lived in a big village.' (a057RK_001)

(519) *Maka* *reko* *tio* *vaka* *na* *izongo-na* *i* *Mary* *za* *kamu*
one female person ship DET name=3SG.POS PERS Mary 3SG.R arrive
suvere ***ta=di*** ***gami-kori*** ***Betsy.***
stay **AN.PRP=PL** **1PL.EX-two** **Betsy**
'A white woman whose name is Mary has come to stay with me and Betsy.'
(a010LP_007)

(520) *Nyumu* ***ti*** ***Mary.***
sit **AN.PRP.PERS** **Mary**
'Sit with/by Mary.' (o0345)

Pa occasionally expresses a route (521), and may also license an instrument (522):

(521) *gami* *gore,* *gore* *gore* ***pa*** ***zona,***
1PL.EX.R go.down go.down go.down **IN.PRP** **road**
'we went down down down (along) the road,' (a013BN_005)

(522) *za* *ude=ria* ***pa*** ***nana*** ***equru***
3SG.R wrap=3PL.OBJ **IN.PRP** **3SG.POS** **leaf**
'he parcelled them in his leaf,' (a036LP_005-6)

Pa and *ta* combine in the phrase *pa=n(a) ta*, which usually indicates 'to/towards a (specific) person' or the place of that person:[37]

(523) *Za va-va-kobur-ai i Jonathan* ***pan*** ***ti*** *Betsy.*
3SG.R CAUS-CAUS-child-*ai* PERS Jonathan **IN.PRP.DET** **AN.PRP.PERS** Betsy
'Jonathan behaves like a small child towards Betsy.' (o0951)

(524) *Koviria tana gore gita-kori pa Dive Shop* ***pan***
now 1PL.IN.FUT go.down 1PL.IN-two IN.PRP Dive Shop **IN.PRP.DET**

ti *Danny,*
AN.PRP.PERS Danny
'Now let's go down to the Dive Shop to Danny,' (a019BN_014)

(525) *Tamaza, muna somana pan* ***ta=n=aza.***
Lord 2.FUT join IN.PRP.DET **AN.PRP=3SG.POS=3SG**
'Lord, you will join with her (on her journey).' (o0650)

The data demonstrates that both *pa* and *ta* can occur with most thematic roles. There is, however, a certain degree of overlap between animate and inanimate entities where location and possession, Kettle's original analyses for *pa* and *ta*, are concerned. For instance, introduced institutions such as the school in (516) can act as "animate" possessors (with *ta*), but where they are locations or goals, *pa* is used (526). Conversely, in (527), *pa* licenses animate entities as goals. This example is from a story about a dog who goes from one woman to another, begging for food; it is possible that the women are marked with *pa* because they are non-specific members of a group, whereas *ta* in all the examples discussed so far refers to a specific animate being.

(526) *Lao* ***pa*** *sikulu!*
go **IN.PRP** school
'Go to school!' (a017SM_054)

(527) *Za lao* ***pa*** *maka reko, qari maja=i... Za lao* ***pa*** *reko*
3SG.R go **IN.PRP** one woman 3PL.R hit=3SG.OBJ 3SG.R go **IN.PRP** woman

beto-beto=na na qoele.
REDUP-finish=3SG.POS DET old.woman
'He went to another woman, they hit him... He went to (a) last woman, an old woman.' (a049JM_022, 025)

There is a similar link between *ta* and definiteness or specificity in other New Georgia languages (Davis 2003:228, Palmer p.c.).

[37] It is unusual for Kubokota syllables to have codas, as in *pan*.

2.6.2 Adverbs

Adverb-like elements can occur in three positions in the Kubokota clause: preceding the subject marker (e.g. the future adverb *pala* in (528)), between the subject marker and the verbal head (*oqoro* 'not yet' in (529)), and at the end of the verb complex (*mutu* 'again' in (530)). In the latter two positions, adverbs occur in complementary distribution with more verb-like elements, and in structural terms are constituent parts of the verb complex. They are analysed as verbal modifiers and are described in more detail in §5.2.

(528) ***Pala*** *mina* *gabara=ni=go* *i* *Beti.*
FUT 3SG.FUT surprise=APPL.SG=2SG.OBJ PERS Beth
'Beth will be surprised at you.' (o0279)

(529) *Za* ***oqoro*** *lame* *kamu* *i* *Lipa.*
3SG.R **not.yet** come arrive PERS Lipa
'Lipa hasn't come yet.' (o0289)

(530) *Gore* ***mutu*** *na* *okoro.*
go.down **again** DET rain
'The rain is going down again.' (o0261)

Other adverbs which precede the whole verb complex include *tinganai* 'until', *ketakoi* 'there' (531) and other locational and temporal phrases such as *pa moa* 'in the past', *pa korapana* 'during/in the middle', *pa totozo* 'at the time'. Some of these can also occur at the end of the verb complex.

(531) *Lukana* *i* *Kilikili* ***ketakoi*** *za* *gua,* *ego* ***ketakoi*** *za* *lao*
cry PERS Lizard **there** 3SG.R say therefore **there** 3SG.R go

beto *na* *vavakato=di* *ari-kori* *Kilikili* *beto* *i* *Kolobai.*
finish DET story=3PL.POS PROX.PL-two Lizard and PERS Spider
'Lizard cried there, (the story) says, and there ends the short story about Lizard and Spider.' (a018LP_038-9)

Adverbs occurring between the subject marker and the verb complex tend to be aspectual and include *tori* 'already' (532), *oqanai* 'quickly', *koini* 'just' and *makarai* 'together'. These adverbs can generally not occur in any other position.

(532) *Ria* *qe* ***tori*** *keni* *beto* *tu,*
3PL 3PL.R **already** go.away finish FOC
'They've all left already,' (a042BN_008)

Adverbs tending to come at the end of the verb complex include *maqalai* 'before', *beka* 'maybe' (533), and some of the temporal and locative adverbs listed above.

(533) *Lame vei pa Rauru* ***beka?***
come be.like IN.PRP Choiseul **maybe**
'Maybe it came from Choiseul?' (o0617)

2.6.3 Complex sentences

Clauses can be linked in various ways. The vast majority of multi-clause sentences in Kubokota involve either coordination or juxtaposition (clause chaining); subordination is much less common, and subordinated clauses are not marked in any way that distinguishes them from a non-dependent clause.

2.6.3.1 Coordination

Markers of coordination include the conjunctions *ko*, *beto* and *betoko*.

Beto and *betoko* may be used to conjoin either two noun phrases (534), (535) or two clauses (536), (537).

(534) *ara* ***beto*** *i Nathan, Caleb, Markoni gami zae pa Gijo*
1SG **and** PERS Nathan Caleb Markon 1PL.EX.R go.up IN.PRP Gizo
'I and Nathan, Caleb, Markoni, we went up to Gizo' (a012LP_002)

(535) *na qoqoele May* ***betoko*** *ria nana mabuzu,*
DET old.woman May **and** 3PL 3SG.POS grandchild
'the old woman May and her grandchildren,' (a013BN_013)

(536) *Za keka* ***beto*** *gami topil-i=a* ***beto*** *gami jira=i.*
3SG.R white **then** 1PL.EX.R roll-TR=3SG.OBJ **then** 1PL.EX.R split=3SG.OBJ
'(When) it's white then we roll it and we split it (into strips for weaving).' (a024EL_014)

(537) *Topil-i=a* ***betoko*** *gami lao raro pa=na iku.*
roll-TR=3SG.OBJ **and** 1PL.EX.R go cook.in.pot IN.PRP=DET fire
'We roll it and we go cook it (in a pot) on the fire.' (a024EL_007)

Beto derives from the verb *beto* 'finish' and is grammaticised both as a perfective marker and a conjunction. In clause linking contexts it tends to indicate a sequential relationship between clauses, meaning something like 'the events of the previous clause being completed, then this happened', as in (538).

(538) *ko za teku=a na patu ko za piko=a* ***beto*** *za zae*
so 3SG.R take=3SG.OBJ DET stone so 3SG.R tie=3SG.OBJ **then** 3SG.R go.up
piko=a pa nana mola ***beto*** *za va-titi=a nana mola.*
tie=3SG.OBJ IN.PRP 3SG.POS canoe **then** 3SG.R CAUS-hang=3SG.OBJ 3SG.POS canoe
'and he took a stone and he tied it and he went up and tied it to his canoe and he anchored his canoe.' (a038JW_023)

The conjunction *ko* is used only to conjoin clauses. Clauses conjoined with *ko* may describe both sequential (539) and concurrent (540) events. *Ko* is always used where clauses are reduplicated (541).

(539) *za* *lao* *na* *tomete* ***ko*** *za* *jule=ziu* ***ko*** *qa* *uke.*
3SG.R go DET spirit **so** 3SG.R push=1SG.OBJ **so** 3SG.R die
'the spirit went and he bumped into me and I died.' (a036LP_035)

(540) *Qe* *rerege* ***ko*** *qe* *paja* *zae* *zae* *zae* *kamu* *pa* *dia*
3PL.R walk **so** 3PL.R climb go.up go.up go.up arrive IN.PRP 3PL.POS

inuma *nari,*
garden DIST.SG
'They walked and they climbed up up up to their garden there,' (a018LP_014)

(541) *Ego* *za* *lame* ***ko*** *za* *lame* ***ko*** *za* *lame,* *lame* *koviria*
therefore 3SG.R come **so** 3SG.R come **so** 3SG.R come come now

na *suve-suvere* *ta=di* *gami,*
DET REDUP-live AN.PRP=PL 1PL.EX
'So it came and came and came, our life came to now,' (a056IP_059)

Other coordinating conjunctions include *ura* 'because'(542), *ba* 'but' (543) and *babi* 'or' (544).

(542) *Za=ke* *nyoro* *gu=ni=ziu* *ara* *ba'* *tuti* ***ura*** *ara*
3SG.R=NEG want say=APPL.SG=1SG.OBJ 1SG 1SG.HYP follow **because** 1SG

na *giro-giro=qu.*
DET REDUP-tinea.imbricate=1SG.POS
'He didn't want me to go because I had tinea imbricata.' (a017SM_049)

(543) *Ao* *na* *tu=mu* *ae* *vei.* *muna* *toka=ria* ***ba*** *muna*
2SG DET child=2SG.POS Q **how** 2.FUT accompany=3PL.OBJ **or** 2.FUT

va-suvere=ria?
CAUS-stay=3PL.OBJ
'How about your children, will you take them or make them stay here?' (a018LP_009)

(544) *beto* *mule* *lame* *pa* *ruma* *lotu* ***babi*** *lame* *pa* *ruma*
then return come IN.PRP house worship **or** come IN.PRP house

ti *Lamu.*
AN.PRP.PERS Lamu
'then (you) will come back to the church or come to Lamu's house,' (a027DP_008)

The conjunction *ba* 'but' is used as an indicator of surprise, or of a situation that is contrary to expectations. In (545) it links two verbal clauses, but it can also link a

pronoun or noun phrase with a following clause that expresses surprising information (546), (547).

(545) *Tonai mari lotu* ***ba*** *mari=ke ta-poe.*
when 3PL.IRR fall **but** 3PL.IRR=NEG PASS-break
'When they fall (their bones) won't be broken.' (a014SP_027)

(546) *I Mary* ***ba*** *za kole uki.*
PERS Mary **but** 3SG.R CONT stitch.thatch
'Mary is stitching sago palm thatch.' (o0674)

(547) *Logging* ***ba*** *kepore,* ***ba*** *makale=na pani ke! Za*
logging **but** not.exist **but** one.side=3SG.POS here EXCL 3SG.R
vari-va-gabara!
RECIP-CAUS-surprise
'There's no logging (lit. 'Logging but there isn't any') but this other side (of the island) here! It's surprising!' (o0775)

2.6.3.2 Subordination

The conjunction *ko*, described above as a coordinating conjunction, may also indicate a purposive or causal relationship between events; it can frequently be translated as 'so that' or 'in order to' (548). *Ko* may therefore, in certain contexts, be regarded as subordinating one clause to another. There are no structural differences between clauses subordinated with *ko* and those which are conjoined; the subordinate relationship is most evident where the subordinate clause has different mood marking from the matrix clause (see §2.5.1). Mood marking in the matrix clause depends on the realisation status of the proposition at utterance time (realis in (549), unmarked in the imperative clause in (550)), whereas the subordinate clause is marked for its realisation status in relation to the time set by the matrix clause (future in (549), prospective irrealis in (550)). This is discussed in more detail in §4.5.

(548) *Za tapo* ***ko*** *taqe kidepe.*
3SG.R sun **so** 1PL.IN.R thirsty
'It's hot so we're thirsty.' (o0135)

(549) *qa va-nama-nama ara* ***ko*** *mana gore pa Pienuna pa*
1SG.R CAUS-REDUP-prepare 1SG **so** 1SG.FUT go.down IN.PRP Pienuna IN.PRP
qua guguzu.
1SG.POS village
'I prepared myself (in order to) go down to Pienuna to my village.'
(a010LP_002)

(550) *Ao lao ti Mama* ***ko*** *mu lao iu.*
2SG **go** AN.PRP.PERS Mama **so** 2.IRR **go** wash
'You go to Mama (in order to) go (and) wash.' (o0082)

Other subordinate clauses may be introduced by conjunctions such as the conditional marker *vei* 'if' (551) and the temporal marker *tonai ~ totonai* 'when' (552). The sequence *vei tonai* also occurs, usually meaning 'when' rather than having a conditional meaning (553). Both *vei* and *tonai* are frequently preceded by *ko* 'so'.

(551) ***ko*** ***vei*** *muna va-ta-gigiri=ria* *pala mari lukana ko lukana*
so **if** 2.FUT CAUS-PASS-be.angry=3PL.OBJ FUT 3PL.IRR cry so cry

ko lukana.
so cry
'and if you make them cross they will cry and cry and cry,' (a014SP_043)

(552) ***ko*** ***tonai*** *qa paduku=ria* *qa vani i Mary ko*
so **when** 1SG.R pick.from.vine=3PL.OBJ 1SG.R give.APPL.SG PERS Mary so

za aru=ria
3SG.R hold=3PL.OBJ
'and when I had picked them I gave them to Mary to hold them' (a006BN_015)

(553) ***ko*** ***vei*** ***tonai*** *gami geli gore gami,*
so **if** **when** 1PL.EX.R dig go.down 1PL.EX
'and when we dug down,' (a039JT_038)

The phrase *nyoro gu(a)* 'want say', with the applicative enclitic, has a subordinating function and can introduce a whole clause (554); it can also license a noun phrase (555).

(554) *Qa nyoro gu=ni* ***bi*** ***goto.***
1SG.R want say=APPL.SG **3SG.HYP** **different**
'I want it to be different.' (o0711)

(555) *Qa nyoro gua=ni* ***na tinoni za aru=a na kolu,***
1SG.R want say=APPL.SG **DET** **person** **3SG.R** **hold=3SG.OBJ** **DET** **walking.stick**
'I want the person who holds the stick,' (e022JP2_001)

The verbs *nyoro* 'want' and *nyoro gua* 'want say' can also occur as the first nuclei in a nuclear serial verb construction, and can be followed either by another verb (556) or a verb plus its object (557).

(556) *Qa=ke puta pa bongi, qa* ***nyoro puta.***
1SG.R=NEG sleep IN.PRP night 1SG.R **want** **sleep**
'I didn't sleep at night (so) I want to sleep. (o0916)

(557) *Qa* ***nyoro*** ***gua*** ***surana=ria*** *na* *baeke* *ti* *Napoleone,*
1SG.R **want** **say** **load=3PL.OBJ** DET bag AN.PRP.PERS Napoleon
'I want to load Napoleon's bags,' (a012LP_100)

2.6.3.3 Clause chaining

Although the preceding section presented a number of means by which a dependent relationship between clauses can be expressed, Kubokota clauses do not need any formal conjunction to be semantically dependent on each other. Clause chaining involves the juxtaposition of simple clauses and their arguments without any markers of coordination or subordination, and is very common in Kubokota. There is often a temporal dependency between the clauses: in (558), the second clause can only be realised (in the future) once the first clause has been realised; in (559), both clauses are realis, but it is understood that the second clause describes an event that occurs after the first.[38]

(558) *Tana* *kamu* *pa* *Obobulu,* *mana* *iu.*
1PL.IN.FUT arrive IN.PRP Obobulu 1SG.FUT wash
'(When) we arrive at Obobulu I will wash.' (o0150)

(559) *Ko* *qe* *mule* *kamu* *ari-kori,* *za* *lukana* *i* *Kilikili.*
so 3PL.R return arrive ·PROX.PL-two 3SG.R cry PERS lizard
'And (when) the two came back, Lizard cried.' (a018LP_034)

Identity of the arguments between the two clauses is not required, and mood changes may also occur, the first clause acting as a matrix clause which sets the modal context for the second clause (this is also true for clauses subordinated with the conjunction *ko*, as described in §2.6.3.2 above). Clause chaining is discussed further in §4.5 and §5.3.1.3.

2.6.3.4 Quotatives

Speech is always reported directly in Kubokota, the quotation usually being followed by the verb *gua* 'say' (560), (561). It may also be preceded by another speech verb, such as *paranga* 'speak' or *nanaza* 'ask' (562).

(560) *Za* *lomozo,* *za* ***gua.*** *Raro* *mangini=na.*
3SG.R cold 3SG.R **say** cook.in.pot hot=3SG.POS
'He says it (the rice) is cold (lit. 'It's cold, he says'). Cook (more) hot.' (o0796)

[38] Cf. Dahl's notion of narrative context, where *'the temporal point of reference... is determined by the point in time at which the last event related in the preceding context took place.'* (Dahl 1985:112).

(561) is particularly interesting, in that it contains direct speech within direct speech; Mate is on Ranongga, explaining that Debra told her Ranonggan friends to 'go down' (*gore*) from Honiara to Ranongga ahead of her; Honiara as the deictic centre is maintained through two layers of reported speech.

(561) *'"Gamu mu gore mo-moe," za gu=di,' za gua i Mate.*
2PL 2.IRR go.down REDUP-first 3SG.R say=APPL.PL 3SG.R say PERS Mate
'"She told them to go down first," said Mate.' (lit. '"You go down first," she told them,' he said) (a044BN_096)

(562) *Ko qa* ***nanaza*** *ara, 'Ae kaki gani-gani? Gami burana,'*
so 1SG.R **ask** 1SG Q some REDUP-eat 1PL.EX.R hungry

qa ***gua*** *ara.* ***Paranga*** *i Liti, 'Koi, na mamao gu*
1SG.R **say** 1SG **speak** PERS Liti hey DET REDUP-cool LIM

ari,' za ***gua.***
PROX.PL 3SG.R **say**
'And I asked, "Where's some food? We're hungry," I said. Liti said, "Hey, (there's) just this cold food here," he said.' (a044BN_115-7)

The quotative verb *gua* 'say'is also used to indicate that the action in the preceding clause is an intention or purpose. The action is often unrealised (563) or interrupted (564); alternatively, it may be followed by another action that is unexpected or surprising (565). The construction can be used with both animate and inanimate (563) subjects.

(563) ***Mi*** *beto,* ***za gua,*** *na buka.*
3SG.IRR finish **3SG.R** **say** DET book
'The book is about to finish.' (o0785)

(564) ***Mi*** *lomot-i=a na orange,* ***za gua,*** *za lomot-i=a tu*
3SG.IRR cut-TR=3SG.OBJ DET orange **3SG.R** **say** 3SG.R cut-TR=3SG.OBJ FOC

na karusu=na.
DET finger=3SG.POS
'She wanted to cut the orange (but) she cut her finger (instead).'
(e013RVa_048)

(565) *Dogoro gore* ***qe gua,*** *qe bati=ria kori bakarau lavata*
look go.down **3PL.R** **say** 3PL.R see.TR=3PL.OBJ two frog big

beto kubo tu=di, bakarau peki-peki.
and many child=3PL.POS frog REDUP-small
'they looked down, they saw two big frogs and lots of their children, little frogs.' (fs001LP_086)

2.6.4 Discourse particles

The particles *gu* and *tu* are analysed by Kettle as having an "emphatic" function. More precisely, *gu* is a limiting particle and can often be glossed as 'just' or 'only'; its scope is restricted to the clause within which it occurs.

(566) *Nudolo* ***gu,*** *onion* ***gu,*** *bini* ***gu,*** *beto* *tu.*
noodle **LIM** onion **LIM** bean **LIM** finish FOC
'Just noodles, onions, beans, that's all.' (o0084)

(567) *Peki-peki* ***gu!***
REDUP-little **LIM**
'(Eat) just slowly!' (o0024)

(568) *Qa* *nyumu* *qua* ***gu!***
1SG.R sit 1SG.POS **LIM**
'I'm just sitting!' (o0102)

Tu on the other hand has the function of highlighting or focussing whatever lexical item precedes it, and can be said to operate more at a discourse level. It often occurs in question and answer exchanges: whatever the question is about is highlighted in the question (e.g. *pae* 'where' in (569), *tekuteku* 'eat' in the yes-no question in (570)), as is the focal information in the answer (*nole* 'beach' in (569)). In declarative clauses, *tu* indicates the most important piece of information in the clause; this may be either a verb (571) or a noun (572).

(569) *'Pae* ***tu*** *mari* *lao* *ari-kori* *rari?'* *qa* *gua* *ara.* *'Pa*
where **FOC** 3PL.IRR go PROX.PL-two DIST.PL 1SG.R say 1SG IN.PRP

Gijo ***tu,'*** *za* *gua* *i* *Kebu.*
Gizo **FOC** 3SG.R say PERS Kebu
'"Where are those two there going?" I asked. "To Gizo," said Kebu.
(a044BN_015)

(570) *Osborne,* *qu* *teku-teku* ***tu?***
Osborne 2SG.R REDUP-take **FOC**
'Osborne, have you eaten?' (o0069)

(571) *ari* *Elo* *i* *Grace* *tori* *keni* ***tu*** *pa* *inuma.*
PROX.PL Elo PERS Grace PERF go.away **FOC** IN.PRP garden
'Elo and Grace had already gone to the garden.' (a044BN_114)

(572) *Ari-kori* *tamatina* *qari=ke* *lagere* *pa* *Bikoi,* *pa*
PROX.PL-two mother.and.child 3PL.R=NEG come.down IN.PRP Bikoi IN.PRP

Isabella ***tu,***
Isabella **FOC**
'Those two didn't come down on Bikoi, (but) on Isabella,' (a019BN_041)

There is also a particle *tugu*; this seems to be an amalgamation of *tu* and *gu*, having both a limiting and focusing role in (573) and (574). *Ko* in (573) is also a discourse particle, possibly similar in function to *tu*, but occurs only infrequently in my data.

(573) *Pani* ***tu=gu*** ***ko*** *pa* *Pienuna!*
here FOC-LIM EMPH IN.PRP Pienuna
'This here is Pienuna!' (o0452)

(574) *Ko* *aza* ***tu=gu*** *na* *tio* *vaka* *mo-moe* *vei* *gami* *bati=a*
so 3SG FOC=LIM DET person ship REDUP-first if 1PL.EX.R see.TR=3SG.OBJ

gami.
1PL.EX
'and he was only the first white man that we had seen,' (a017SM_013)

The topicalisation particle *za*, which may be a reduction of either the pronoun *aza* '3SG' or the noun *zakazava ~ zakaza ~ zava ~ za* 'thing', occurs as the final element of a NP. It often follows, but is not confined to, relative clauses. Its function seems to be to highlight the topicality of the entity referred to.[39]

In (575), *za* modifies a pronoun, in (576) a single noun, and in (577) a full NP.

(575) ***Ara*** ***za,*** *qa* *keni* *zaza* *vape.*
1SG **TOP** 1SG.R go.away line.fish fish.SP
'As for me, I went to catch *vape* fish,' (a036LP_033)

(576) ***Topa*** ***za,*** *zakaza* *ketakoi* *gami* *kura=di* *na*
basket.type **TOP** thing there 1PL.EX.R put.in=APPL.PL DET

teku-teku=di.
REDUP-take=3PL.POS
'The topa basket, it's a thing in which we put food.' (a043BN_011)

(577) ***Maka*** ***tela*** ***mutu*** ***za,*** *na* *tela* *kuka.*
one **basket.type** **again** **TOP** DET basket.type basket.type
'Another type of *tela* basket is the *tela kuka*.' (a043BN_023)

In (578) *za* refers to a subordinate clause, and in (579) to a relative clause.

(578) [***Vei*** ***kaki*** ***za*** ***bi*** ***sela*** ***za***] *muna* *ule* *lame*
if **some** **thing** **3SG.HYP** **wrong** **TOP** 2.FUT tell come

vani=ziu *soga* *uve.*
BEN.APPL.SG=1SG.OBJ again okay
'If anything is wrong you will tell me again, okay?' (email003NS_005)

[39] Luqa *sa* performs a similar function and is much more common than Kubokota *za*; McDougall (p.c.) suggests that the occurrence of *za* in Obobulu speakers' Kubokota is due to Luqa influence.

(579) [*Na izongo=na na igana za rave=ria za,*] *na vape.*
DET name=3SG.POS DET fish 3SG.R catch.fish=3PL.OBJ TOP DET fish.SP
'The name of the fish he caught is *vape*.' (a036LP_013)

Za is found in the question phrase *na za* 'what' (580), (581).

(580) ***Na za*** *mina roiti=ni na tini rari?*
DET TOP 3SG.FUT do=APPL.SG DET tin DIST.PL
'What will he do with those tins?' (o0263)

(581) ***Na*** *vaka* ***za*** *muna tuti=a muna lao pa Honiara?*
DET ship TOP 2.FUT follow=3SG.OBJ 2.FUT go IN.PRP Honiara
'Which ship will you take to go to Honiara?' (a012LP_019)

It also occurs in the phrase *ba za* 'maybe/or what' (582), (583).

(582) *Qari minyere* ***ba za.***
3PL.R rest **or what**
'Maybe they're resting.' (lit. 'They're resting or what.') (o0243)

(583) *Lotu gedi,* ***ba za.***
fall ED.3PL.POS **or what**
'They might fall.' (o0317)

CHAPTER THREE

Running down the valley: an introduction to Kubokota motion verbs

3.1 Introduction

Early in my time on Ranongga Island, while working through an elicitation questionnaire, I asked my consultant to translate the sentence, 'Don't run down the hill in case you fall down.' She answered, surprised, 'You mean, "Don't run down the valley."' Her surprise arose from the fact that, in Kubokota, if the verb *gore* 'go down' is followed by a prepositional phrase, the prepositional phrase must express a goal. Unlike English, Kubokota prepositions make no distinction between source and goal, the interpretation of the prepositional phrase depending entirely on the semantics of the verb (see §2.6.1 for a more detailed account of prepositions). In Kubokota, therefore, one goes down (to) valleys and up (to) hills. The hills down which English speakers run are routes of motion, whereas in Kubokota they are destinations. This is illustrated in (1) and (2), where the mountain and valley are the goals of a path of motion. (3), however, is semantically strange. It cannot mean 'We went down (from) the mountain' because the verb *gore* does not allow a prepositional phrase to express a source; the mountain must be a goal, and can only be so if the subject of (3) is able to fly or, as in (4), descends on the mountain like the setting sun.

(1) *Gami* *zae* *pa* *kubo.*
1PL.EX.R go.up IN.PRP mountain
'We went up (to) the mountain.'

(2) *Gami* *gore* *pa* *lolomo.*[1]
1PL.EX.R go.down IN.PRP valley
'We went down (to) the valley.'

(3) *#Gami* *gore* *pa* *kubo.*
1PL.EX.R go.down IN.PRP mountain
#'We went down (to) the mountain.'

(4) *Za* *gore* *suvu* *pa* *kubo* *na* *tapo.*
3SG.R go.down dive IN.PRP mountain DET sun
'The sun has dived down (set) on the mountain.' (o0193)

[1] In Luqa, a synonym for *lolomo* 'valley' is *go-gore*, a reduplication of the verb *gore* 'go down'.

In this chapter I will explore the semantics of Kubokota motion verbs and the contribution of individual verbs to the construction of a motion event. Kubokota, in contrast with languages that encode thematic relations via adpositions or casemarking, concentrates such information within the verb complex and in nominal reference. The interpretation of a motion event, as shown in the above examples, is dependent on contextual information and sociocultural knowledge about the types of paths that a particular type of figure is likely to travel with regard to a particular ground (for instance, a bird might 'go down' on the mountain, but people cannot fly and must therefore start from below and climb up). The Kubokota verb complex also contains information about both manner and path of motion; this concentration of information in the verb contradicts Talmy's (1985) predictions about the division of manner and path information between verbs and satellites; see §3.1.1.

The purpose of the current chapter is to introduce the main categories of Kubokota motion verbs, justifying them in terms of the thematic relations that they express and the types of ground with regard to which they are oriented. This introduction will provide the background and context for later chapters, in which I consider the grammatical implications of the semantic account of motion verbs presented here. In Chapter Four I show that whether a verb is oriented towards a source or a goal has an effect on modality marking (see also §2.5.1); in Chapter Five, the categories identified here are shown to have a syntactic as well as a semantic reality, in terms of their distribution in serial verb constructions. Chapter Six is a case study of the use of motion verbs in texts, and shows that the semantic category of a motion verb affects whether it is likely to occur in a mono-verbal clause or serial verb construction, and with which verbs it is likely to be serialised.

§3.1.1 will define and exemplify the various components that make up a motion event within Talmy's framework of motion event lexicalisation, and §3.2 will provide an overview of Kubokota motion verbs. §3.3 to §3.7 are devoted to a detailed account of the various categories of motion verbs, giving consideration to the semantics and pragmatics of how the thematic role of a ground is identified and how the configuration of the path with regard to that ground is interpreted. In §3.8 a number of the non-motion functions of motion verbs, including their use in spatial descriptions and in time specification, are presented.

3.1.1 Definition of a motion event

I take as my starting point Talmy's (1985:61) definition of a motion event: *'The basic motion event consists of one object (the "Figure") moving or located with respect to another object (the reference-object or "Ground").* Talmy identifies the following components of a basic motion event:[2]

- FIGURE – the entity that is moved or located;
- GROUND – a secondary entity with regard to which the FIGURE moves or is located;
- MOTION – the presence of motion in the event;
- PATH – the course along which the FIGURE moves, or the site which it occupies, with respect to the GROUND;
- MANNER – the way in which the motion takes place or is performed.

In the following English sentence, the ball is the FIGURE, the hill is the GROUND, MOTION and MANNER are conflated in the verb 'roll', and PATH is expressed in the particle 'down'.

(5) *The ball* *rolled* *down* *the hill.*
FIGURE { MOTION / MANNER } PATH GROUND

Talmy's notion of GROUND conflates four of Fillmore's "cases" (Fillmore 1968), LOCATIVE, SOURCE, PATH and GOAL, which, *'because they incorporate particulars of direction, fail to capture the crucial spatial factor they have in common, their function as a reference object for a figural element, a function specifically delegated to our Ground notion.'* (Talmy 2000:185). It is useful, however, to distinguish a number of types of GROUND in discussing the semantic components of Kubokota motion verbs, because one of the parameters along which these verbs vary is in the type of GROUND or reference object with respect to which the motion is oriented. As we saw above, *gore* 'go down' is goal-oriented, but other verbs are oriented with respect to sources, paths and locations. I will therefore refer to:

[2] Talmy also includes CAUSE, CAUSE being conflated with MOTION in verbs such as 'blow' (e.g. 'The pencil blew off the table'). I will not discuss verbs of this type with regard to Kubokota motion events.

- LOCATION – the site at which an event takes place;
- SOURCE – the starting point of a path of motion;
- GOAL – the finishing point of a path of motion;
- PATH – the path along which motion is oriented;
- ROUTE – a reference point on or near a path; an object or location with regard to which the path is oriented (Jackendoff 1983).

In the following English sentence. the house is the SOURCE, the road is a PATH, the river is a ROUTE, and the garden is the GOAL. The hillside is the LOCATION of an event that takes place in the garden after the completion of the motion event. Motion events often precede a PURPOSE; digging potatoes is the PURPOSE[3] for which the motion event in (6) takes place (motion verbs in purposive SVCs will be discussed in §5.4.1 and §5.5).

	SOURCE		PATH		ROUTE
(6) *Betsy left*	***the house,***	*walked along*	***the road,***	*crossed*	***the river***

	GOAL		PURPOSE		LOCATION
and climbed up to	***the garden***	*to*	***dig potatoes***	*on*	***the hillside.***

Talmy's typology of lexicalisation of motion events is based on the idea that a given language will tend to conflate MOTION with one other component in the verb. Dominant lexicalisation patterns found cross-linguistically include MOTION + MANNER (e.g. Spanish, Italian), MOTION + PATH (e.g. English, German) and MOTION + FIGURE (e.g. Atsugewi). In (7), the English sentence in (6) is repeated, this time showing the components that are lexicalised in the verb. The lexicalisation of PATH, which English tends to lexicalise in a satellite rather than in the verb, is also shown.

[3] Lakoff (1993:240) proposes an event structure metaphor *'Purposes are destinations'*. Purposive serialisations in Kubokota frequently consist of a path and/or goal verb followed by a verb that expresses a purpose performed after completion of the path (see Chapter Six for examples).

(7) *Betsy* [MOTION / SOURCE] ***left*** *the house,*

[MOTION / MANNER] PATH
walked ***along*** *the road,*

[MOTION / PATH]
crossed *the river*

[MOTION / MANNER] PATH
and ***climbed*** ***up to*** *the garden*

LOCATION
to dig potatoes ***on*** *the hillside.*

Talmy (1985, 2000 and others) proposes a binary typology, based on the syntactic component of the clause in which path is lexicalised. In verb-framed languages, path is lexicalised in the verb. In satellite-framed languages, path is lexicalised in an element associated with and subordinate to the verb, such as an affix, particle, preposition or oblique phrase.

English is a satellite-framed language: in (7), path is expressed in the satellites 'along', 'up to' and 'on'. With the exception of the phrase 'crossed the river', where path is conflated in the verb, the verbs in the English example lexicalise MOTION + MANNER.

Italian is a verb-framed language: in (8), path is expressed in the verb (*entrò* 'entered') and manner is (optionally) expressed in a satellite, in this case a verbal participle (*correndo* 'running'). As in (7), in the English translation, path is expressed in a satellite, the preposition 'into', and manner is expressed in the verb 'ran'.

(8) *Hobson* ***entrò*** ***correndo*** *all'* *interno* *del* *palazzo.*
Hobson **entered** **running** to.the inside of.the palace
'Hobson ran into the palace.'

Verb serialising languages such as Kubokota are problematic for Talmy's binary typology. Slobin (2004) proposes a third typological category of 'equipollently-framed' languages; these are languages in which manner and path are expressed with

equivalent grammatical forms (i.e. either both in the verb or both in satellites). This proposal is discussed in more detail in Chapters Five and Six.

3.2 Overview of Kubokota motion verbs

Unlike Italian and English, Kubokota may conflate either path or manner in a verb, or both in a verb serialisation. In the Kubokota examples (1) to (4) above, the verbs *zae* 'go up' and *gore* 'go down' express path, suggesting that like Italian, Kubokota is a verb-framed language. Manner is not expressed in these examples, but the first clause of (9) contains the verb *keza* 'climb', which expresses upward motion in a particular manner towards a goal (the top of a tree), illustrating that Kubokota can equally well express manner or path in the verb. The second clause of (9) contains both a MANNER verb *soqolo* 'jump' and a PATH verb *lagere* 'come down' in a verb serialisation.

		MANNER					MANNER	PATH
(9)	*Tana*	***keza***	*pa*	*nulu*	*ko*	*tana*	***soqolo***	***lagere,***
	1PL.IN.FUT	**climb**	IN.PRP	above	so	1PL.IN.FUT	**jump**	**come.down**

'We'll climb up above and then we'll jump down,' (a023SM_027)

The evidence already begins to suggest that Kubokota does not fit very neatly into Talmy's verb-framed versus satellite-framed typology, because manner and path can be expressed concurrently in a serial verb construction and there are no obvious candidates that can be treated as 'satellites'.

In examples (1) to (4), I indicated that Kubokota prepositions do not contain any information regarding the thematic role of the noun phrase that they license. A prepositional phrase following a motion verb usually expresses a ground of some sort; certain motion verbs will also license a ground as a direct or applicative object. The interpretation of these ground phrases is entirely dependent on the semantics of the verb (see also §2.6.1). Báez and Bohnemeyer (under review) demonstrate that in both satellite- and verb-framed Indo-European languages, a ground phrase (i.e. *'the argument or oblique that dominates the Ground-denoting nominal in locative and motion event descriptions'*) encodes LOCATIVE and PATH functions. For instance, in the English examples in (10), the prepositions distinguish locative, goal and source; in the Italian examples in (11), only source is distinguished from locative and goal, but it is clear that even Italian (and Spanish, French etc.), a verb-framed language, encodes at least some path information in the ground phrase. Báez and Bohnemeyer show that in the Meso-American languages Yucateco and Juchiteco, ground phrases are path-

neutral, path information being encoded exclusively in the verb (12). The same is true for Kubokota (13). Báez and Bohnemeyer suggest that these are "radically verb-framed languages".

Satellite-framed: English

(10)	a.	*Rowan is*	***in the house.***	LOCATIVE
	b.	*Rowan went*	***into the house.***	GOAL
	c.	*Rowan went*	***out of the house.***	SOURCE

Verb-framed: Italian

(11)	a.	*Marta sta*	***nella casa.***	LOCATIVE
		Marta is	in the house.	
	b.	*Marta entrò*	***nella casa.***	GOAL
		Marta entered	in the house.	
	c.	*Marta uscì*	***dalla casa.***	SOURCE
		Marta exited	from the house.	

Radically verb-framed: Yucateco (Báez and Bohnemeyer under review)

(12)	a.	*Le=kàaro=o ti'=yàan*	***ich le=kàaha=o'.***	LOCATIVE
		'The cart is	(in) the box.'	
	b.	*Le=kàaro=o h-òok*	***ich le=kàaha=o'.***	GOAL
		'The cart entered	(into) the box.'	
	c.	*Le=kàaro=o h-hòok*	***ich le=kàaha=o'.***	SOURCE
		'The cart exited	(from) the box.'	

Radically verb-framed: Kubokota[4]

(13)	a.	*Za suvere*	***pa kubo.***	LOCATIVE
		'He lived	(on) the mountain.'	
	b.	*Za zae*	***pa kubo.***	GOAL
		'He went up	(to) the mountain.'	
	c.	*Za lagere*	***pa kubo.***	SOURCE
		'He came down	(from) the mountain.'	

The purpose of this chapter is to explore in detail the types of motion verbs that occur in Kubokota, and the nature of the information that they lexicalise. Motion verbs in Kubokota constitute a relatively large and complex semantic field. They can be divided into several sub-categories, which, with the exception of MANNER verbs, can be distinguished in terms of the nature of the path that they express, and the configuration of that path with regard to a ground.

[4] The boundary-crossing verbs *votu* 'exit' and *luge* 'enter' are slightly complex and are avoided in these examples: they are discussed in detail in §3.4.1. It should be noted that in Kubokota and Juchiteco, a local noun can be used to specify a precise region of the ground, e.g. Kubokota *pa leo ruma* 'IN.PRP inside house' ('in the house'), *pa batu kubo* 'IN.PRP head mountain' ('on top of the mountain'). This has no effect on how the thematic role of the ground phrase is interpreted.

1. Path verbs

a) deictic path (PATHD[5]) verbs – verbs expressing a path which is oriented with regard to the deictic centre as ground:

i. verbs expressing deictic path, e.g. *lao* 'go', *lame* 'come';

ii. directional deictic verbs, expressing deictic path plus physical direction, e.g. *zae* 'go up', *lagere* 'come down';

b) path + ground (PATHG) verbs – verbs expressing a path which is oriented with regard to a physical ground:

i. boundary-crossing verbs, e.g. *luge* 'enter', *karovo* 'cross';

ii. verbs expressing path across a geographic ground, e.g. *poana* 'travel along beach', *zolozo* 'travel through bush', *oqavotu* '(go) seaward';

iii. verbs expressing path with regard to a route point, e.g. *jola* 'pass', *livutu* '(go) around';

c) SOURCE and GOAL verbs – verbs that lexicalise a specific start or endpoint to a path of motion:

i. verbs that lexicalise departure from source or arrival at goal, e.g. *taloi* 'depart', *koko* 'set out', *kamu* 'arrive';

ii. verbs that lexicalise a path with a geographic start or endpoint, e.g. *paro* '(go) ashore', *toka* 'set out to sea';

2. Manner verbs

MANNER verbs – verbs that lexicalise manner of motion (often activity verbs), e.g. *rerege* 'walk', *abutu* 'run', *keza* 'climb', *ponyu* 'swim';

3. Other motion verbs

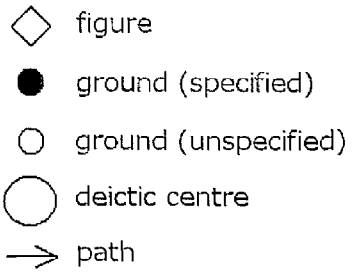
MOTION verbs – verbs lexicalised with semantic components other than path or manner; these may be transitive, caused motion verbs, e.g. *pogozo*

[5] A category indicated in small capitals constitutes a verb type that exhibits both syntactic and semantic behaviour distinct from other categories. In particular, it can fill a particular slot in a serial verb construction, concurrent or sequential with motion verbs of other categories but only sequential with other motion verbs of the same category (see Chapter Five for details).

'carry', *teku* 'take', *adu* 'chase', *ovulu* 'lift', or intransitive, e.g. *lotu* 'fall', *uku* 'run away'.

In this chapter and throughout this thesis I will use schematic diagrams to illustrate the various types of path expressed in Kubokota with regard to figure, ground, path etc. Figure 3.1 provides a key to the symbols used:

Figure 3.1: Symbols used in path diagrams (based partly on symbols used by Wilkins (1993))



3.3 Deictic path (PATHD) verbs

The most frequently occurring motion verbs in Kubokota are those expressing deictic path, i.e. path oriented with regard to a deictic centre as a ground. Some PATHD verbs express purely deictic path, i.e. MOTION is conflated with a path that relates to the deictic centre as a ground, equivalent to 'come' and 'go' in English. Other verbs, including *gore* and *zae* exemplified above, conflate motion with both deictic path and physical directional information such as 'up' and 'down'. Table 3.1 presents these forms, and also gives an indication of token frequency, based on a word count of my narrative text corpus (containing 2299 clauses).

Table 3.1: Deictic (PATHD) verbs

		'away from centre'	tokens	'towards centre'	tokens
neutral		*lao* 'go'	308	*lame* 'come'	149
directional	**'down'**	*gore* 'go down'	205	*lagere* 'come down'	44
	'up'	*zae* 'go up'	167	*zale* 'come up'	87

As indicated by both their semantic simplicity and their high frequency, *lao* 'go' and *lame* 'come' are the most basic motion verbs in Kubokota. *Lame* expresses motion towards the deictic centre, and *lao* motion in any other direction.

The directional PATHD verbs *gore* 'go down', *zae* 'go up', *lagere* 'come down' and *zale* 'come up' are also very common (the 'go' verbs always having a higher

frequency than the corresponding 'come' verbs).[6] Their grammatical behaviour is similar to that of *lao* and *lame* and they occur in complementary distribution with *lao* and *lame* in motion event serialisations (see §5.5). The choice between *lao*, *gore* and *zae* in a situation where a 'go' verb is required (or *lame*, *lagere* and *zale* for a 'come' verb) depends partly on how precise the speaker wishes to be about directional information, and partly on the directional scale within which they are operating. The details of the geocentric directional system are described in Chapter Seven, and influences on the choice of scale are investigated in Chapter Eight. Here I will disregard geocentric issues, and will restrict the discussion to the deictic behaviour of these verbs (expanded further in §6.4.2). In what follows, the 'go' verbs are *lao*, *zae* and *gore*, and the 'come' verbs are *lame*, *zale* and *lagere*.

Wilkins and Hill (1995) examine lexical semantic variation in what is entailed in the expressions 'come' and 'go' cross-linguistically. They compare 'come' and 'go' terms in the Australian language Mparntwe Arrernte and the Austronesian language Longgu (South East Solomonic) and explore the question of whether 'come' and 'go' (or components thereof) can be considered linguistic universals. They base their study on diagrammed scenes (Wilkins 1993) containing all the potential components of a deictic path of motion.[7] Crucial aspects of 'come' and 'go' terms addressed in these scenes include the anchoring of a path (i.e. whether the path starts and/or finishes at a particular point or whether it is unbounded), the orientation of the path with respect to the deictic centre and other ground points in the scene, and the shape of the path.

With regard to the 'go' terms, Wilkins and Hill show that 'go' in both the languages they examine, and in English, may be either bounded or unbounded, and that while 'go' may express motion away from the deictic centre, this is not entailed; in all three languages (Arrernte, Longgu and English), 'go' can be used to describe *'an unbounded path passing by at a distance from the deictic center'* (Wilkins and Hill 1995:250). They claim, therefore, that deixis is not necessarily a universal semantic component of 'go' verbs.

[6] The frequencies for the directional PATHD verbs suggest that one 'goes down' more than one 'goes up', and, conversely, 'comes up' more than one 'comes down'. This may reflect the fact that the village tends to be the deictic centre, and that there is more movement between the village and the shore than between the village and the interior, i.e. one 'comes up' from or 'goes down' to the shore more frequently than one 'goes up' to or 'comes down' from the bush. See also §6.5 for discussion of the village as a prototypical deictic centre.

[7] The focus of the questionnaire is on 'come' and 'go' paths; other potential motion event components, such as manner and cause, are disregarded.

For the 'come' terms, Wilkins and Hill demonstrate that:

> *while Longgu* la mae *"come" encodes path boundedness, with the deictic center as understood endpoint, Arrernte* petye- *does not entail that the motion path is anchored to an endpoint, nor that the deictic center must be considered a potential endpoint – it entails only path orientation towards deictic center.* (Wilkins and Hill 1995:249)

In Kubokota, as in the languages studied by Wilkins and Hill, *lao* 'go' describes movement in any direction that is not towards deictic centre, including paths that go past the deictic centre. *Lao* may not occur in any of the contexts in which *lame* 'come' is used. *Lame* describes motion towards the deictic centre, but this motion need not necessarily reach the deictic centre. The Kubokota system therefore seems more similar to Arrernte than to the Austronesian language Longgu.

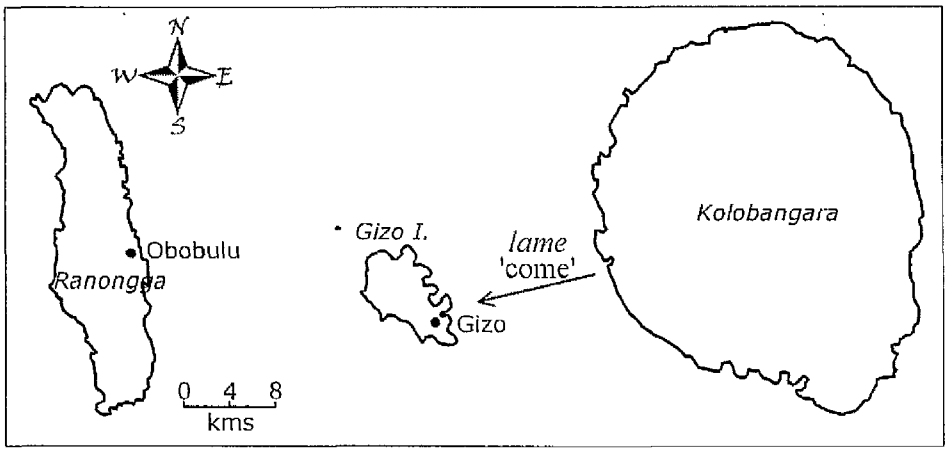
The use of *lame* to express bounded and unbounded paths with regard to the deictic centre is exemplified in (14), (15) and (16). All three examples, and many similar, were observed in naturally occurring speech. In (14), the path of motion is bounded, with the deictic centre as the goal; it is an imperative instructing the addressee to come to the speaker.

(14) ***Lame*** *pani!*
come here
'Come here!' (o0105)

(15) describes a bounded path of motion towards the deictic centre, but the deictic centre is not the goal. (15) was said on Ranongga, reporting on a group of people's movement from Kolobangara to the island of Gizo, which lies between Kolobangara and Ranongga, as shown in Map 3.1.

(15) *Maka guguzu pa Duke qari* ***lame*** *maketi pa Gijo...*
one village IN.PRP Kolobangara 3PL.R **come** market IN.PRP Gizo
'One village on Kolobangara came to market in Gizo...' (o0687)

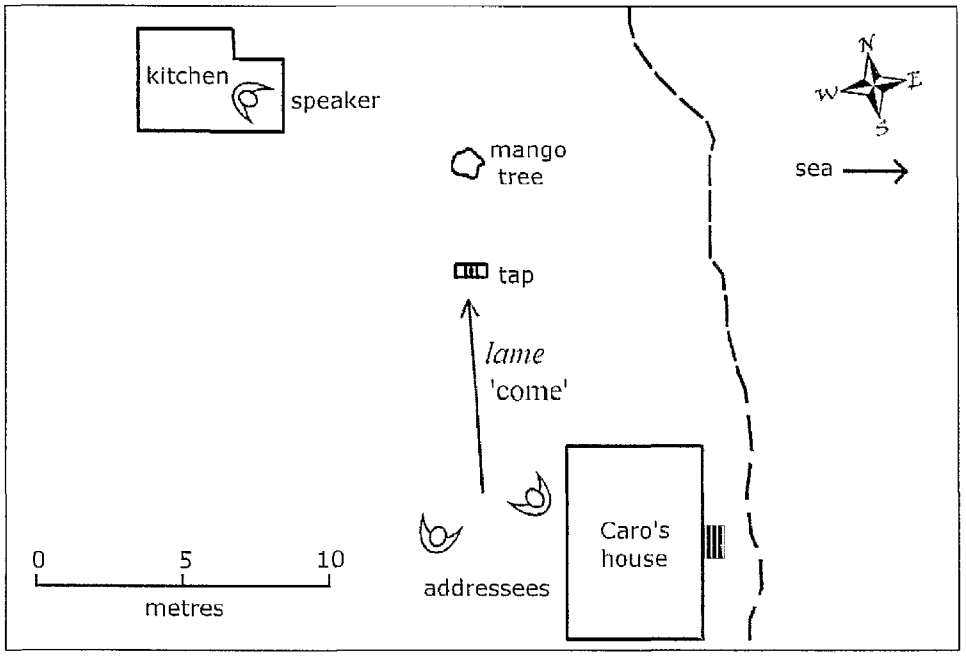
Map 3.1: Bounded movement towards Ranongga, from Kolobangara to Gizo (15)



In (16), the speaker is in the kitchen and her children are playing beyond the tap; she summons them to come and wash at the tap, which is not on a direct line to her (as in (15)), but brings them closer to her than their current location (see Map 3.2). Similarly, in (17), Donald 'comes' from London to Australia, which is closer to the Solomons than London is, but is not directly on a line between the source (London) and the deictic centre (the speaker, in the Solomons).

(16) ***Lame*** *iu,* *za* *bongi.*
come wash 3SG.R night
'Come wash, it's night.' (o0029)

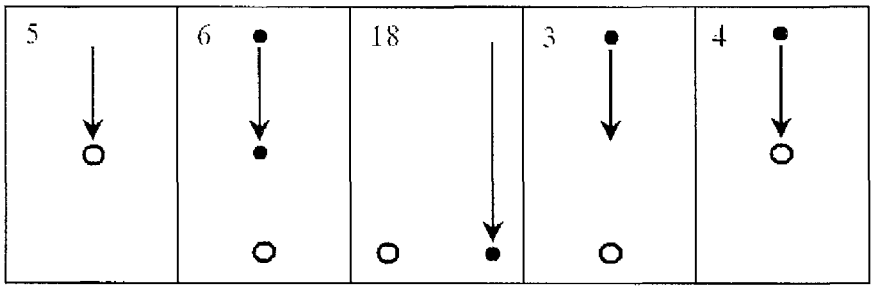
Map 3.2: Bounded movement of children to tap; speaker in kitchen (16)



(17) *Za* *koko* *pa* *London* *ko* *za* ***lame*** *dogoro* *pa* *Australia.*
3SG.R set.out IN.PRP London so 3SG.R **come** look IN.PRP Australia
'He set out from London and he came to see Australia.' (o0961)

Figure 3.2 shows 'come' scenes possible in Kubokota, based on Wilkins' (1993) 'come' and 'go' questionnaire. The paths of motion in (14), (15) and (16) conform to Wilkins' scenes 5, 6 and 18 respectively.

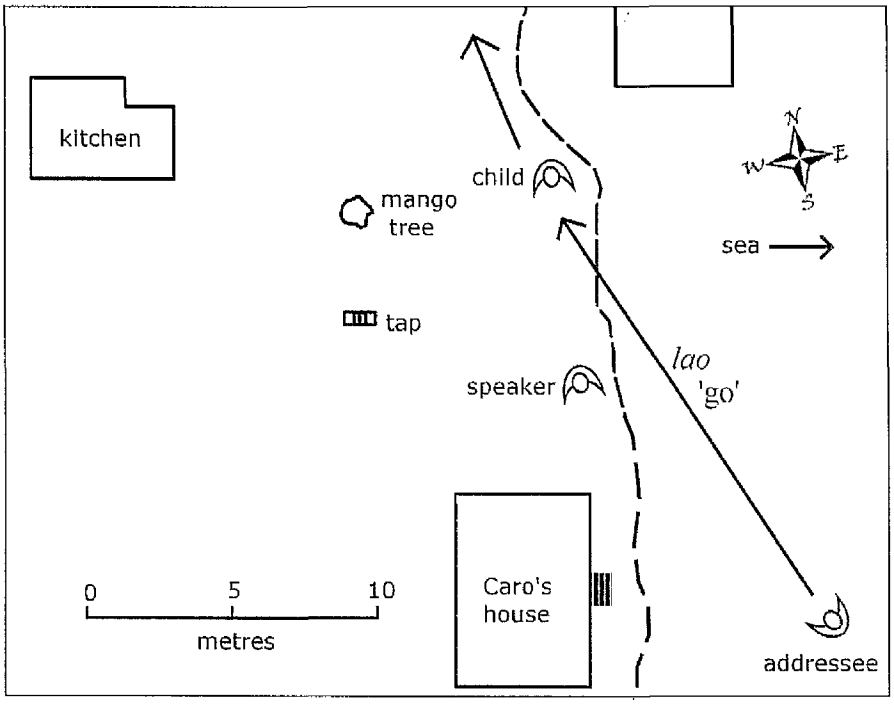
Figure 3.2: 'Come' scenes in Kubokota



Both *lame* and *lao* involve movement along a spatial plane which is oriented either 'towards' or 'not towards' the deictic centre. By 'not towards' I refer to Wilkins and Hill's claim that 'go' terms tend to function as more generic 'travel' terms, lacking the deictic content often assumed to be a semantic primitive. As already mentioned, the use of the 'go' terms in Kubokota is excluded in situations where 'come' is possible; it is impossible, therefore, for a 'go' term to occur in any of examples (14), (15) and (16) above. 'Go' can be used, however, in situations where the path of motion is directed past the deictic centre (or even where the deictic centre is located at a point along the path). In (18), the speaker is located on a road and the addressee is hidden in one of the houses ahead of her. The speaker is summoning the addressee to go and take home a small boy who is trailing along the road some way behind her.

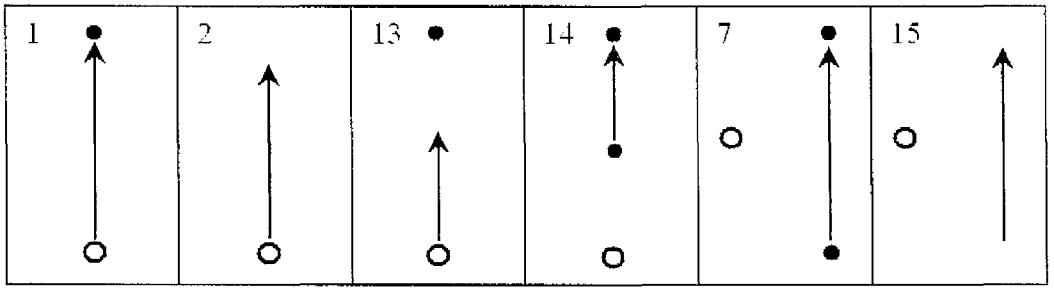
(18) *Tina,* ***lao*** *va-mule* *nari!*
Tina **go** CAUS-return DIST.SG
'Tina, go make that one go back!' (o0368)

Map 3.3: 'Go' past deictic centre (18)



The situation in (18) conforms to scene 15, which is schematised with other 'go' scenes in Figure 3.3.

Figure 3.3: 'Go' scenes in Kubokota



The deictic neutrality of 'go' verbs is further evidenced by examples such as (19); *gore lagere* is a collocational phrase, usually used as an imperative, to tell someone to 'come down'. The 'away from deictic centre' component of *gore* is ignored.

(19) *Mu* ***gore*** ***lagere*** *tu* *ko* *ma* *vai=go,*
2.IRR **go.down** **come.down** FOC so 1SG.IRR kill=2SG.OBJ
'You come down and I'll kill you,'

The anchorpoint (i.e. source or goal) of a Kubokota 'come' or 'go' path may or may not be identified. In examples such as (16) and (18), the anchor point or ground of the path is not overtly specified; in (16), the goal is the tap and in (18) it is the child's home (as implied by the use of the verb *mule* 'return').

A bounded path may take a ground phrase (i.e. a prepositional phrase or object NP) as an anchorpoint for the path. As discussed above, Kubokota ground phrases contain no semantic information about their thematic roles, and are dependent on the verb for their interpretation (see §2.6.1). In spite of the different configurations of the *lao* and *lame* paths, both verbs may take a goal in a prepositional phrase.

(20) *qe* ***lao*** ***pa*** ***Gijo*** *ko* *qe* *maketi.*
3PL.R **go** **IN.PRP** **Gizo** so 3PL.R market
'they went to Gizo and marketed.' (a057RK_075)

(21) ***Lame,*** *mae!* ***Lame*** *pa* *ruma!*
come come.to.S **come** IN.PRP house
'Come, come here! Come to the house!' (o0458)

In the case of *lame*, but not *lao*, the prepositional phrase may also express a source. Only the context (the speaker is telling the history of missionaries in the Solomon Islands) disambiguates *guguzu vaka* in (22) as a source rather than a goal.

(22) *na* *Gospel* *za* ***lame*** ***pa*** ***guguzu*** ***vaka.***
DET Gospel 3SG.R **come** **IN.PRP** **village** **ship**
'The Gospel came from the place of the white people.' (lit. 'from the ship village') (o0311)

If the verb *vei* 'be like' follows *lame*, this ambiguity is eliminated; a prepositional phrase co-occurring with a 'come' verb and *vei* can only express a source (see §3.3.1 for further discussion of *vei*):

(23) *Pa* *London,* *mina* ***lame*** ***vei?***
IN.PRP London 3SG.FUT **come** **be.like**
'From London, he'll come?' (o0470)

(24) ***Lame*** ***vei*** *pa* *Rauru* *beka.*
come **be.like** IN.PRP Choiseul maybe
'Maybe it's coming from Choiseul.' (o0617)

3.3.1 Directional PATHD verbs

The same source-goal asymmetry, which is common cross-linguistically (see for instance Ikegami (1987)), applies to the directional deictic verbs. We have already established that a prepositional phrase following the 'go' verbs *gore* 'go down' and *zae* 'go up' is typically interpreted as a goal (1), (2). The prepositional phrase may also express a path, route or vehicle, as in (25) and (26). As shown in (3), however, a source interpretation is excluded for 'go' verbs.

(25) *gore, gore gore* ***pa zona,***
go.down go.down go.down **IN.PRP** **road**
'we went down, down, down the road' (a013BN_004)

(26) *Ae muna vei muna zae pa Honiara? Muna zae* ***pa***
Q 2.FUT be.like 2.FUT go.up IN.PRP Honiara 2.FUT go.up **IN.PRP**

vaka tatava *ba muna zae* ***pa vaka?***
ship **fly** or 2.FUT go.up **IN.PRP** **ship**
'How will you go up to Honiara? Will you go by plane or by ship?' (en046_002)

For the 'come' directional verbs, *lagere* and *zale*, the situation is similar to that of *lame*; both source and goal may be expressed, with the optional use of *vei* to disambiguate a source. In (27) (without *vei*) and (28) (with *vei*), the prepositional phrase expresses a source, whereas in (29) (without *vei*) it expresses a goal.

(27) *zae adono=ria ari-kori tamatina mari* ***lagere pa***
go.up wait=3PL.OBJ PROX.PL-two mother.and.child 3PL.IRR **come.down** **IN.PRP**

Honiara,
Honiara
'(We) went up (to Gizo) to wait for those two (mother and child) to come down from Honiara,' (a019BN_002)

(28) *Za koko* ***lagere vei tu pa Gijo.***
3SG.R set.out **come.down** **be.like** FOC **IN.PRP** **Gizo**
'It set out (and) came down from Gizo.' (o0574)

(29) *'Na za qu* ***lagere=ni pani?'*** *za gua.*
DET PRO 2SG.R **come.down**=APPL.SG **here** 3SG.R say
'"What have you come down to here for?" he said.' (a010LP_047)

In (30), as in (28), *lagere vei* denotes a source. In (30), however, the location of this source is imprecise, perhaps being better translated as 'come down from the direction of'; the path of motion in (30) might arguably be regarded as unbounded at source, *kolo* being a local noun that refers to a vast area of open sea, rather than a specific location from which the wind originates. It should be noted that *vei* can also be used with 'go' verbs to express a sense of 'in the direction of', with or without a goal being specified. In (31) and (32), only approximate direction is indicated, and the goal is unknown; *vei* in such contexts is often followed by the plural demonstratives ((31); see §2.4.8.1 for details). In (33), *vei* indicates an approximate goal (the participants never reach Vagina and it is not clear from the story whether that was their intended destination; their path is merely oriented in the Vagina direction). 'Go'

verbs with *vei* are common in conjunction with perceptual verbs such as *bata* (34), where no motion actually takes place.

(30) *Na turu Gijo mina lagere* ***vei*** ***pa*** ***kolo.***
DET stand Gizo 3SG.FUT come.down **be.like** **IN.PRP** **deep.sea**
'The Gizo wind will come down from the sea.' (o0598)

(31) *Za votu zae* ***vei*** ***ari*** *tu.*
3SG.R exit go.up **be.like** **PROX.PL** FOC
'He went out up that way.' (o0493)

(32) *Gona gore* ***vei.***
throw go.down **be.like**
'Steer (the canoe) down in that direction.' (o0533)

(33) *za lao* ***vei*** *pa kale=na pa Vagina nari.*
3SG.R go **be.like** IN.PRP side=3SG.POS IN.PRP Vagina DIST.SG
'he went towards the side of Vagina (Island) there.' (a048TN_024-25)

(34) *Za bata gore* ***vei*** ***pa*** ***nole.***
3SG.R see go.down **be.like** **IN.PRP** **beach**
'He faces down towards the beach.' (e018RG2_018)

In (35), *zale* is followed by a goal, whereas in (36) and (37) a source is expressed. The choice of whether to express a source rather than a goal with 'come' verbs is determined by pragmatic considerations. In (35), the purpose of the women's journey is to come to Paqe to lead a church service. In (36), it is the lateness of the children from Qiloe that is delaying the start of lessons at the Obobulu school. In (37), the speaker is an Obobulu woman who has been unwell and is telling me that she has been to see the doctor at the clinic in Pienuna. In all three examples, therefore, the prepositional phrase identifies the most relevant anchor point on the motion path, but whether this is interpreted as a source or goal is dependent on context, and on the interlocutors' shared knowledge of the situation.

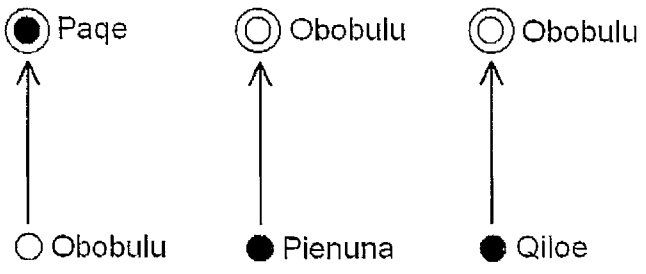
(35) *Gami* ***zale*** ***pa*** ***Paqe.***
1PL.EX.R **come.up** **IN.PRP** **Paqe**
'We came up to Paqe.' (o0125; women from Obobulu have arrived in Paqe)

(36) *Qari oqoro* ***zale*** ***pa*** ***Qiloe.***
3PL.R not.yet **come.up** **IN.PRP** **Qiloe**
'They haven't yet come up from Qiloe.' (o0754; schoolchildren from Qiloe haven't yet arrived in Obobulu)

(37) *Koini* ***zale*** *tu* ***pa*** ***Pienuna.***
just **come.up** FOC **IN.PRP** **Pienuna**
'(We have) just come up from Pienuna (to Obobulu).' (o0819; speaker has just been to clinic in Pienuna)

Examples (35), (36) and (37) are diagrammed in Figure 3.4. It should be noted that the location of the speaker (the deictic centre, indicated by a large circle) in all three examples is at the goal of the path of motion; if the speaker was located at the source, 'go' terms would be used.

Figure 3.4: Source, goal and speaker location with *zale* 'come up'



3.3.2 Other PATHD verbs

Two further motion verbs with deictic content are *keni* 'go away' and *mae* 'come (to speaker)'.

The verb *keni* 'go away' occurs in many of the same contexts as *lao* 'go'. *Keni*, however, is only used when one is going some distance, or departing permanently. In (38), the goal of *keni* is the garden (Ranonggan gardens are usually some distance away from the village). Note that, because there is no subject marker expressing modality (see Chapter Four), (38) can be asked either on departure for or return from the garden, i.e. its interpretation is again dependent on context, on the speaker and addressee's shared knowledge of where the garden is, the time of day that one typically goes to the garden, the clothes one wears for gardening, the things one might carry to and from the garden, etc.[8]

[8] It is typical in Kubokota to greet people encountered on the road with enquiries about where they are going. Usually, the question will be either *Pae mu lao?* 'Where are you going?' or *Pae qu suvere?* 'Where have you been?', depending again on contextual information such as whether the addressee is heading away or towards home (and, therefore, the speaker's knowledge of where the addressee lives). More specific questions such as (38) 'Have you been to the garden?' tend to be asked where there is some evidence that this is true (cf. (176), where the questioner assumes that the addressees are just out for a walk: 'Are you walking?' 'No, we're going down to see Lamu's mother').

(38) *Keni pa inuma?*
go.away IN.PRP garden
'Are you going/have you been to the garden?' (o0064)

In (39) and (40) no goal is specified, but the departure from the source is long-term or permanent. Like *lao*, *keni* is goal-oriented; a prepositional phrase following *keni* cannot express a source. However, unlike *lao*, *keni* cannot be used for deictically neutral motion; it always expresses motion away from the deictic centre.

(39) *Ole keni dia.*
drift go.away 3PL.POS
'They (the houses) drifted away.' (o0581)

(40) *Keni?*
go.away
'Are you leaving?' (o0078)

Lao may be used over distances in the same contexts as *keni*; in (41), for instance, the goal is Australia. Unlike *keni*, *lao* is also used for more local, domestic-scale movement: in (42), the path of motion leads from outside to inside the house.

(41) *Qa nyoro gua lo-loi=go ura uka pala mana*
1SG.R want say REDUP-leave=2SG.OBJ because tomorrow FUT 1SG.FUT
***lao** pa Australia.*
go IN.PRP Australia
'I want to leave you (i.e. say goodbye to you) because tomorrow I will go to Australia.' (o0269)

(42) *gami luge **lao** pa leo ruma,*
1PL.EX.R enter **go** IN.PRP inside house
'we went into the house,' (a044BN_042)

Both *keni* and *lao* can express a path of motion leading to a purpose; again, in (43) the motion is restricted to a domestic area, whereas in (44), *keni* expresses greater distance and prolonged departure:

(43) *Ta **lao puta** gada.*
1PL.IN.IRR **go** **sleep** 1PL.IN.ED.POS
'Let's go sleep.' (o0042)

(44) *qari **keni** **rave-rave** kori tinoni.*
3PL.R **go.away** **REDUP-fish** two person
'two people went to fish.' (a057RK_003)

Lao lame 'go come' and *keni kamu* 'go.away arrive' are collocational phrases, both meaning 'to go back and forth' (*lao lame* on the small scale, *keni kamu* over

greater distances). (45) and (46) describe physical movement, (45) referring to local movement around the village and nearby hamlets, (46) to the comings and goings of the anthropologist, Debra McDougall, between the Solomons and Australia; the use of *keni kamu* in (46) implies that both Debra's arrivals and departures are of longer duration than the coming and going described in (45). (47) is a more metaphorical use of *lao lame.*

(45) *Mina rijo* ***lao lame.***
3SG.FUT move **go** **come**
'She'll come and go (within the Obobulu area).' (o0880)

(46) *Aza za* ***keni kamu*** *tu.*
3SG 3SG.R **go.away** **arrive** FOC
'She comes and goes (from the island).' (o0508)

(47) *Kubo paranga ta=di gami za soga* ***lao lame.***
much speak AN.PRP=PL 1PL.EX 3SG.R change **go** **come**
'A lot of our language changes back and forth.' (o0422)

Mae 'come to speaker' is a defective verb, taking no verbal morphology and only ever occurring in imperative mood.[9] In addition to its use as an imperative meaning 'come to me' (48), Kubokota *mae* can also be used as a speaker-oriented benefactive, meaning 'give me (something)' (49). In the 'come to speaker' sense, *mae* may also (rarely) occur in an imperative verb serialisation (50); it does not otherwise occur in full verbal clauses.

(48) ***Mae,*** *lame!*
come.to.S come
'Come here, come!' (o0330)

(49) ***Mae*** *na moge.*
come DET knife
'Give me the knife.' (o0939)

(50) *Tina,* ***mae*** ***toka=ria*** ***gore!***
Tina **come.to.S** **take=3PL.OBJ** **go.down**
'Tina, come here (and) take them down!' (o0080)

3.4 Path + ground (PATHG) verbs

Slobin and Hoiting (1994:493-4) distinguish between path-focused and ground-focused path verbs. A path-focused path verb describes the directionality of a

[9] Other Austronesian languages also have a suppletive imperative verb, including Indonesian (*mari*) and Taba (*mo*) (John Bowden p.c.).

movement in space between a starting point and an endpoint; the PATHD verbs discussed in §3.3 above are typical examples. Ground-focused path verbs describe more complex paths, focusing on characteristics of the ground. Slobin and Hoiting's interest is in boundary-crossing verbs such as 'enter', 'exit' and 'cross', which, in the sign languages and other verb-serialising languages that they consider, exhibit grammatical behaviour distinct from the behaviour of path-focused verbs such as 'ascend', 'descend' and 'approach'. Boundary-crossing verbs in Kubokota are introduced in §3.4.1 below, and discussed in more detail in §6.4.4. However, Kubokota also has verbs that lexicalise path of motion with respect to a ground other than a boundary. I will refer to all of these verbs as PATH + GROUND or PATHG verbs. PATHG verbs have no deictic content; in verb serialisations, however, they frequently co-occur with the deictic verbs, as will be described in §5.5. At least three sub-categories of PATHG verbs can be identified. The boundary-crossing verbs *votu* 'exit', *luge* 'enter' and *karovo* 'cross' involve motion of a figure across all or part of a ground (§3.4.1). A second sub-category contains verbs that lexicalise path with regard to a point located on or near the path; Jackendoff (1983) uses the term "route" for grounds of this type. Route PATHG verbs include *jola* 'go past' and *livutu* 'go around' (§3.4.2). The geographic PATHG verbs lexicalise motion across geographical features of the island terrain. They include *poana* 'to travel along the beach', *babata* 'to travel along the coast (either on land or sea, parallel to the shoreline)', *zolozo* 'to travel through the bush', the synonyms *oqavotu* and *gazavotu* (both of which incorporate the boundary-crossing verb *votu* 'exit'), which mean 'to descend out of the bush in a shoreward direction', and *paja* 'climb', which has acquired the meaning 'travel inland' (§3.4.3). 'Return' paths express a path that is configured with regard to an earlier path, including the verbs *mule* 'return' and *vidulu* 'turn' (§3.4.4). Some motion verbs entail a geographical start or endpoint: *paro* 'go ashore', *toka* 'launch or set out across sea', and *zagere* 'ascend to the top of a hill'; these are discussed alongside other SOURCE and GOAL verbs in §3.5.3.

3.4.1 Boundary-crossing verbs

Boundary-crossing verbs involve the movement of a figure across all or part of a ground.

The verbs *luge* 'enter' and *votu* 'exit' are used to express entry and exit to an enclosed space, such as a house, a hole, or a harbour.

(51) *kori na keki gami teku=a ko gami* ***votu*** *pa veranda,*
two DET cake 1PL.EX.R take=3SG.OBJ so 1PL.EX.R **exit** IN.PRP veranda
'two cakes we took and we went out to the veranda,' (a019BN_052)

(52) *qa* ***votu*** *pa=na qua ruma,*
1SG.R **exit** IN.PRP=DET 1SG.POS house
'I came out of my house,' (a029MP_002)

(53) *Za* ***luge*** *na vaka.*
3SG.R **enter** DET ship
'The ship is coming in (to Gizo harbour).' (o0054)

(54) *Pa leo ruma tori* ***luge*** *tu.*
IN.PRP inside house already **enter** FOC
'He has already gone into the house.' (o0343)

It will be noted from examples (51) and (52) that, like *lame*, *votu* can license either a goal (51) or a source (52) in a prepositional phrase. *Luge*, however, seems to be goal-oriented and there are no examples of *luge* with a source, nor was I able to elicit one. *Votu* is represented in Figure 3.5, and *luge* in Figure 3.6.

Figure 3.5: *Votu* 'exit' as a source- and goal-oriented verb

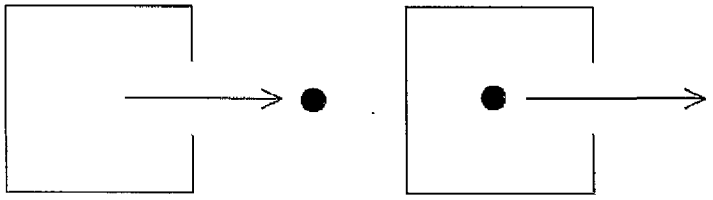
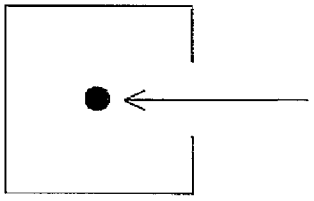


Figure 3.6: *Luge* 'enter' as a goal-oriented verb



Votu and *luge*, like other PATHG verbs, do not lexicalise any deictic information. However, they exhibit a strong preference for co-occurring with a PATHD verb, usually the directionally neutral verbs *lao* 'go' (55), (58) and *lame* 'come' (56), (59); the presence of a PATHD verb seems to be particularly likely if a prepositional phrase

is also present (55), (56).[10] A prepositional phrase following either *votu* or *luge* in a mono-verbal clause is rare ((51) and (52) are exceptions). The command in (55) is one that I heard very frequently in family life in the village; it almost never occurs with the deictic verb omitted, although the mono-verbal command *Votu!* 'Out!' is frequent.

(55) ***Votu*** ***lao*** *pa* *peguru!*
exit **go** IN.PRP outside
'Go outside!' (o0561)

(56) *Mana* ***votu*** ***lame*** *pa* *peguru.*
1SG.FUT **exit** **come** IN.PRP outside
'I will come outside.' (o0983)

As with the *zale* examples in (35) to (37), prepositional phrases following *lao* are always goals, whereas a prepositional phrase following *lame* may be either a source or a goal. (55) expresses a goal with *votu lao*, (56) a goal with *votu lame*, and (57) a source with *votu lame*.[11]

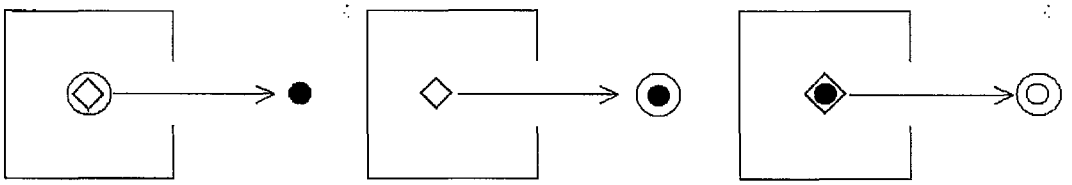
(57) ***tatava*** ***votu*** ***lame*** *maka* *manugu* *pa* ***leo*** ***baongo.***
fly **exit** **come** one bird IN.PRP **inside** **hole**
'a bird came flying out of the hole.' (fs001LP_050)

Figure 3.7 shows that *votu lao* is used where the deictic centre and the source are in the same location, whereas *votu lame* is used where the deictic centre and the goal are in the same location (see also Figure 3.4, which shows that the deictic centre is always at the goal for *zale* 'come up'). Thus, *votu lao* involves both figure (addressee in (55)) and deictic centre (speaker in (55)) being located inside the contained space. *Votu lame* involves the figure being located inside the contained space and the deictic centre outside; as for *zale* there is a choice regarding whether the goal (56) or source (57) is specified as a ground. Note that in (56), the deictic centre is projected by the speaker (the figure, inside the house) onto the addressee (the goal, outside); however, *votu lame pa peguru* 'come outside' could equally be said (as an imperative) to a figure addressee within the house by a goal speaker outside.

[10] This is consistent with my observations about the importance of the speaker or deictic centre as an embodied entity in the physical world; see Chapter Seven for discussion.

[11] It should be noted that the ground-denoting nominal *leo baongo* in (57) gives no information about the semantic role of the prepositional phrase (i.e. whether it is a source or goal), but merely indicates a region of the ground (see also Footnote 4). The same is true for both Yucateco (12) and Italian (8).

Figure 3.7: *Votu lao* (goal-oriented) and *votu lame* (goal- and source-oriented)



Luge lao and *luge lame* seem only to be goal-oriented. The same condition holds, however, that *luge lao* requires the deictic centre to be located at the source, and *luge lame* at the goal. Thus in (58), both the deictic centre (the speaker) and the figure (the addressee) are located outside the house on the veranda, and the figure goes in; in (59), the deictic centre (figure and addressee) are located on the shore within the harbour, and the figure (the ship 'Isabella') is outside, coming in.

(58) ***Luge*** ***lao*** *mua* *Mary.*
enter **go** 2SG.POS Mary
'You go in, Mary (to the house).' (o0396)

(59) *za* ***luge*** ***lame*** *na* *Isabella.*
3SG.R **enter** **come** DET Isabella
'the Isabella came in (to the harbour).' (a019BN_060)

In the absence of a deictic verb, *votu* and *luge* are often serialised with a manner verb (60); it is also not unusual for them to occur in series with both a manner verb and a deictic verb (57). Verb serialisation with boundary-crossing verbs will be discussed further in §6.4.4.

(60) *za* ***soqolo*** ***votu*** *pa* *leo* *baongo* *na* *mesu*
3SG.R **jump** **exit** IN.PRP inside hole DET rat
'a rat jumped out of the hole' (fs001LP_043)

It seems that *votu*, at least, can also be used statively. In (61) and (62) it expresses a state of being 'out', rather than a path of motion to 'outside'. There are no examples of *luge* as a stative verb.

(61) ***Votu*** *doru* *ṫinoni!* *Kaki* *qari* *aqono* *nagaza,* *kaki* *qe* *ṙabu-rabu,*
exit all person some 3PL.R carry sand some 3PL.R REDUP-weed

kaki *qe* *geli* *livut=i=a* *na* *ruma...*
some 3PL.R dig go.around=TR=3SG.OBJ DET house
'All the people are out! Some carry sand, some weed, some dig around the house...' (o0736)

(62) *Doru* *na* *mati* *qari* *pate* *ria* *pa* *WWF* *ari,* *qari* ***ale*** ***votu.***
all DET reef 3PL.R close 3PL IN.PRP WWF PROX.PL 3PL.R **float** **exit**
'All the reefs that WWF closed (to fishing), they're floating out.' (o0765)

I have described *votu* and *luge* as involving a figure going into or out of an enclosed space such as a house, a hole or a harbour, and the vast majority of examples conform to this description. In (62), however, the boundary is the surface of the sea. The reefs have been lifted up by the earthquake, have exited their former environment below the surface of the sea, and are now 'floating out' (note that *ale* is a locative verb and does not describe motion, hence my claim that (62) is stative; islands are also said to *ale* 'float' on the sea, but for things that move, *ole* 'drift' is used). Example (63) also describes an entity that has crossed a boundary in a non-canonical way, again as a consequence of the earthquake. In (63), the sea has crossed the boundary between land and sea, and has entered the village. It should be noted that *luge* is not normally used to express entry into a village; a Kubokota village is not a contained space, it is only in the unusual case of the sea entering the village that any boundaries are invoked.

(63) *Pani* *za* ***luge*** ***lame*** *na* *kolo.*
here 3SG.R **enter** **come** DET sea
'The sea came in here.' (o0898)

Nor is it usual for *luge* and *votu* to be used for entering or exiting the water, as in (62). Diving into the sea, for instance, is usually expressed with *suvu gore* 'dive down' (64), and *zae* and *gore* are also used for going in and out of the water from the shore (see §7.3.2.1). The verb *podaka* 'surface', however, is an antonym of *suvu* 'dive'; the phrase *suvu podaka* (65) is a collocation similar to *lao lame* (see (45)). *Podaka* can also be regarded as a kind of boundary-crossing verb; in (66) it is serialised with *votu*, again expressing the notion of exiting from beneath the water.

(64) *I* *Mary* *za* ***suvu*** ***gore*** *pa* *ivere.*
PERS Mary 3SG.R **dive** **go.down** IN.PRP sea
'Mary dived into the sea.' (o0194)

(65) *Qari dogoro=ria ria na tovutovu qari* ***suvu*** *qari* ***podaka,***
3PL.R see=3PL.OBJ 3PL DET dolphin 3PL.R **dive** 3PL.R **surface**
'They saw the dolphins diving and surfacing,' (a023SM_010)

(66) *Tonai qari* ***podaka votu*** *pa pie ari-kori,*
when 3PL.R **surface exit** IN.PRP water PROX.PL-two
'When they surfaced out of the water,' (fs003GJ_049)

The boundary between land and sea is a highly salient one for Kubokota people, and will be important in our later discussion (see Chapter Seven).

The verb *karovo* 'cross' describes either a figure moving across the whole of a ground, or between two separate but clearly demarcated grounds. Again, water boundaries are relevant, *karovo* often describing a path of motion across a body of water, such as a river or a clearly defined strait between two islands (but not across larger stretches of unbounded sea or across sea where other land masses intervene).

(67) *Pani tu tana* ***karovo*** *vei.*
here FOC 1PL.IN.FUT **cross** be.like
'This is where we'll go across (the river).' (o0489)

(68) *Qari qera=ni=go ria koburu ko qari surana*
3PL.R happy=APPL.SG=2SG.OBJ 3PL child so 3PL.R load
va-karov-i=go.
CAUS-cross-TR=2SG.OBJ
'The children were happy with you and they transported you across (the river in a canoe).' (o0160)

In (69), the speaker describes how she mixes bark with water to make a medicine; the qualities of the bark (its colour and its healing properties) 'go across' into the water.

(69) *qa heni=ni pa kolo ara betoko za* ***karovo.***
1SG.R mix=APPL.SG IN.PRP water 1SG and 3SG.R **cross**
'I mix it with water and it goes across.' (a021MD_004)

Karovo may also describe the transfer of an entity from one location to another; this might be physical, such as the transfer of cargo between two canoes, or metaphorical. *Karovo* is used to describe taking photos and making audio and video recordings; one's image (*ongu* 'shadow/reflection') is considered to go across into the recording device. It is also used to mean 'translate', in this case presumably being a metaphor for the transfer of meaning (the verb *peluku* 'turn' is also used), while words borrowed from other languages may be referred to as *paranga karovo=di* 'words (that

have) crossed over'. Note that for both translation and recording, *karovo* takes the causative prefix; the clause, however, may be either transitive or intransitive (see §2.5.4.3.1 for discussion of causativised intransitives).

(70) *Za* *kole* ***va-karovo.***
3SG.R PROG **CAUS-cross**
'He was taking photos.' (o0912)

(71) *Za* ***va-karovo=ria*** *i* *Mary.*
3SG.R **CAUS-cross=3PL.OBJ** PERS Mary
'Mary made them go across (i.e. took photos of them).' (a044BN_061)

(72) *Pala* *muna* ***va-karovo*** *vadi.*
FUT 2.FUT **CAUS-cross** BEN.APPL.PL
'You will translate for them.' (o0750)

In (73) *karovo* describes a temporal boundary-crossing, between one year and the next.

(73) *Koi,* *pala* *mina* ***karovo=ni*** *na* *aoro* *korega.*
hey FUT 3SG.FUT **cross=APPL.SG** DET year new
'Hey, it (the work) will cross over into the New Year.' (o0971)

Like *votu* and *luge*, *karovo* also tends to co-occur with the PATHD verbs. Because *karovo* often describes movement on scales larger than domestic movement in and out of houses, the directional PATHD verbs are as frequent as *lao* and *lame* (with *votu* and *luge* the directional PATHD verbs are rarely found).

(74) ***karovo*** ***lame,*** *pa* *Mokeru,*
cross **come** IN.PRP Mokeru
'come across, to Mokeru,' (a030IB_004)

(75) *Rerege* *karovo* *zale,*
walk cross come.up
'We walked up across (the hill),' (a029MP_016)

(76) *Zae* *pa* *Gijo* *beto* ***karovo*** ***gore*** *pa* *Duke.*
go.up IN.PRP Gizo then **cross** **go.down** IN.PRP Duke
'Go up to Gizo then go across down to Duke.' (en032_002)

The term *va-karovo* 'CAUS-cross' is used to specify kin relationships not in the direct line of descent, but on the same generational plane, such as 'aunt', 'uncle' and 'cousin' (the basic terms *tina* 'mother', *tama* 'father' and the sibling terms may also be used for these relationships).

(77) *tina=qu* ***va-karovo***
mother=1SG.POS CAUS-cross
'my aunt'

(78) *tama=qu* ***va-karovo***
father=1SG.POS CAUS-cross
'my uncle'

(79) *tai=qu* ***va-karovo***
younger.sibling=1SG.POS CAUS-cross
'my younger cousin'

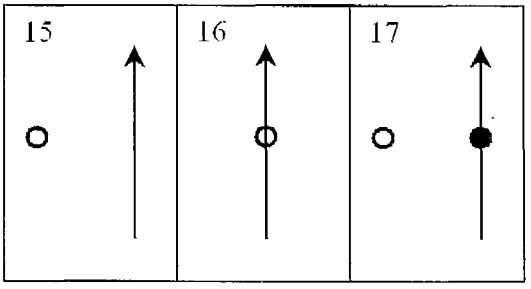
3.4.2 Route ground verbs

Route ground verbs are verbs that describe motion in relation to a particular reference point or ground with regard to which the path of motion is shaped. They are often transitive, the object being the ground.

3.4.2.1 *Jola* 'pass'

The verb *jola* 'pass' is used to refer to movement through or close to a point on a path. The deictic centre may be at or near that point, or may not be relevant at all. *Jola* is roughly equivalent to Wilkins' (1993) scenes 15, 16 and 17, as shown in Figure 3.8.

Figure 3.8: Scenes covered by *jola* 'pass'



The ground of *jola* is expressed as an applicative object. Examples (80), (81) and (82) are representative of its behaviour in describing physical paths of motion. In (80), the participants walk along a road that passes beside Totoa Point. In (81), both Mary and a child are walking along a road, and the child is told to run on past her; the child is the figure and Mary is the (moving) ground. In (82), the participants are in a boat sailing through a rainstorm, which is passing over them in the opposite direction.

(80) ***Jola=ni*** *gami* *ka=made* *na* *kelekele* *pa* *Totoa*
pass=APPL.SG 1PL.EX.R CARD=four DET point IN.PRP Totoa
'We four went past the point of Totoa' (a013BN_026)

(81) *Abutu* ***jola=ni*** *i* *Mary.*
run **pass=APPL.SG** PERS Mary
'Run past Mary.' (o0424)

(82) *Mi* ***jola*** ***jola*** ***jola*** *na* *okoro.*
3SG.IRR **pass** **pass** **pass** DET rain
'The rain is passing.' (o0282)

Like other ground verbs, *jola* may be serialised with the deictic path verbs to add deictic and directional information. (84) again describes the path of a rainstorm, in this case viewed passing Ranongga at a distance in a northerly direction ('down').

(83) *muna* ***jola*** ***lao*** *kamu=ria* *na* *ngiru-ngiru.*
2.FUT **go.past** **go** arrive=3PL.OBJ DET REDUP-coconut
'you will go past and come to (a) coconut plantation.' (a025SM_007)

(84) *Za* ***jola*** ***gore*** *nana.*
3SG.R **go.past** **go.down** 3SG.POS
'It (the rain) is going down past.' (o0855)

Jola also has a comparative function. This is seen clearly in the phrase *leana jola=ni* in (85), where it literally means 'the goodness (of the past) surpasses (these times now)'. *Leana jola* is a common phrase usually best translated as 'very good', also used to mean 'thank you' and as a farewell.

(85) *Zara* *za* *vei* *na* *toa* *vari-elava* *pa* *moa,* *leana* ***jola=ni***
MED.PL 3SG.R be.like DET life RECIP-marry IN.PRP front good **pass=APPL.SG**

totozo *koviria* *ari.*
time now PROX.PL
'That was how married life was before, it was better than now.' (a008BL_030)

(86) *Na* *numu* *ani* *na=ke* *numu* *peki,* *numu* *lavata,*
DET earthquake PROX.SG DET=NEG earthquake small earthquake big

jola=ni *doru* *numu* *qe* *raja.*
pass=APPL.SG all earthquake 3PL.R strike
'This earthquake isn't a small earthquake, (it's a) big earthquake, (bigger) than all the earthquakes that have struck (in the past).'

Jola has a comparative (or even superlative) sense in two further construction types. In the first, *jola* acts as a pre-verbal modifier which is followed by a nominalised predicate. The subject of the clause is referenced both by the subject marker and by a direct possession suffix on the nominalised predicate. This construction type only occurs with *jola* and not with any other verb (see, however, §2.4.6 for possession of nominalised clauses by their subjects). In (87), the predicate is a nominalised form of the verb *rerege*, which means both 'walk' and 'go fast'. In

(88), the predicate is the nominalised verb *tapo* '(be) sun(ny)' (itself a verbalisation of the noun *tapo* 'sun'), again directly possessed, although it is not obvious who or what the possessor could be. In (89), the verb complex has two components, the verb *lekoleko* 'stroll' and the post-verbal modifier *goboro* 'without purpose'; *=na* '3SG.POS' occurs on this final element. Both (89) and (90) use the structure to describe habitual behaviour. Note that the subject of (90) is plural, and that the nominalised verb *iko* 'steal' has a corresponding plural possessive suffix *=di*.

(87) *Za* ***jola*** ***rerege=na*** *na* *ijini* *ti* *Marina.*
3SG.R **pass** **go.fast=3SG.POS** DET engine PERS.AN.PRP Marina
'Marina's engine goes very fast.' (lit. 'The speed of Marina's engine surpasses.') (o0288)

(88) *Jola* *tapo=na.*
pass sun=3SG.POS
'It's very sunny.' (lit. 'Its sunniness surpasses.') (o0844)

(89) *I* *Delo* *za* ***jola*** ***leko-leko*** ***goboro=na.***
PERS Delo 3SG.R **pass** **REDUP-stroll** **without.purpose=3SG.POS**
'Delo is always wandering without purpose.' (lit. 'Delo's wandering without purpose surpasses.') (o0340)

(90) *Qe* ***jola*** ***ik-iko=di,*** *qe* *ik-iko* *petrol.*
3PL.R **pass** **REDUP-steal=3PL.POS** 3PL.R REDUP-steal petrol
'They're always stealing, they steal petrol.' (o0864)

The structure of (89) and (90) is presented below. In (89), *jola lekoleko goboro* constitutes the verb complex, *lekoleko* being the head and *jola* and *goboro* both being verbal modifiers. The possessive enclitic should be regarded as having a similar function to the possessive pronoun subject indexing (PPSI) described in §2.5.6, where the independent possessive pronouns are used to reference the subject of the clause.

[[SM]	[[pre-verbal modifier]	[verb]	[post-verbal modifier]]	[PPSI]]
za^{i}	*jola*	*lekoleko*	*goboro*	*=na*^{i}
qe^{i}	*jola*	*ikiko*		*=di*^{i}

Jola also occurs post-verbally in the causative adverbial structure (see §5.2.2), as in (91).

(91) *Za* *qera* ***va-jola.***
3SG.R happy **CAUS-pass**
'He's very happy.' (o0292)

Jola is also used metaphorically to describe the passing of time (see §3.8.3).

3.4.2.2 *Livutu* 'go around'

Livutu 'go around' is used to describe a path that goes (or comes) around a point. This might be a continuous path around a central point, i.e. a circle, but more commonly is a deviation from a straight path to avoid an obstacle. In (92), the obstacle is Gizo Island, which one has to go around in order to reach the open sea between the town of Gizo and Ranongga (see Map 3.4). Note that the answer to the question 'Which way will we go around?' is a serial verb construction; the PATHG verb *livutu* is serialised with the PATHD verb *lao* 'go', adding deictic and possibly geocentric information (see Chapter Seven).

(92) A: *Pae tana* ***livutu*** *vei?*
where 1PL.IN.FUT **go.around** be.like
'Which way will we go around?'

B: *Ta* ***livutu*** ***lao*** *vei ari.*
1PL.IN.IRR **go.around** **go** be.like PROX.PL
'We'll go around that way.' (o0537)

Manner may also be expressed in a serialisation with *livutu*, as in (93).

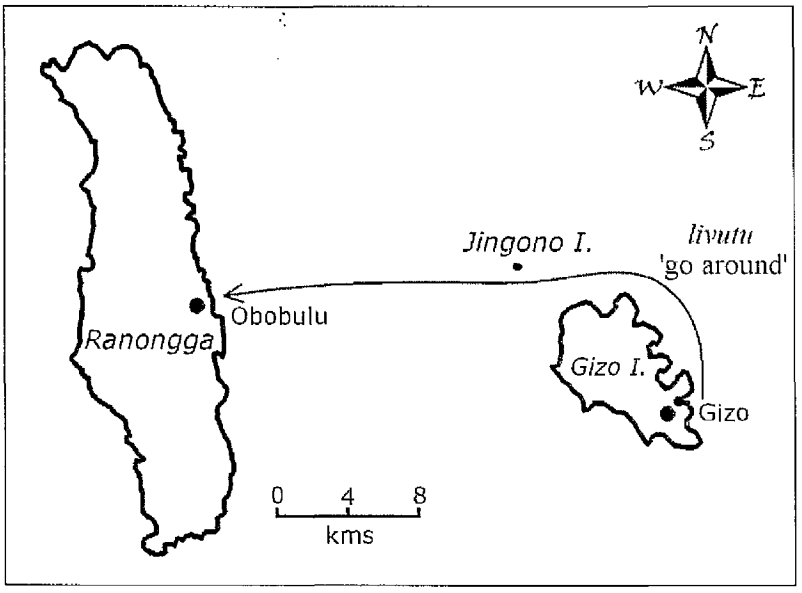
(93) *qe bati=gami gami* ***voze*** ***livutu*** *pa kelekele nari,*
3PL.R see.TR=1PL.EX.OBJ. 1PL.EX.R **paddle** **go.around** IN.PRP point DIST.SG
'They (looked) back and they saw us paddling around the point,'
(a042BN_024)

Either a prepositional phrase (94) or a direct object enclitic (95) may express the ground point in relation to which the path is oriented.

(94) *Gami* ***livutu*** *vei* ***pa*** ***Jingono.***
1PL.EX.R **go.around** be.like **IN.PRP** **Jingono.Island**
'We went around (Gizo Island) via Jingono Island (to Ranongga).' (o0373)

(95) *Za* ***livut-i=a*** ***na*** ***patu***
3SG.R **go.around-TR=3SG.OBJ** **DET** **stone**
'He went around a stone' (fs001LP_057)

Map 3.4: 'Going around' from Gizo to Ranongga via Jingono (92), (94)



A path described by *livutu* need not be bounded or have a fixed source or goal: in (96), the path is random and continuous, conforming to Wilkins' scene 8 (see Figure 3.9), where the figure *'moves along an unanchored motion path, with constantly changing orientation'* (Wilkins 1993:35).

(96) *Na sie ti Mamikera za adu* ***livu-livutu=ria***
DET dog AN.PRP.PERS Mamikera 3SG.R chase **REDUP-go.around=3PL.OBJ**
pa ruma ari.
IN.PRP house PROX.PL
'Mamikera's dog chases them (the wild dogs) around these houses.' (o0602)

Livutu may also express static location, and in particular the notion of being surrounded on all sides; this is often expressed with the reciprocal prefix *vari-* (see §2.5.4.1). Note that in (99), although the rain is falling all around, it is not falling in the centre, where the participants are located.

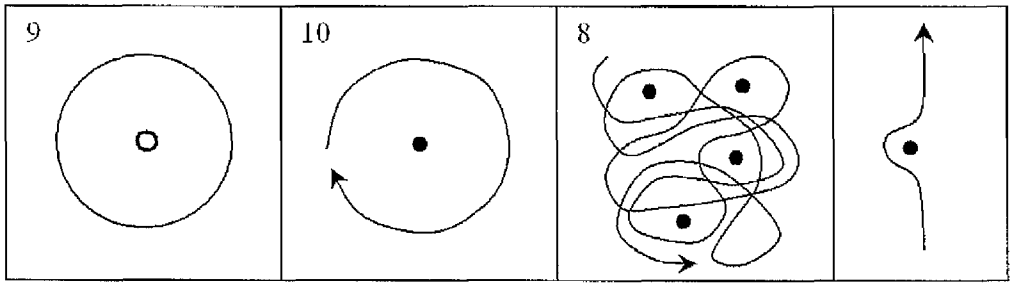
(97) *Na bara za* ***livut-i=a*** *na ruma.*
DET fence 3SG.R **go.around-TR=3SG.OBJ** DET house
'The fence goes around the house.' (en003_015)

(98) *Za* ***vari-livut-ai*** *na pauku.*
3SG.R **RECIP-go.around-*AI*** DET storm.cloud
'There are storm clouds all around.' (o0702)

(99) *Za okoro* ***vari-livut-ai=di=gita.***
3SG.R rain **RECIP-go.around-*AI*=APPL.PL=1PL.IN.OBJ**
'It's raining all around us.' (o0702)

Livutu conforms to Wilkins' scenes 8, 9 and 10; the final scene in Figure 3.9 below is my addition.

Figure 3.9: *Livutu* 'go around' scenes



The configuration of a *livutu* path is again dependent on contextual and socio-cultural knowledge. In (92) and (94), for instance, the interlocutors share the knowledge that there are two ways one can go around Gizo Island; in (93), the likely shape of a canoe's path around a point is understood from their familiarity with the coastal landscape; in (96) versus (97), dogs are known for chasing each other along random paths between the houses (Wilkins' scene 8), but fences are static and likely to encircle just one house (scene 10). The one property that unites all these available interpretations of *livutu* is that the ground at the centre is not touched by the path.

3.4.3 Geographic PATHG verbs

The geographic PATHG verbs lexicalise path across a ground that is characterised by motion over a particular type of geographic terrain. These paths may be bounded, in that they entail a source or goal, or unbounded. The most frequently occurring unbounded paths involve either upward/downward motion (i.e. for ascending and descending hills, climbing trees, and for inland-seaward paths); or motion in either direction on an axis along the coast. Upward and downward geographic paths are described in §3.4.3.1, and coastal and other unbounded geographic paths in §3.4.3.2. Bounded geographic paths are discussed alongside other source and goal verbs in §3.5.3.

3.4.3.1 Upward and downward geographic paths

A particular type of geographic terrain, such as a hill, may demand a particular manner of motion; furthermore, the manner in which one ascends a hill differs from the manner in which one descends. The latter distinction may be entailed in the verb. The verbs *paja* 'climb / go inland' and *oqavotu* 'go seaward' are used for climbing up

and down hills and, particularly, for paths into and out of the mountainous bush interior of Ranongga Island (100), (101). *Paja* entails upward motion, and *oqavotu* entails downward motion, such that, in verb serialisations, there is a directional restriction on the PATHD verbs with which they can co-occur; sequences such as **paja gore* 'go.inland go.down' and **oqavotu zae* 'go.seaward go.up' are unacceptable.

(100) *Qe* *rerege* *ko* *qe* ***paja*** ***zae*** ***zae*** ***zae*** *kamu* *pa*
3PL.R walk so 3PL.R **go.inland** **go.up** **go.up** **go.up** arrive IN.PRP

dia *inuma* *nari.*
3PL.POS garden DIST.SG
'They walked and climbed up up up to their garden,' (a018LP_014)

(101) *beto* *gami* ***oqavotu*** ***gore*** *pa* *ruma* *lotu.*
then 1PL.EX.R **go.seaward** **go.down** IN.PRP house worship
'then we went out down to the church,' (a044BN_080)

There is a similar division of labour in verbs of vertical climbing. *Keza* 'climb' is used for ascending either trees and hills (102), but cannot be used for descent; *gaja* 'climb down' must be used in this case (103) (**gaja zae* is also unacceptable).

(102) ***Keza*** ***zale*** *mua.* *mae.*
climb **come.up** 2SG.POS come.to.S
'Climb up here (onto the balcony), come.' (o0634)

(103) *Za* ***gaja*** ***gore*** *na* *koburu.*
3SG.R **climb.down** **go.down** DET child
'The boy climbed down (the tree),' (a038JW_049)

Paja and *oqavotu* can occur both in serialisations and in mono-verbal clauses (as can *keza* and *gaja*). Like other PATHG verbs, they have no deictic content (and none is implied by the glosses '(go) inland' and '(go) seaward'); both can therefore co-occur with either a 'go' or 'come' PATHD verb – i.e. *paja* with *zae* 'go up' and *zale* 'come up' (104), and *oqavotu* with *gore* 'go down' and *lagere* 'come down' (105). Combinations with any other deictic verbs (including the neutral verbs *lao* and *lame*) are excluded because of the directional restrictions mentioned above. Mono-verbal clauses containing *paja* and *oqavotu* do occur, but are not particularly common; my database contains only one non-elicited example of each.

(104) *Qu* *suvere* *ta=di* *Elosi* *Danny* *pa* *lolomo?* *Beto* *qu*
2SG.R stay AN.PRP=PL Elosi Danny IN.PRP valley then 2SG.R

paja ***zale?***
go.inland **come.up**
'You were with Elosi and Danny in the valley? And then you came up (here)?' (o0603)

(105) *Qa* *keni* *vutugu* *pie* *beto* *qa* ***oqavotu*** ***lagere.***
1SG.R go.away fill water then 1SG.R **go.seaward** **come.down**
'I went to get water then I came down.' (o0841)

Paja and *oqavotu* form part of the geocentric directional system (see §7.3.1.2). They can express orientation as well as motion, and are in an antonymic relationship. In (106), my consultant is telling me to face upstream rather than down when washing in the river; the verb *bata* 'see' orients the subject in a direction specified by the following path verb. This is possible only with PATHD verbs and with *paja* and *oqavotu.*

(106) *Qu* ***bata*** ***oqavotu*** *tu* *ao!* ***Bata*** ***paja!***
2SG.R **see** **go.seaward** FOC 2SG **see** **go.inland**
'You're facing downwards! Face up!' (o0595)

Oqa-votu is a lexicalised compound consisting of the roots *oqa* 'jump' and *votu* 'go out'. It has a less frequently occurring synonym, *gazavotu*, probably a compound of *gaja* 'climb down'[12] and *votu* 'exit', which is used in similar geocentric contexts. Both *oqavotu* (107) and *gazavotu* (108) take a goal as a ground.

(107) ***Oqavotu*** *pa* ***nole?***
go.seaward IN.PRP **beach**
'Are you going to the beach?' (o0468)

(108) *tana* *mule* ***gazavotu*** *gita* *pa* ***nada*** ***guguzu*** *pa* *nole,*
1PL.IN.FUT return **go.seaward** 1PL.IN IN.PRP **1PL.IN.POS** **village** IN.PRP beach
'let's return down to our village on the shore,' (a002MD_020)

Oqa 'jump' occurs comparatively rarely. Like *oqavotu* and *gaja* it seems to be restricted to downward motion (in contrast with the manner verb *soqolo* 'jump', which can be in any direction). In (109) it is compounded with *gore* to refer to going down steps to the lower deck of a ship. *Oqa-gore* occurs again in the first clause of

[12] The phoneme /z/ is occasionally realised as [dʒ] intervocalically, at least by some speakers. The placename 'Gizo' is nearly always pronounced [gindʒo]; the island 'Inuzaru' may occur as either [inuzaru] or [inundʒaru].

(110), while in the second clause *oqa* occurs alone; both instances describe jumping out of a canoe onto a reef.

(109) *Muna* ***oqa-gore*** *ko muna lao pa sitoa.*
2.FUT **jump-go.down** so 2.FUT go IN.PRP store
'(If) you go down (to the lower deck of the ship) you will go to the store.' (o1012)

(110) *ko za* ***oqa-gore,*** *betoko za* ***oqa*** *i Seleveni nari=e,*
so 3SG.R **jump-go.down** and 3SG.R **jump** PERS Seleveni DIST.SG=E

betoko za voze kenana i Veonona
and 3SG.R paddle go.away.3SG.POS PERS Veonona
'and Seleveni jumped down and jumped, and Veonona paddled away.' (a048TN_032)

While *oqavotu* could potentially be glossed as a MANNER-PATHG compound 'jump-exit', and *paja* as a quasi-MANNER verb 'climb', both *oqavotu* and *paja* can be serialised with MANNER verbs, and seem equivalent to other verbs in the PATHG category (such as *votu*, *luge* and *karovo*), both in terms of their distribution with PATHD and MANNER verbs, and in the way they orient a path along a highly specific axis (inland, seaward) with regard to a ground; any manner component seems to be marginal to their meaning.

(111) *Ego qe* ***abutu*** ***oqavotu*** *arikori,*
therefore 3PL.R **run** **go.seaward** PROX.PL-two
'So the two of them ran down seaward,' (a018LP_025)

(112) *qa* ***abutu*** ***paja*** *parang-i=a na tai=qu za*
1SG.R **run** **go.inland** talk-TR=3SG.OBJ DET younger.sibling=1SG.POS 3SG.R

roiti pa airline
work IN.PRP airline
'I ran up inland to talk to my brother who works for the airline,' (a012LP_043)

3.4.3.2 Coastal paths and other geographical grounds

Poana 'walk along beach' and *babata* 'travel along coast' describe motion along a coastal axis, either along the beach or on the sea. The most straightforward is *poana* 'travel along beach', which can occur both as the main verb in a mono-verbal clause (113), and in serialisations (114), (115). In (116), *poana* is reduplicated, placing an emphasis on the process of walking along the beach rather than the extent or direction of the path.

(113) *gami ka=made gami **poana,***
1PL.EX CARD=four 1PL.EX.R **travel.on.beach**
'we four walked along the beach,' (a019BN_069)

(114) *Beto rane Monday qa **poana** **zale** pa Obobulu.*
then day Monday 1SG.R **travel.on.beach** **come.up** IN.PRP Obobulu
'Then Monday I came walking up the beach to Obobulu.' (a028AT_003)

(115) *Koini **poana** **lagere?***
just **travel.on.beach** **come.down**
'Have you just come walking down along the beach?' (o0488)

(116) ***Po-poana** peki-peki.*
REDUP-travel.on.beach REDUP-little
'Walk slowly along the beach.' (o0297)

Poana can optionally express the path as a direct object ground phrase, as in (117).

(117) *Qe **poan-i=a.***
3PL.R **travel.along.beach-TR=3SG.OBJ**
'They beachwalk it (i.e. the journey).' (o0940)

Babata 'travel along coast' occurs less frequently than *poana* in my database, and only in serialisation with other MANNER or PATHD motion verbs; *babata* alone is ungrammatical, as shown in (118). One possible reason for this is that *babata* is unspecific about either direction or manner of motion. *Poana* 'travel on beach' implies travel by a particular means, usually walking, but *babata* might mean either walking along a coastal path (often but not necessarily on the beach), or travelling by canoe along the edge of the reef. *Babata* may therefore be serialised with a manner verb such as *voze* 'paddle' or *rerege* 'walk', which makes the nature of the ground obvious (119). However, there is no requirement that manner or ground be specified; *babata* may also be serialised with a PATHD verb, as in (120). It should be noted that the interlocutors in (120) are on a ship, so the manner of travel is obvious from the context and does not need to be mentioned.

(118) ***babata** pa Pienuna*
***babata** **gore** pa Pienuna*
travel.along.coast **go.down** IN.PRP Pienuna
'go beside the sea (down) to Pienuna' (en030_012)

(119) *Za voze aza ko za voze. za **voze** **babata,***
3SG.R paddle 3SG so 3SG.R paddle 3SG.R **paddle** **travel.along.coast**
'He paddled and paddled, he paddled along the coast,' (a038JW_010)

(120) *Taqe* ***babata*** ***lame*** *pa* *Noro* *koviria.*
1PL.IN.R **travel.along.coast** **come** IN.PRP Noro now
'We're coming along the coast to Noro now.' (o1021)

In (121), both manner and direction are specified in the first SVC (*voze babata gore* 'paddle down along the coast'). In the second, *babata* occurs alone, reduplicated (cf. *po-poana* in (116) above). It is not clear whether this is permissible because of the reduplication,[13] or because the relevant path information has already been provided in the previous clause.

(121) *Aria,* *gita-kori* *Mary* *pa* *ngenari* *tana* ***voze*** ***babata***
let's.go 1PL.IN-two Mary IN.PRP today 1PL.IN.FUT **paddle** **travel.along.coast**

gore *tu* *pa* *Pienuma.* *Tana* ***ba-babata*** *nada* *gu.*
go.down FOC IN.PRP Pienuna 1PL.IN.FUT **REDUP-travel.along.coast** 1PL.IN.POS LIM
'Come on, you and I Mary today we will paddle along the coast down to Pienuna. We'll just go along the coast.' (en030_012)

The derived local noun *babata-na* refers to coastal land; *poana-na* is a derived local noun meaning 'beach'.

Geographical local nouns such as *olapa* 'channel', *zolozo* 'deep bush' may also be verbalised (i.e. 'go through channel', 'go through deep bush'). Like *babata*, they tend to occur in the PATHG slot of a serial verb construction (122), although *olapa* also occurs as a main verb in mono-verbal clauses (123).

(122) *Ko* *gami* *toka* *zae* *vei* *keta* *vei* *ko* *mami* ***olapa***
so 1PL.EX.R set.out go.up be.like there be.like so 1PL.IN.IRR **channel**

luge *gami* *gua,*
enter 1PL.EX.R say
'So we set out up in that direction in order to go into the channel, we said,' (a064LP_032)

(123) *gami* *tata* ***olapa*** *pa* *mati* *pa* *Saeragi,*
1PL.EX.R close **channel** IN.PRP reef IN.PRP Saeraghi
'we were close to entering the channel by the reef at Saeraghi,' (a064LP_030)

The geographic PATHG verbs seem to be characterised by a requirement to express a certain amount of detail about a motion event. While both manner and direction are often apparent from the semantics of the verb itself, geographic PATHG verbs are comparatively rare in mono-verbal clauses, tending to co-occur with either MANNER or PATHD verbs that further specify the nature and direction of the path.

[13] Reduplication is typical of verbs that describe an atelic process or activity; see also Footnote 20.

3.4.4 'Return' paths

Mule 'return' and *vidulu* 'turn' both express a path that comes back along a previous route; the source of these verbs is the goal of an earlier path. Both *mule* and *vidulu* can be used to describe any part of a return journey. In (124) and (125), *mule* is used at the start of the return path; in (125), particularly, the participants have reached a point on a path and the speaker is telling them to turn back 'here', so that *mule* seems to express the act of turning at the endpoint of the outward path. The same is true for *vidulu* in (126), where the participants have just commenced the return path and are still on the road.

(124) *Aria,* ***mule*** *nada* *pa* *ruma.*
let's.go **return** 1PL.IN.POS IN.PRP house
'Let's go, let's return to the house.' (o0021)

(125) *beto* *qa* *paranga* *ara,* *'Leana,* *pani* *tana* ***mule,'*** *qa*
then 1SG.R speak 1SG good here 1PL.IN.FUT **return** 1SG.R
gu=di *ari-kue.*
say=APPL.PL PROX.PL-three
'and I said, "Okay, let's turn back here," I said to the three.' (a013BN_029)

(126) *Ko,* *gami* ***vidulu*** ***mule*** ***lame*** *soga,*
so 1PL.EX.R **turn** **return** **come** again
'So we turned and came back again,' (a013BN_030)

In (127), however, *mule* is used at the goal of the return path; the speaker is awaiting her family's arrival, not the commencement of their return journey (which is not known, although there may be an assumption that they are on their way). In (128), *vidulu* too is used for a completed return journey. Whether a return path is interpreted as complete or not is dependent on contextual information, and on the interlocutors' knowledge of where the figure is located with regard to the path, where the path began and where it is likely to end.[14]

(127) *Ko* *za* *zovai* *na* *kota* *qari=ke* ***mule,***
so 3SG.R long.time DET place 3PL.R=NEG **return**
'And it was a long time and they didn't come back,' (a019BN_032)

(128) *Koini* ***vidulu*** *tu* *gami-kori* *ari.*
just **turn** FOC 1PL.EX-two PROX.PL
'We two have just come back.' (o0499)

[14] The interpretation of *mule* and other path verbs often depends on the interlocutors' knowledge about where the figure lives, and whether they are in their home village or going towards/away from home. See also Footnote 8.

Like the other PATHG verbs, *mule* frequently occurs in serialisation with PATHD and MANNER verbs, as does *vidulu*.

		PATHG	PATHD
(129)	*Za*	***mule***	***lao.***
	3SG.R	**return**	**go**

'She's going back.' (o0214)

		PATHG	PATHD			MANNER	PATHG	PATHD	
(130)	*Za*	***mule***	***gore***	*nana.*	*Za*	***suvu***	***mule***	***gore***	*nana.*
	3SG.R	**return**	**go.down**	3SG.POS	3SG.R	**dive**	**return**	**go.down**	3SG.POS

'The moon has (dived) back down (behind the mountain).' (o0780)

			PATHG	PATHD
(131)	*Gami-kori*	*koini*	***vidulu***	***zale.***
	1PL.EX-two	just	**turn**	**come.up**

'We two are just returning up.' (o0494; on return road between Pienuna and Obobulu)

Mule typically takes a goal in a prepositional phrase (132), but either a source or goal reading can be obtained if it is serialised with *lame* (133).

			PATHG		GROUND(GOAL)	
(132)	*Qa*	*koini*	***mule***	*gu*	***pa***	***Vonga.***
	1SG.R	just	**return**	LIM	**IN.PRP**	**Vonga**

'I've just come back to Vonga.' (en020_020)

			PATHG	PATHD		GROUND(SOURCE/GOAL)	
(133)	*Qa*	*koini*	***mule***	***lame***	*gu*	***pa***	***Vonga.***
	1SG.R	just	**return**	**come**	LIM	**IN.PRP**	**Vonga**

'I've just come back from / to Vonga. (en020_020)

Note that *vidulu* is also a transitive verb meaning 'turn', as in (134), where the speaker tells the addressee to turn the knob that raises the wick on the kerosene lantern.

(134)	***Vidulu***	*va-zae=a*	*tu.*
	turn	CAUS-go.up=3SG.OBJ	FOC

'Turn up (the light).' (o0626)

Mule also occurs post-verbally to indicate repeated action, or 'again'; this usage is discussed in §5.2.1.3.

(135)	*Na*	*tinoni*	*za*	*uke*	*ba*	*za*	*boka*	*toa*	***mule.***
	DET	person	3SG.R	die	but	3SG.R	able	live	**again**

'A person who died could live again.' (a003MD_011)

3.4.5 Comparative ground verbs

The verbs *kaurai* 'go below' and *are* 'go above', derived from the local nouns *kauru* 'below' and *are* 'on top', express a relative relationship between one ground and another; they are often used to describe a choice between a higher and lower road, either as a verb (136) or as a nominalised noun modifier (137), (138).

(136) *Ta* ***kaurai*** *vei* *ari.*
1PL.IN.IRR **go.below** be.like PROX.PL
'We'll go below like this.' (o0495; taking the lower road to Pejapeja)

(137) *Tana* *tuti=a* *na* *zona* ***are=na.***
1PL.IN.FUT follow=3SG.OBJ DET road **top=3SG.POS**
'We'll follow the high road.' (en033_004)

(138) *Tana* *tuti=a* *na* *zona* ***kaurai=na.***
1PL.IN.FUT follow=3SG.OBJ DET road **go.below=3SG.POS**
'We'll follow the lower road.' (en033_004)

They may also be used in other comparative contexts. In (139), *kaurai* has a stative meaning; no motion or path is involved:

(139) *Za* ***kaurai*** *pa* *kokorosi* *zana.* *Kokorosi* *za* *lavata,* *tamo*
3SG.R **go.below** IN.PRP cockroach MED.SG cockroach 3SG.R big insect.SP
za *peki.*
3SG.R small
'It's smaller than a cockroach. A cockroach is big, a tamo is small.' (o0974)

3.5 SOURCE and GOAL verbs

A source or goal ground may also be lexicalised in a verb. Such verbs are distinct from PATHG verbs because, semantically, they give no indication of the nature of the path; they merely express the beginning or endpoint of a path, and the path itself must be described separately. SOURCE and GOAL verbs exhibit grammatical behaviour distinct from path verbs: SOURCE verbs are far more likely to be found in mono-verbal clauses than in serial verb constructions (see §6.4.1); GOAL verbs occur only after all the other motion verbs in a serial verb construction; and, as will be described in §4.4.3, the GOAL verb *kamu* is unique in its aspectual and modal behaviour.

3.5.1 SOURCE verbs

The verbs *taloi* 'depart' and *koko* 'set out' lexicalise a source. This source may be expressed in a prepositional phrase. Particularly with *taloi*, the source is likely to be

the house or home village of the subject, but it may also be any starting point of a journey.

(140) *Rane Monday qa* ***taloi*** *pa Pienuna,*
day Monday 1SG.R **depart** IN.PRP Pienuna
'On Monday I departed from Pienuna,' (a029MP_001)

(141) *Friday muna* ***koko*** *pani muna* ***zae*** *pa Gijo.*
Friday 2.FUT **set.out** here 2.FUT **go.up** IN.PRP Gizo
'On Friday you will set out from here (and) go up to Gizo.' (o0856)

Taloi only ever occurs in a mono-verbal clause. Further details about the subsequent motion event may be expressed in a clause chain (142) or, less frequently, in coordinated clauses (143).[15]

(142) *Ko gami* ***taloi*** *pa ruma gami* ***gore,***
so 1PL.EX.R **depart** IN.PRP house 1PL.EX.R **go.down**
'So we left the house and went down' (a013BN_003)

(143) *Gami* ***taloi*** *ketakoi beto gami* ***gore*** *pa maketi,*
1PL.EX.R **depart** there then 1PL.EX.R **go.down** IN.PRP market
'We left there and went down to the market,' (a019BN_076)

Koko 'set out' also tends to occur only in mono-verbal clauses, with subsequent information about the motion event possible in a clause chain (141); it can, however, be serialised with a 'come' verb such as *lame*, often followed by *vei* 'be like' (144). With the exception of (141) above, *koko* in my database tends to be used when speakers are talking about the source of a path of motion that began in the past and at some other location – typically in asking and/or answering a question of the type 'Where did X come from?'. In (144), for example, the interlocutors are watching a boat approaching the village from the sea, and the speaker is speculating about its point of origin.

(144) *Pa Gijo tu za* ***koko*** ***lame*** ***vei.***
IN.PRP Gizo FOC 3SG.R **set.out** **come** **be.like**
'From Gizo it came.' (o0574)

Koko is the subject of an amusing story told by one of my consultants, about a woman who met an Obobulu man returning towards Obobulu from Sabala (see

[15] The reason for this may be that a serialisation such as *taloi gore* 'depart go.down' would introduce an ambiguity about the thematic role of any object, *gore* requiring a goal and *taloi* a source. Cross-linguistically, departure from source is expressed less frequently than arrival at goal. *Taloi* is almost always followed by a specified source in a prepositional phrase, and is used only where departure from the source is an important part of the motion event.

Appendix 3). She greeted him with the typical greeting used on the road, *Pae qu suvere?* 'Where have you been?' The verb *suvère*, however, means both 'stay' and 'live'. The man, deliberately taking her literally, replied *Qa suvere pa Obobulu* 'I live in Obobulu'. She repeated her question several times, and he continued to give the same reply. Eventually he explained that if she wanted to know where he had been, she was using the wrong verb. *Suvere* expresses a location rather than the source of a path of motion. He gave the following explanation:

(145) *Vei bu nanaza ago, 'Mosi, pae qu* ***koko?'*** *bu gua ago,*
if 2.HYP ask 2SG Mosi where 2SG.R **set.out** 2.HYP say 2SG

ba ule vani=go ara ketakoi qa ***koko lame vei.***
1SG.HYP tell BEN.APPL.SG=2SG.OBJ 1SG there 1SG.R **set.out come be.like**
'If you had asked, "Mosi, where did you set out from?" if you said that, I would have told you where I set out from.' (a045BN_020-1)

3.5.2 GOAL verbs

Like the PATHG verbs, *kamu* 'arrive' lexicalises a particular point on a path, namely the goal (146). However, its behaviour is somewhat different from other verbs of motion, most notably in that it never occurs concurrently in a serialisation with verbs of path and manner, but may only be ordered sequentially after them. It is always the final verb in a serialisation describing a path of motion (arrival at the goal being the final sub-event of a motion event) (147). If it occurs with non-motion (purpose) verbs, it precedes them (148). The distinctive behaviour of *kamu* emphasises the importance of the goal as a distinct component of a motion event. I will explore this more in §4.4.3 and §5.5.

(146) *ko gami* ***kamu*** *pa ruma,*
so 1PL.EX.R **arrive** IN.PRP house
'we arrived at the house,' (a013BN_041)

(147) *Za oqoro* ***lame kamu*** *i Lipa.*
3SG.R not.yet **come arrive** PERS Lipa
'Lipa hasn't come yet.' (o0289)

(148) *qari* ***kamu suvere*** *pa ruma.*
3PL.R **arrive stay** IN.PRP house
'they came and stayed at home.' (a004MD_036)

The goal of *kamu* may be expressed either in a prepositional phrase (146) or as a direct object (149). The goal may be a place (149) or person (150), but also a time (151).

(149) *Za* *zae* ***kamu=a*** ***na*** ***guguzu*** *ta=na* *iliganigani* *ani,*
3SG.R go.up **arrive=3SG.OBJ** **DET** **village** AN.PRP=DET giant PROX.SG
'He went up and arrived at the giant's village,' (a038JW_025)

(150) *beto* *za* *mule* *lagere,* *za* *lagere* ***kamu=ziu*** ***ara,***
then 3SG.R return come.down 3SG.R come.down **arrive=1SG.OBJ** **1SG**
'and she came back down, she came down to me,' (a019BN_013)

(151) *Eo,* ***kamu=a*** ***korapa*** ***rane.***
therefore **arrive=3SG.OBJ** **middle** **day**
'So, midday came.' (lit. 'So, it arrived at midday.') (a057RK_025)

Kamu contrasts with the SOURCE verbs *koko* 'set out' and *taloi* 'depart' in that, while the SOURCE verbs occur almost exclusively in mono-verbal clauses, *kamu* very frequently follows a sequence of PATHD and/or MANNER verbs within a verb serialisation. Bohnemeyer et al. (2007) propose a tripartite typology of motion event segmentation: Type I languages are those in which the sub-events departure from source, arrival at goal and passing of an intermediate route ground are all expressed in a single macro-event construction (*'Floyd went from Nijmegen across the river to Elst'*); in Type II languages, source and goal sub-events tend to be integrated, but a separate construction is required for passing a route ground (*'Floyd went from Nijmegen to Elst, crossing the river'*); and in Type III languages, all three sub-events are separate (*'Floyd left Nijmegen, crossed the river, and arrived in Elst'*). In Kubokota, source sub-events are expressed separately, but path and goal information can be expressed within the same macro-event construction (i.e. a nuclear verb serialisation). It should be noted, however, that *kamu* never occurs in serialisation with true 'passing' verbs (e.g. boundary-crossing or route ground verbs such as *karovo* 'cross' or *jola* 'pass'), and is infrequent with other PATHG verbs, such that Kubokota probably fits Bohnemeyer et al.'s Type III category. The typology restricts itself, however, to consideration of only one type of route ground, and omits to explore the ways in which source and goal sub-events may be packaged with other kinds of path information (i.e. paths not involving grounds passed en route), in particular the deictic and deictic-directional paths so prevalent in Kubokota. This is a matter for further investigation.

3.5.3 Geographic SOURCE and GOAL verbs

The geographic PATHG verbs considered in §3.4.3 expressed unbounded paths, but other verbs lexicalise a geographic source or goal. *Toka* 'set out', for instance, is a

SOURCE verb, but is used specifically for setting out across the sea, either by sea (152) or by air (153).

(152) *ko za* ***toka*** *kenana pa Honiara na vaka*
so 3SG.R **set.out** go.away.3SG.POS IN.PRP Honiara DET ship
'and the ship set out for Honiara' (a012LP_037)

(153) *manoga koloko pala mina* ***toka*** *na Solomon Airline ko*
ten o'clock FUT 3SG.FUT **set.out** DET Solomon Airline so
mina zae pa Honiara.
3SG.FUT go.up IN.PRP Honiara
'at ten o'clock Solomon Airlines will take off and go up to Honiara.'
(a012LP_071)

Toka differs from other SOURCE verbs in that, although *toka* expresses a geographic path bounded at the source, it is goal-oriented – i.e. a prepositional phrase tends to express a goal (152), (154). Serialisation with *lame*, however, can give a source reading (155).

(154) *ko gami* ***toka lao*** *pa Gizo,*
so 1PL.EX.R **set.out go** IN.PRP Gizo
'and we set out for Gizo,' (a012LP_015)

(155) *Za* ***toka lame*** *(vei) pa Gijo.*
3SG.R **set.out come** be.like IN.PRP Gizo
'He set out (and) came from Gizo.' (en020_037)

Paro 'go ashore' lexicalises a geographic path across the sea which is bounded at the goal, i.e. the landing place or shore. A prepositional phrase expresses a goal.

(156) *Ta gore mae* ***paro*** *pa Saeraghi.*
1PL.IN.IRR go.down PUNC **go.ashore** IN.PRP Saeraghi
'Let's go down for a bit and land at Saeraghi.' (o0532)

(157) *Voze* ***paro!***
paddle **go.ashore**
'Paddle ashore!' (o0861)

It should be noted that the behaviour of *paro* 'go ashore' is similar to that of the GOAL verb *kamu* 'arrive', in that it is always ordered after other motion verbs (158). *Paro* can, however, be sequentially ordered before the goal verb *kamu*, as in (159).

(158) *Tori* ***lame*** *tu* ***paro.***
already **come** FOC **go.ashore**
'(The store supplies) have already come ashore.' (o0718)

(159) *azae, tonai qe* ***ponyu paro*** *nari-e, qe* ***paro***
thus when 3PL.R **swim** **go.ashore** DIST.SG-*E* 3PL.R **go.ashore**

kamu=a *maka kobukobu za kole=a na baongo.*
arrive=3SG.OBJ one log 3SG.R be.LOC=3SG.OBJ DET hole
'then, when they had swum ashore, they came ashore at a log with a hole in it.' (fs001LP_078)

Zagere 'ascend' lexicalises upward motion on a bounded, goal-oriented path, for instance to the top of a hill. As for *paro*, the goal need not be specified; in (160), for instance, the goal (as yet unrealised) is understood as the village at the top of the path. If the goal is not reached, *zagere* can be negated; in (161), Tina climbs the coconut tree, but because she does not climb all the way to the top, she does not *zagere*.

(160) *Mami* ***zagere*** *vei.*
1PL.EX.IN.IRR **ascend** be.like
'We'll go up this way.' (o0415)

(161) *Za keza zae i Tina pa ngiru ba za=ke* ***zagere***
3SG.R climb go.up. PERS Tina IN.PRP coconut but 3SG.R=NEG **ascend** .

zae *pa mulu.*
go.up IN.PRP above
'Tina climbed the coconut but she didn't go to the top.' (en028_001)

Zagere is particularly used for the rising of celestial bodies, the sun, moon and stars (162); the sunrise is referred to as *zagere tapo* 'ascend sun' (163).[16] Note in (161) and (162) that, like PATHG verbs, *zagere* precedes the PATHD verbs *zae* and *zale* in a serialisation, in contrast with the GOAL verbs *kamu* and *paro*, which follow.

(162) *Za* ***zagere zale*** *na seru matagutu barongo.*
3SG.R **ascend** **come.up** DET star be.afraid snore
'The evening star is coming up.' (lit. 'the star afraid of snoring') (o0192)

(163) *Za bata zae pa* ***zagere tapo.***
3SG.R see go.up IN.PRP **ascend** **sun**
'He faces up to the sunrise.' (e016HM2_052)

3.6 MANNER

Kubokota has a large number of verbs that seem to describe manner of motion, but only some of them can describe a manner component of a more complex motion event. Potential candidates for inclusion in a MANNER verb category include *rerege* 'walk', *lekoleko* 'stroll', *keza* 'climb', *abutu* 'run', *voze* 'paddle', *peka* 'dance' and

[16] Sunset is referred to as *suvu tapo* 'dive sun' – see example (4)

epepe 'sail', but several others could be added to this list. Most of these are intransitive verbs, but a small number can also occur in transitive clauses with a direct object. In (164), the object of *voze* 'paddle', 'the canoe', is the theme, i.e. the thing paddled. In (165), the object of *keza* 'climb' is arguably either a route or a goal. The direct object of *abutu* 'run' is the goal (166).

(164) *mari* *tonai* *mari* *rerege* *pa* *kolo* *ae* *tu* *mari* *vei* *tonai*
3PL.IRR when 3PL.IRR walk IN.PRP sea so FOC 3PL.IRR if when

mari ***voze=a*** ***na*** ***mola***
3PL.IRR **paddle=3SG.OBJ** **DET** **canoe**
'when they go to sea if they paddle canoes' (a014SP_040)

(165) *jola=ni* *na* *pie,* *poana* *zale,* ***keza=i*** ***na*** ***kubo,***
pass=APPL.SG DET river travel.along.beach come.up **climb=3SG.OBJ** **DET** **hill**
'passed the river, walked came up, climbed the hill,' (a029MP_013)

(166) *Qe* ***abut-i=a*** ***i*** ***Donald.***
3PL.R **run-TR=3SG.OBJ** **PERS** **Donald**
'They run to Donald.' (o0679)

The MANNER verbs in (164) to (166) are all in mono-verbal clauses. As shown in earlier examples (e.g. (9), (93), (119)), a MANNER verb can also occur as the first verb in a motion event serialisation, usually followed by verb(s) describing path (PATHG and/or PATHD). A MANNER verb in a mono-verbal clause may describe an unbounded process or activity. In (164), for instance, paddling a canoe is a process with no start, endpoint or even path. In (167) and (168), a path is expressed, but the process of walking is unbounded, and the prepositional phrase expresses a route ground.[17]

(167) ***Rerege*** *pa* *keketai* *havoro.*
walk IN.PRP side flower
'Walk beside the flowers.' (o0628)

(168) *Qu* *pavu* ***rerege*** *pa* *mati?*
2SG.R tired **walk** IN.PRP reef
'Are you tired from walking on the reef?' (o0870)

However, a MANNER verb may also describe the manner of a bounded motion event. In a serialisation with verbs expressing other motion event components such as path, source and goal, the motion event is bounded and the role of the ground is determined by the PATH verb, not the MANNER verb. The MANNER verb becomes one

[17] Verbs describing motion as an atelic process with no ground or endpoint are often reduplicated; see for instance the reduplication of *po-poana* 'travel along beach' (116) and *ba-babata* 'travel along coast' (121).

component of what Timberlake (2007) calls a "liminal process". A liminal process, equivalent to Vendler's accomplishments, is a bounded process that leads to a change of state (in the case of motion events, a change of location).[18] In (169), *rerege* 'walk' is serialised with the PATHD verb *lao* 'go'. *Rerege* expresses the manner in which the path was travelled, and the prepositional phrase expresses a goal (licensed by *lao*). If a motion event is bounded, and the goal expressed as a prepositional phrase, it appears that a MANNER verb is obligatorily followed by a PATH verb; in (170), *lao* cannot be omitted.

(169) *gami* *kaurai* *gore* *pa* *nole,* *ko* *gami* ***rerege*** ***lao*** *pa*
1PL.EX.R go.below go.down IN.PRP beach so 1PL.EX.R **walk** **go** IN.PRP
ruma
house
'we took the lower road down to the beach and we walked to the house' (a044BN_084)

(170) *Qari* ***rerege*** ***lao*** ***ti*** *Donolo.*
Qari* ***rerege* ***ti*** *Donolo.*
3PL.R **walk** **go** **AN.PRP.PERS** Donald
'They walk to Donald.' (en053_009)

Not all verbs that apparently describe manner of motion are able to participate in complex motion event serialisations in this way. The MANNER verb *rerege* contrasts with the almost synonymous verb *leko* 'stroll'. An event containing the verb *rerege* 'walk' can be a process, but it can also be bounded, as shown above. In (171), *leko* occurs as a process verb in a context almost identical to that of *rerege* in (168).

(171) *Donald* *za* *pavu* ***leko*** *pa* *mati.*
Donald 3SG.R tired **stroll** IN.PRP reef
'Donald is tired from walking on the reef.' (o0869)

Leko, however, is only ever able to describe an unbounded process (most frequently occurring in the reduplicated form *lekoleko*). Typically, it refers walking for pleasure or to the activity of wandering about without a particular goal or purpose. In motion verb serialisations, PATH verbs are usually ordered after MANNER verbs (172). In (173) and (174) the PATHD verb precedes *leko*, the sub-event of 'going' being sequentially, temporally ordered before the sub-event of 'strolling' (see §5.4.1 for further discussion of sequential serialisations). 'Strolling' in these examples can be

[18] See §4.2 for a more detailed discussion of aspectual categories.

understood as the purpose of 'going', equivalent to English 'go for a walk', rather than being a manner of motion concurrent with a path of motion.

(172) *beto* *qa* ***rerege*** ***poana*** ***zale,*** *keza* *pa* *kubo,*
then 1SG.R **walk** **travel.along.beach** **come.up** climb IN.PRP hill
'then I walked up along the beach, climbed up the hill,' (a029MP_007)

(173) ***keni*** ***leko-leko*** *pa* *Seloro,* *gami* *gua.*
go.away **REDUP-stroll** IN.PRP Seloro 1PL.EX.R say
'let's go walk to Seloro, we said.' (a013BN_002)

(174) ***Zae*** ***leko-leko*** *mae* *pa* *Obobulu.*
go.up **REDUP-stroll** PUNC IN.PRP Obobulu
'(We'll) wander up to Obobulu for a bit.' (o0124)

In (175), *leko* does appear in a serialisation with a PATHD verb; this example, however, is elicited, and there are no equivalent non-elicited examples of *leko* + PATH serialisations in my database.

(175) *Ma* ***leko-leko*** ***gore*** *qua* *ta=na* *tai=qu* *pa*
1SG.IRR **REDUP-stroll** **go.down** 1SG.POS AN.PRP=DET younger.sibling=1SG.POS IN.PRP
Vonga.
Vonga
'I'm walking down to (visit) my sister at Vonga.' (en020_011)

The sense of *leko* as an activity of walking rather than a bounded process makes possible an exchange such as the following:

(176) A: ***Leko-leko?***
REDUP-stroll
'Are you walking (i.e. are you out for a walk)?'

B: *Dai,* *mami* *gore* *dogor-i=a* *na* *tina=na* *i*
NEG 1PL.EX.IRR go.down look-TR=3SG.OBJ DET mother=3SG.POS PERS
Lamu.
Lamu
'No, we're going down to see Lamu's mother.' (o0148)

According to Timberlake, one of the defining characteristics of liminal processes is that they *'can combine with adverbs that describe the manner of the process phase in the middle'* (Timberlake 2007:285). *Rerege* can be modified by adverbs such as *pekipeki* 'slow' and *siqarai* 'quick', whereas these are rejected as ungrammatical with *leko*.

(177) ***Rerege*** *peki-peki.*
walk REDUP-little
'Walk slowly.' (o0124)

(178) ****Leko-leko*** *pekipeki.*
REDUP-stroll slow
'Walk slowly.' (o0124)

(179) *Mari siqa-siqarai* ***rerege,***
3PL.IRR REDUP-quick **walk**
'They quickly (learn to) walk,' (a014SP_013)

(180) **Muna siqa-siqarai* ***leko-leko*** *gore pa Qiloe.*
2.FUT REDUP-quick **REDUP-stroll** go.down IN.PRP Qiloe
'You walk quickly down to Qiloe.' (en020_014)

Timberlake suggests that *'The progressive... presents the world as an activity'* (2007:287); it therefore occurs naturally with process verbs but its use with liminal processes is restricted. Both *leko* and *rerege* occur in the progressive (181), (182), but this is only possible with *rerege* in certain contexts, and where there is no change of state. *Rerege* in (183) was rejected as ungrammatical.[19]

(181) *Za* ***kopa leko-leko*** *nana.*
3SG.R **PROG** **REDUP-stroll** 3SG.POS
'She's walking.' (o0427)

(182) ***Kopa rerege*** *na nunu.*
PROG **walk** DET earthquake
'The earthquake is moving/travelling.' (o0744; on hearing news of earthquakes in Honiara and England)

(183) *Koi, qa* ***kopa leko-leko / *rerege*** *qua gu.*
hey 1SG.R **PROG** **REDUP-stroll** **walk** 1SG.POS LIM
'Hey, I'm just walking.' (en020_008)

As (182) shows, *rerege* may be used for motion that does not involve walking, having a more general sense of 'travel' (also (184) and (164) above). This is not possible with *leko.*

(184) *Helicopter mina* ***rerege*** *mina gabara. Matova!*
helicopter 3SG.FUT **walk** 3SG.FUT surprise landslide
'If a helicopter travels (around) it will be surprised. Landslides!' (o0613)

The data suggests that while both *rerege* and *leko* can describe a motion process, only *rerege* fits into a semantic category of MANNER verbs that are able to interact

[19] It will be noted that *leko* 'stroll' nearly always occurs in the reduplicated form *leko-leko.* This is typical of intransitive process verbs; see §2.5.5.2 for more on reduplication.

with other motion verb categories in complex serialised motion events. There is insufficient data on other potential MANNER verbs to establish exactly which ones may describe the manner of a bounded motion event and which ones can only describe a process. Verbs such as *voze* 'paddle' can certainly occur both as activity verbs (164) and as MANNER verbs (93). In the case of *abutu* 'run', there are no examples in my database where 'run' is not bounded (and as shown in (166), even in a mono-verbal clause *abutu* can take a goal as a ground). *Peka* 'dance' is possibly restricted to being an activity verb. It occurs almost exclusively as a process verb in mono-verbal clauses (185); only in one example (186) is it serialised with a PATHG verb, and even here, both the path and the activity of dancing seem to be unbounded.[20]

(185) *Za* ***peka-peka*** *nana.*
3SG.R **REDUP-dance** 3SG.POS
'He's dancing.' (o0402)

(186) *Gami* ***peka*** ***livu-livutu,*** *reko* *marene,*
1PL.EX.R **dance** **REDUP-go.around** female male
'We danced in a circle, women and men,' (a017SM_024)

To be included in the MANNER verb category, a verb must be capable of expressing a bounded process (although it may also express unbounded processes), and particularly of being able to occur in serialisation with path and other motion verbs.

3.7 Other MOTION verbs

Other verbs lexicalise motion together with other components, such as the presence of a secondary participant or an affected object. These include, but are not restricted to, the following:

- intransitive verbs, e.g. *uku* 'run away' (187), *lotu* 'fall' (188), *podaka* 'surface' (66);
- transitive verbs with a secondary participant (usually animate), e.g. *adu* 'chase' (189), *tuti* 'follow', *toka* 'accompany';
- transitive caused motion (often with an inanimate object), e.g. *ovulu* 'lift' (190), *pogozo* 'carry', *teku* 'take' (191).

[20] Like *leko-leko*, the reduplication of the verbs *peka* and *livutu* in (185) and (186) is typical of process verbs.

Like other verbs of motion, all of the above can be serialised with PATHD or PATHG verbs and can be regarded as expressing one component of a complex motion event. They tend to occur at the beginning of a serialisation in the place of a MANNER verb.

(187) *Qari* ***uku*** ***keni*** *dia?*
3PL.R **run.away** **go.away** 3PL.POS
'Have they run away?' (o0361)

(188) *Ae za* ***lotu*** ***votu*** *na sie taviti botolo, lao pa pezo.*
then 3SG.R **fall** **exit** DET dog COMIT bottle go IN.PRP ground
'Then the dog fell out with the bottle, he went to the ground.' (fs003GJ_016)

(189) ***adu*** ***va-keni=a***
chase **CAUS-go.away=3SG.OBJ**
'chase him away' (a012LP_095)

(190) *za* ***ovulu*** ***zae=ni*** *pa nulu*
3SG.R **lift** **go.up=APPL.SG** IN.PRP above
'he lifted it up above' (fs001LP_022)

(191) ***Teku*** ***va-keni.***
take **CAUS-go.away**
'Take (it) away.' (o0338)

The transitive verbs *tuti* 'follow' and *toka* 'accompany' lexicalise a comitative component of a motion event. *Toka* 'accompany' (homophonous with the intransitive *toka* 'set out') is used where two participants move along the same path of motion, the object led by the subject. Both participants are usually human (whereas the verb *teku* 'take' may be used with both humans and non-humans).

(192) *Ma* ***toka=i*** *June pa inuma, beto mana oqavotu.*
1SG.IRR **accompany=3SG.OBJ** June IN.PRP garden then 1SG.FUT go.seaward
'I'll take June to the garden, then I'll come seaward.' (o0825)

(193) ***Toka*** *gore=ni i Mary.*
accompany go.down=APPL.SG PERS Mary
'She's taking Mary down (to Pienuna).' (o0246)

Tuti 'follow' has the sense of 'going after' that 'follow' has in English (194), and can also be used for following a road (195). An important sense of *tuti*, however, is to 'go with', where again, two participants move together along the same path or by the same means. In (196), the speaker is inviting the addressee to accompany her; in (197), the participants will not 'follow' Derek's canoe, but will travel in it.

(194) *Zara, qari korapa* ***tuti*** *lame pa ligu=qu zara.*
MED.PL 3PL.R PROG **follow** come IN.PRP behind=1SG.POS MED.PL
'There, they are following behind me there.' (o0202)

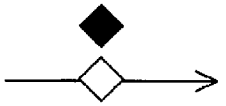
(195) *Za* ***tuti=a*** *paja zana zona ta=na iliganigani.*
3SG.R **follow=3SG.OBJ** go.inland MED.SG road AN.PRP=DET giant
'He followed and climbed the road of the giant.' (a038JW_024)

(196) *Mune=ke* ***tuti=ziu*** *lao lotu ao?*
2.FUT=NEG **follow=1SG.OBJ** go worship 2SG
'Won't you come with me and go to church?' (o0560)

(197) *Tana* ***tuti=a*** *gita na mola lavata pa=na ti*
1PL.IN.FUT **follow=3SG.OBJ** 1PL.IN DET canoe big IN.PRP=DET AN.PRP.PERS
Dereki.
Derek
'We will go in Derek's big canoe.' (en002_079)

The grammatical roles assigned for *toka* are reversed for *tuti*. The difference between the two verbs can be construed as a difference in the status of the participant who directs or initiates the motion. In the case of *toka*, the motion is initiated by a primary participant (the subject) who moves along the path together with a secondary participant (the object) who has a comitative role. For *tuti*, the motion is initiated by the secondary participant, and the subject has the comitative role. This is expressed in the following diagram, where the solid polygon represents the subject or primary participant, and the polygon on the arrow represents the initiator of the motion.

Figure 3.10: *Tuti* 'follow' and *toka* 'accompany' as comitative motion verbs


tuti 'follow'


toka 'accompany'

3.8 Non-motion functions of deictic (PATHD) verbs

The PATHD motion verbs have a range of functions beyond the expression of physical motion events. Most of these involve the description of non-motion physical space, but they also extend to temporal metaphors and perceptual motion.

3.8.1 Non-motion physical space

In §3.4.1 I showed that the PATHG verb *votu* 'exit' may express a locative state of 'being out' rather than an 'exit' motion event (61), (62). The PATHD verbs may also be used to express relative locations or the extent of an area. No motion is involved in (198) or (199); in (198), the speaker is describing his encounter with a spirit, which was invisible from the torso to the head; the motion verbs in (199) describe an extent of reef, stretching from Olekodere to Totoa, that had been exposed by the earthquake. In both examples, the SOURCE verb *podalai* 'start' and the GOAL verb *kamu* 'arrive' express the endpoints of the area described.

(198) *pa* ***podalai*** *pa* *loba=na* *ani* *ko* ***mi*** *zae* ***kamu***
IN.PRP **start** IN.PRP stomach=3SG.POS PROX.SG so **3SG.IRR** **go.up** **arrive**

pa *batu=na* *qa=ke* *bati=a.*
IN.PRP head=3SG.POS 1SG.R=NEG see.TR=3SG.OBJ
'starting from his stomach and going up to his head I didn't see (his body).'
(a031SM_014)

(199) ***Podalai*** *pa* *Olekodere,* ***zae*** ***kamu*** *pa* *Totoa,* *mati* *lavata.*
start IN.PRP Olekodere **go.up** **arrive** IN.PRP Totoa reef big
'Starting from Olekodere, going up to Totoa, there was a big reef.'
(a062BN_032)

Va-zae 'CAUS-go.up' has both a dynamic sense 'to put on (clothes)' (200) and a stative sense, as in (201), 'to wear (clothes)'; *va-gore* 'CAUS-go.down', on the other hand, seems only to have the dynamic meaning, 'to take off (clothes)'. In (202), *zae* and *gore* are used metaphorically to refer to relative prices; it should be noted that the speaker in (202) is not asking about fluctuating prices but about whether a price is (statively) high or low.

(200) ***Va-zae=a*** *poko-nene.*
CAUS-go.up=3SG.OBJ cloth-leg
'Put (your) trousers on.' (o0045)

(201) *Na* *tivitivi* *bu* *za* ***va-zae=a,***
DET skirt blue 3SG.R **CAUS-go.up=3SG.OBJ**
'He was wearing a blue skirt,' (a031SM_013)

(202) *Za* ***zae*** *na* *vai=na* *ba* *za* ***gore?***
3SG.R **go.up** DET buy=3SG.POS or 3SG.R **go.down**
'Is the price high or low?' (o0479)

The PATHD verbs combine with the element *pata-* to form locational nouns such as *pata-lagere* 'this side down towards me' (203) and *pata-zae* 'that side up away

from me' (204). 'Side' is how Kubokota speakers typically translate *pata-* into Pijin and English. However, rather than expressing a topological relation of the kind implied by the translation 'side', the function of *pata-* terms is to indicate a location (usually of an entity) in an area projected in a particular direction towards or away from the speaker, determined by the location of the deictic centre with regard either to the located entity or to a second, ground entity.

(203) *Lagere* ***pata-lagere=na*** *pani.*
come.down **side-come.down=3SG.POS** here
'Come down (to) this side here.' (o0430)

(204) *Mati* ***pata-zae*** *pa* *nari.*
reef **side-go.up** IN.PRP DIST.SG
'(Let's go to the) reef up there.' (o0763)

(205) *Qari* *au=ni=ziu* *pa* ***pata-lao*** *rari.*
3PL.R laugh=APPL.SG=1SG.OBJ IN.PRP **side-go** DIST.PL
'They laughed at me over there.' (o0721)

Pata- can be used to contrast one end of the island with the other; *pata-gore* is used on the southern, Luqa-speaking half of the island, for instance, to refer to the northern, Kubokota half. In (206), *pata-gore* is what Hanks (1990:299) describes as *'a metonym for a larger chunk of background knowledge'*; it denotes a region that is defined not merely by being 'down' from the area where the interlocutors are located, but also by sociocultural knowledge about linguistic boundaries (and shared contextual information about where the addressees have been).

(206) *Gamu* *suvere* ***pata-gore?***
2PL.R stay **side-go.down**
'Have you been (staying) down that way?' (o0929)

The 'come' *pata-* terms indicate a location towards the speaker, while the 'go' forms indicate a location away from the speaker. This location may be, but is not necessarily, defined in relation to a further ground entity. In (203) to (206) the relationship is a binary one between the deictic centre and the located entity. In (207), however, the relationship is ternary: *pata-lao=na* indicates a location on the further side of the village of Saeraghi (i.e. the side furthest from the speaker or deictic centre); *pata-lame=na pa Saeraghi* would indicate a location this side of Saeraghi.[21]

[21] Like other local nouns, the *pata-* terms can host the direct possession enclitics, in particular *=na* '3SG.POS', whether or not a potential possessor (such as Saeraghi in (207)) is present.

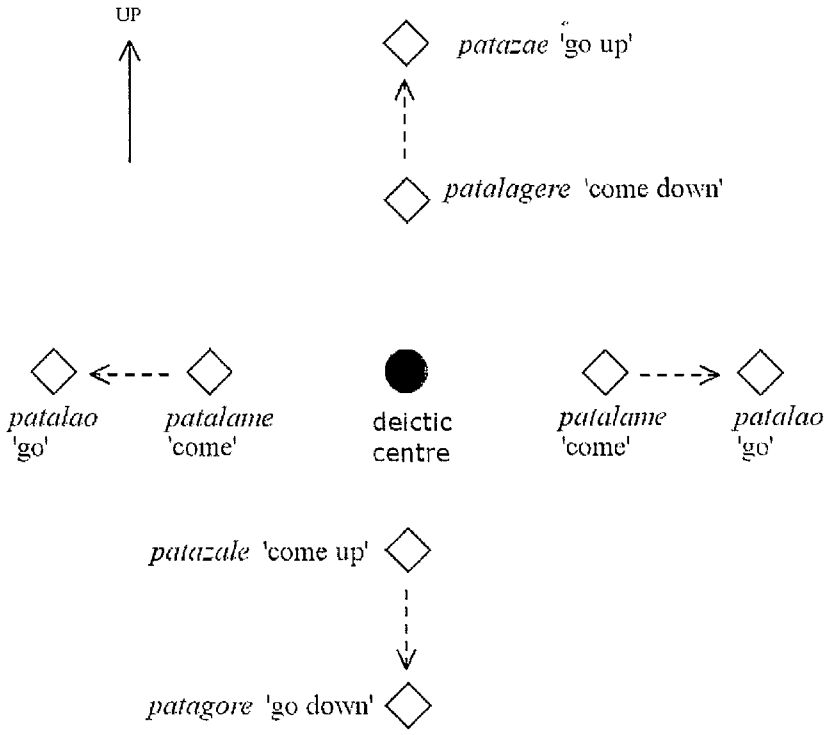
(207) *pata-lao=na* *pa* *Saeraghi*
side-go=3SG.POS IN.PRP Saeraghi
'the other side of Saeraghi' (o0291)

In (208), the speaker contrasts the depth of the holes made by different turtle species, using *pata-gore* and *pata-zale* to indicate greater and lesser distance (depth) from the deictic centre (at the surface). In this case, the deeper and shallower holes act as grounds for each other; the common turtle's hole is in a location that comes up (towards the deictic centre) from the giant turtle's hole.

(208) *Za* *gore* ***pata-gore*** *tu* *na* *baongo.* *Na* *vonyu* ***pata-zale*** *gu.*
3SG.R go.down **side-go.down** FOC DET hole DET turtle **side-come.up** LIM
'The hole (of the giant turtle) goes down deep. The (common) turtle comes up a bit (i.e. its hole doesn't go down as deep).' (o0989)

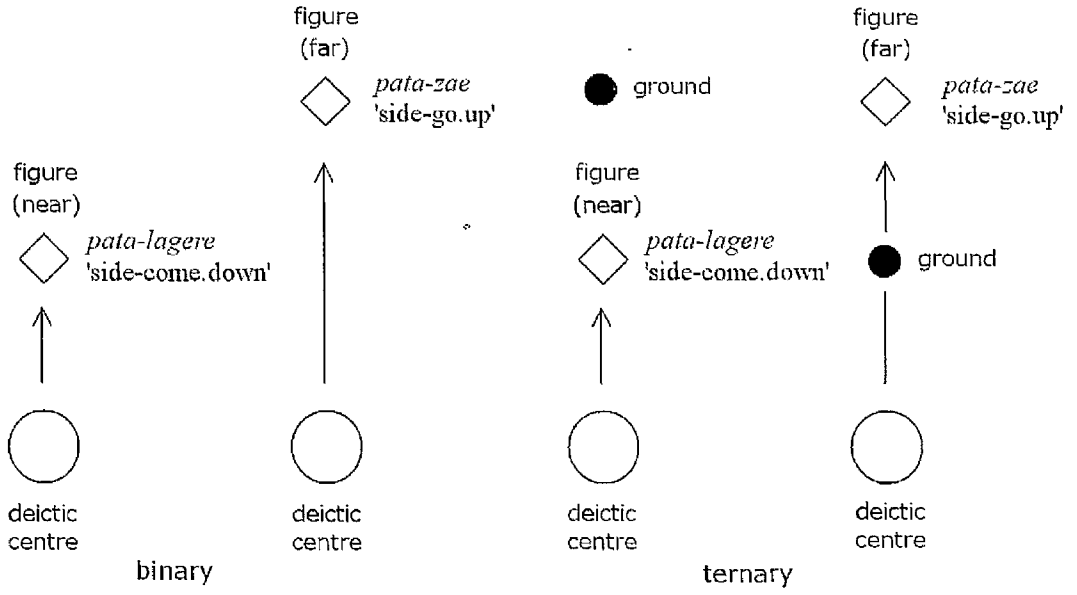
Figure 3.11 shows the deictic centre (represented by a solid circle) and the terms used for relatively located pairs of figures (represented by diamonds) along two axes, equivalent to the local geocentric scale (see Chapter Seven for a description of geocentric scales). *Pata-lame* and *pata-lao*, for instance, are locations nearer to and further from the speaker in both directions on the transverse axis. Note the reversal of directional terms on the 'up-down' axis: *pata-zae* and *pata-lagere* form a pair on the upward axis, and *pata-gore* and *pata-zale* on the downward axis.

Figure 3.11: *Pata-* terms as relative physical locations



The *pata-* terms, therefore, combine deictic and absolute information to identify a location. *Pata-lagere* 'side-come.down' locates a figure along an axis in an upward geocentric direction from the speaker, at a distance that is perceived as short; *pata-zae* 'side-go.up', by contrast, indicates that the object is located on the upward axis at a greater distance from the speaker. Deciding whether the distance is long or short is context-dependent; however, if a second ground object is present, as in (207), the distance becomes more precise; a 'come' verb (e.g. *pata-lagere*) places the figure at a location between the ground and the deictic centre, and a 'go' verb (e.g. *pata-zae*) locates it on the far side of the ground (this is shown in Figure 3.12). As discussed in more detail in §8.2, deixis is not a frame of reference (Levinson 2003b:71), but has the potential to combine with any available frame of reference (intrinsic, relative or absolute); the *pata-* terms, and the PATHD verbs in general, are a typologically interesting example of how deictic and absolute information can be combined in a language.

Figure 3.12: *Pata-* terms as binary and ternary arrays



In addition to the *pata-* terms, Kubokota has a pair of local nouns *ketapulu* 'bushward side' and *ketakota* 'seaward side', which are used to describe a locational relationship between two objects or locations in terms of bushward and seaward, without reference to the location of the deictic centre.

(209) *Rerege vei* ***keta-kota.***
walk be.like **side-place**
'Walk on the seaward side (of the road)' (o0285)

(210) *Lagere* ***keta-kota.***
come.down **side-place**
'Come down seaward.' (o0854)

(211) *Pa sape, pa sape* ***keta-pulu.***
IN.PRP bench IN.PRP bench **side-bush**
'(It's) on the bench, on the bushward bench.' (o0641; contrasting locations of two benches)

(212) *Mari nyoro va-zale=a* ***keta-pulu*** *nari.*
3PL.IRR want CAUS-come.up=3SG.OBJ **side-bush** DIST.SG
'They want to move (the UCWF house) up above (the church).' (o0779)

The element *keta-* is also found in *ketakoi*, which is a general purpose locative demonstrative (213), and is fossilised in the topological noun ***keketai*** 'edge, side' (167). It also occurs with other local nouns, including the topological noun ***kale*** 'half, side' (*keta-kale* 'beside') (214) and, in (215), *zona* 'road' (*keta-zona* 'beside the road'). *Keta-* combines only with nouns and, in contrast with *pata-*, is not permitted to combine with any motion verbs.

(213) *Kole nana* ***ketakoi*** *maka suvege lavata,*
exist 3SG.POS **there** one tree big
'There was a big tree there,' (fs001LP_034)

(214) *Pa* ***keta-kale=na*** *na pate zana.*
IN.PRP **side-half=3SG.POS** DET door MED.SG
'Beside (that door).' (o0693)

(215) *Pa* ***keta-zona*** *zana?*
IN.PRP **side-road** MED.SG
'Beside the road there?' (o1036)

3.8.2 Perceptual motion

The PATHD verbs may be used to describe the motion or direction of perception. In (216), directionality of hearing is described, in (217), directionality of speech, in (218), directionality of thinking, and in (219), directionality of looking (it should be noted that the verbs *enga* 'look up' and *tiro* 'look down' are non-motion verbs that also lexicalise direction).

(216) *Qa* ***nongoro*** ***gore=di.***
1SG.R **hear** **go.down=APPL.PL**
'I heard down to them (i.e. I heard them down there).' (o0689)

(217) *Qu* ***paranga*** ***zae=a*** *i* *Nathan?*
2SG.R **speak** **go.up=3SG.OBJ** PERS Nathan
'Did you speak up to Nathan?' (o0901; from Gizo to Honiara by telephone)

(218) *Za* ***roqu-roqu*** ***mule*** *pa* *England* *i* *Donolo.*
3SG.R **REDUP-think** **return** IN.PRP England PERS Donald
'Donald is thinking back to England.' (o0874)

(219) *Ko* *za* ***enga*** ***zae*** *vei* *ari* *na* *iliganigani,*
so 3SG.R **look.up** **go.up** be.like PROX.PL DET giant
'So the giant looked up,' (a038JW_045)

The verb *ule* 'tell' is always followed by the benefactive *va*, as in (220). If a message is sent over a distance, however, a deictic verb (only *lao* and *lame* are attested in my data) intervenes. In (221), the speaker is talking about a message she sent to her mother on another island by radio; (222) is from an email correspondence between Honiara and London.

(220) *Aza* *tu=gu* *na* *vavakato* *papaka* *mana* ***ule*** ***vani=go***
3SG FOC=LIM DET story short 1SG.FUT **tell** **BEN.APPL.SG=2SG.OBJ**
ara *ao* *koburu.*
1SG 2SG child
'That's the short story I will tell (to) you child.' (a007BL_043)

(221) *Qa* ***ule*** ***lao*** ***vani.***
1SG.R **tell** **go** **BEN.APPL.SG**
'I told her (by radio).' (o0704)

(222) *Vei* *kaki* *za* *bi* *sela* *za* *muna* ***ule*** ***lame***
if some PRO 3SG.HYP wrong PRO 2.FUT **tell** **come**
vani=ziu *soga* *uve.*
BEN.APPL.SG=1SG.OBJ again okay
'If anything is incorrect you will tell me again, okay? (email003NS_005)

Path verbs are frequently serialised with the verb *bata* 'see' to describe the orientation of a human figure. In (223), the speaker was trying to organise a church group to line up outside the church, in order to shake hands with the congregation as they came out; she is telling them all to face the same direction, namely seaward. In (224), a mother comments on the behaviour of her baby, who was afraid to look at me. In (225), a child is told to face towards the rest of the family so that family prayers could be said.

(223) *Bata* ***gore.***
see **go.down**
'Face down.' (o0129)

(224) *Za* *bata* ***kenana.***
3SG.R see **go.away.3SG.POS**
'She's looking away.' (o0517)

(225) *Bata* ***lame.***
see **come**
'Look this way.' (o0047)

Serialisation with *bata* is not restricted to the PATHD verbs; as we have already seen in (106), *bata paja* and *bata oqavotu* also occur. The use of *bata* and the path verbs to describe human orientation is discussed in more detail in Chapter Eight.

The verb *dogoro* 'look' is also serialised with the path verbs, but is used for directionality of a person's gaze, having a sense of deliberately 'looking at' something, rather than the orientation of the whole person expressed by *bata* (see also example (176)).[22]

(226) *ko* *za* ***dogoro*** ***luge*** *pa* *maka* *baongo.*
so 3SG.R **look** **enter** IN.PRP one hole
'and he looked into a hole.' (fs001LP_048)

(227) ***Dogoro*** ***lame=a*** *i* *Donolo* *ko* *mu* *komolo.*
look **come=3SG.OBJ** PERS Donald so 2.IRR smile
'Look at Donald and smile.' (o0958)

(228) ***dogoro*** ***lagere*** *qe* *gua* *ari-kori* *pa=na* *dia* *guguzu*
look **come.down** 3PL.R say PROX.PL-two IN.PRP=DET 3PL.POS village

pa *dia* *ruma,*
IN.PRP 3PL.POS house
'the two of them looked down to their village to their house,' (a018LP_019)

3.8.3 Motion verbs and time

The verb *lao* 'go' acts as a post-verbal modifier expressing the continuity or permanency of an action or state (McDougall 2004:184). *Lao* also occurs with a prospective irrealis subject marker in clause chains, with an inceptive meaning (230) (*go* in English is grammaticalised with a similar function in clauses such as *I'm going to leave*); see §4.6.2 for further details of *lao* as a continuative and inceptive marker.

[22] In (228), the subject participants are working in their garden and look down to the village. The use of *lagere* 'come down' treats the village as a prototypical deictic centre, even though up to this point in the story all the events have been taking place in the garden. See Footnote 6.

(229) *I Zelo za kole leo* ***lao.*** *Za=ke puta.*
PERS Zelo 3SG.R PROG play **go** 3SG.R=NEG sleep
'Zelo played the whole time. She didn't sleep.' (o0524)

(230) *Za quala* ***mi*** ***lao*** *na raro.*
3SG.R boil **3SG.IRR** **go** DET pot
'The pot is starting to boil.' (o0378)

The 'come to speaker' imperative verb *mae* is also found post-verbally, as a marker of short or temporary states or events (McDougall 2004:184).

(231) *Za korapa okoro, adono* ***mae.***
3SG.R PROG rain wait **PUNC**
'It's raining, wait a bit.' (o0183)

(232) *Ma gani=a* ***mae*** *na gequ keki.*
1SG.IRR eat=3SG.OBJ **PUNC** DET 1SG.ED.POS cake
'I'll just eat my cake.' (o0210)

(233) *Ma keni* ***mae*** *pe-pea qua pa nole.*
1SG.IRR go.away **PUNC** REDUP-shit 1SG.POS IN.PRP beach
'I'm just going to shit on the beach.' (o0210)

In the above examples I have glossed *mae* as 'punctual'. I consider the punctual *mae* and the 'come to speaker' *mae* as homophonous; in the neighbouring language, Luqa, they are phonologically distinct forms, *mei* meaning 'come to speaker' (234) and *mai* having a similar punctual function to Kubokota *mae* (235). The temporal uses of *lao*, however, I regard as metaphorical extensions of the PATHD verb *lao*.

(234) ***Mei*** *ko!*
come EMPH
'Come here!' (Luqa, lo031)

(235) *Ma gore* ***mai*** *ta=i Soto.*
1SG.IRR go.down **PUNC** AN.PRP=PERS Soto
'I'm just going down to Soto.' (Luqa, lo032)

Other motion verbs are used to express motion through time. They include *lame* 'come', for future or 'coming' time, *jola* 'pass', for past time, and *kamu* 'arrive', for arrival at a particular point in time.

Jola 'pass' is used to refer to past time. Usually, time itself goes past, as in (236) and (237); however, a person may also pass through time, as in (238).

(236) *Tane=ke puta. Za* ***jola*** *mi keni na totozo.*
1PL.IN.FUT=NEG sleep 3SG.R **pass** 3SG.IRR go.away DET time
'We won't sleep. Time is going past and away.' (o0995)

(237) *Za* ***jola*** *sia.*
3SG.R **pass** nine
'It's past nine o'clock.' (o0921)

(238) *Za* ***jola*** *tu ue-ngavulu puta aoro tu zana.*
3SG.R **pass** FOC three-decade sleep year FOC MED.SG
'That person was over thirty years old.' (lit. 'had passed thirty years')
(a008BL_005)

Jola also acts as a noun modifier with temporal nouns referring to past units of time, such as *totozo jola* 'time past' (239), *aoro jola* 'last year', *popu jola* 'last month' (240).

(239) *Qe ta-golomo ari-kori, qe uke ko qe ta-golomo* ***totozo***
3PL.R PASS-bury PROX.PL-two 3PL.R die so 3PL.R PASS-bury **time**

jola *.tu.*
pass FOC
'They two were buried, they died and they were buried (in) time past.'
(a039JT_014)

(240) *pa=na* ***popu*** ***jola,*** *popu October, gami geli=a· gami na*
IN.PRP=DET **moon** **pass** moon October 1PL.EX.R dig=3SG.OBJ 1PL.EX DET

idi=di ari,
grave=3PL.POS PROX.PL
'last month, the month of October, we dug up their graves,' (a039JT_031)

In its noun-modifying function *jola* contrasts with *lame* 'come', for future units of time (e.g. *vuiki lame* 'next week' (241), *aoro lame* 'next year' (242)). The approach of the future can also be described by *lame* as a verb (243).

(241) *Pa* ***vuiki*** ***lame*** *ba za.*
IN.PRP **week** **come** but PRO
'Maybe next week.' (o0454)

(242) *Betoko* ***aoro*** ***lame*** *zana pala mina mule zale sikulu soga*
then **year** **come** MED.SG FUT 3SG.FUT return come.up school again

pa Honiara za gua.
IN.PRP Honiara 3SG.R say
'Then next year she will come back up and study again in Honiara, she says.'
(email006_013)

(243) *Vei* ***pa*** ***moa*** *babi* *za* *korapa* ***lame***
if **IN.PRP** **front** or 3SG.R PROG **come**
'If it was in the past or in the future' (lit. 'still coming') (o0708)

The use of *jola* and *lame* to express temporal motion suggests that Kubokota conforms to Clark's "moving time" model of the speaker's relationship to time (Clark 1973:50). In the spatial metaphor of time, time is viewed as a highway. Humans may be conceptualised as moving backwards along this highway, with the future before us and the past behind ("moving ego"), or the highway of time can be conceived of as moving past us from front to back ("moving time").[23] In the latter model, future events are 'coming' events and past events have 'gone by'.

Kubokota, as is typical for a "moving time" model of time, views the future as 'behind' and the past as 'in front'. These concepts, as shown in (243), are expressed using local nouns: *pa moa* 'in front' refers to the past and *pa liguna* 'behind' to the future. *Pa moa* is very frequent, often referring to traditional practices and the time before pacification (244). *Moa* also occurs as a noun modifier meaning 'old' (245).

(244) ***Pa*** ***moa*** *gami* *na* *mami* *masisi* *ani.*
IN.PRP **front** 1PL.EX DET 1PL.EX.POS matches PROX.SG
'In the past, this was our matches.' (a041CV_001)

(245) *Tarake* ***mo-moa=na.***
truck **REDUP-front=3SG.POS**
'(It's an) old truck.' (o1041)

Pa ligu is much less frequent and tends to occur only in elicited sentences in my database; (246) is an example where it is used to indicate a future point in time, 'later'. For events that are relatively ordered 'after' each other, *pa ligu* is often produced in elicitation, but sequentially ordered clause chains tend to be used in natural speech; (248) was suggested to me as a more natural means of expressing the sense of (247).

(246) ***Pa*** ***ligu-ligu=na*** *i* *Tabura* *pala* *mina* *zae* *nana* *mola.*
IN.PRP **REDUP-behind=3SG.POS** PERS Tabura FUT 3SG.FUT go.up 3SG.POS canoe
'Later Tabura will board his canoe.' (en002_029)

[23] The "moving ego" model is equivalent to Lakoff and Johnson's TIME IS STATIONARY AND WE MOVE THROUGH IT metaphor; "moving time" corresponds to the TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:42-3).

(247) ***Pa*** ***ligu=na*** *mana* *va-beto=a* *na* *topa* *ani,*
IN.PRP **behind=3SG.POS** 1SG.FUT CAUS-finish=3SG.OBJ DET basket PROX.SG

mana *sari=a.*
1SG.FUT decorate=3SG.OBJ
'After I've finished this basket I will decorate it.' (en022_010)

(248) *Mina* *beto* *na* *topa* *ani,* *beto* *mana* *sari=a.*
3SG.FUT finish DET basket PROX.SG then 1SG.FUT decorate=3SG.OBJ
'When the basket is finished I will decorate it.' (en022_010)

Ligu occurs more commonly as a noun modifier, often reduplicated, expressing a unit of future time beyond the immediate future. *Vuiki lame*, in (241), indicates the coming week, *vuiki liguligu* the week following that (249).

(249) ***Vuiki*** ***ligu-ligu*** *tu* *mina* *zae.*
week **REDUP-behind** FOC 3SG.FUT go.up
'The week after (next) she'll go up (to Honiara).' (o0572)

Unlike *jola*, *lame* and the local nouns *moa* and *ligu*, the verb *kamu* 'arrive' seems to utilise the "moving ego" model of time.[24] *Kamu* expresses arrival at a particular point in time, referencing that point as a direct object goal. Frequently, *kamu* in its temporal sense lacks an overt subject or subject marker (250), (251); in (252), however, the subject of *kamu* is identified: *gami* '1PL.EX.R' refers to the people of Obobulu, who have arrived at the present time.

(250) ***Kamu=a*** *maka* *rane,* *za* *paranga* *i* *Kilikili* *pan*
arrive=3SG.OBJ one day 3SG.R speak PERS lizard IN.PRP.DET

ti *Kolobai.*
AN.PRP.PERS spider
'It arrived at a day (when) Lizard spoke to Spider.' (a018LP_003)

(251) ***Kamu=a*** *na* *totozo* *nari* *za* *viti-vitigi* *tu* *ani* *na*
arrive=3SG.OBJ DET time DIST.SG 3SG.R REDUP-pain FOC PROX.SG DET

reko.
female
'It arrived at the time (when) the woman had (birth) pains.' (a004MD_006)

(252) *Ae* ***gami*** ***kamu=a*** *koviria* *ari* *azae.*
so **1PL.EX.R** **arrive=3SG.OBJ** now PROX.PL thus
'So we arrive at the present time,' (a056IP_075)

The two scenarios, "moving time" and "moving ego", are illustrated in the following diagrams:

[24] *Lame* may be used for 'coming' to the end of a story (i.e. 'Here my story comes to an end'); this usage fits the "moving ego" model.

Figure 3.13: "Moving time" – *jola*, *lame* and temporal local nouns

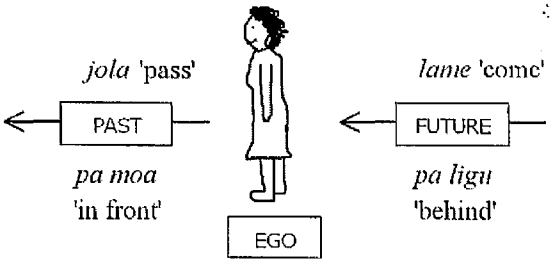
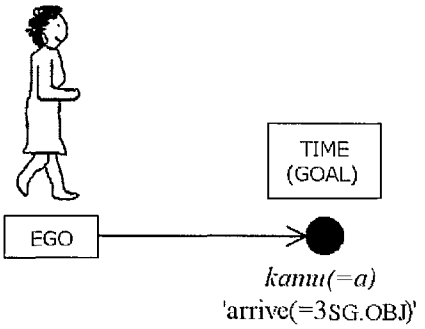


Figure 3.14: "Moving ego" – *kanu* (arrival at a point in time)



3.9 Summary

This chapter has shown that Kubokota motion events are radically verb-framed (Báez and Bohnemeyer under review), or equipollently-framed (Slobin 2004); virtually all semantic information is packaged in a verb or serial verb construction, while prepositions and other satellites are semantically bleached. The interpretation of a ground phrase (either in a prepositional phrase or as a direct or applicative object of the motion verb) depends both on the semantics of the verb, and on contextual information and socio-cultural knowledge about typical paths that a figure is likely to perform with regard to the relevant ground. Verbs describing motion event components may be divided into semantic categories (which also have a syntactic reality, as will be discussed further in Chapters Four and Five) according to the type of path that they express, how the path is configured with regard to a ground, and the thematic role of any ground phrase that they may license.

- Deictic path (PATHD) verbs describe a path oriented with regard to a deictic centre. Some PATHD verbs lexicalise directional 'up'/'down' information, while others are directionally neutral.

- Path + ground (PATHG) verbs contain no deictic information, but describe a path oriented with regard to some other external ground. They include boundary-crossing verbs, route ground verbs, geographic paths and return

paths; the configuration of the path depends on the semantics of the particular verb (and, to some extent, pragmatic considerations).

- MANNER verbs typically precede path verbs in motion event serialisations; to do so they must be able to describe manner of motion as part of a bounded process, although at least some are also able to express manner as an unbounded process or activity. Unbounded process verbs are often reduplicated; this also applies to certain PATHG verbs.

- SOURCE and GOAL verbs lexicalise the start or endpoint of a path and their behaviour is distinct from that of other path verbs, SOURCE verbs usually occurring only in mono-verbal clauses and GOAL verbs in the final slot of a verb serialisation, sequentially ordered after path and manner information.

CHAPTER FOUR

Subject markers and motion events: the enigma of arrival

4.1 Introduction

As described in §2.5.1, Kubokota has four sets of portmanteau subject/mood markers. The subject markers distinguish realis, prospective irrealis, future and hypothetical mood. PATHD motion verbs such as *lame* 'come', *lao* 'go', *zae* 'go up', *lagere* 'come down', etc., exhibit different modal properties from other verbs in the language, particularly with regard to realis and prospective irrealis. Specifically, a 'go' motion event cannot be marked as realis until the motion path is complete, whereas all other event types can be marked as realis while they are in progress. 'Go' events contrast with 'come' events, which vary as to whether they are marked as realis or irrealis while in progress. This can be explained with reference to the different configurations of 'come' and 'go' paths of motion and whether they are anchored to a source or a goal. The behaviour of subject markers with verbs of motion also throws light on the distribution of the subject markers with other verbs.

Kubokota is by no means unique among the Oceanic languages in marking motion events in process as irrealis. François (2003a:107-8 and p.c.) reports a similar phenomenon in Mwotlap (Vanuatu), where, as in Kubokota, a question of the type *Where are you going?* is always prospective while the motion is in process; the same is true for Bierebo, another Vanuatu language (Budd, p.c.). However, there seem to be few studies in which the implications of this irrealis marking have been investigated in detail, nor have the potential modal contrasts between 'come' and 'go' events been explored in other languages, either within Oceanic or beyond.

In §4.2 I discuss lexical aspect and predicate types (using the predicate types introduced by Timberlake (2007)). In §4.3 I examine the distribution of subject markers with a non-motion verb *uke* 'die', which I claim can be either a liminal state (achievement) or a liminal process (accomplishment). In §4.4, the aspectual and modal behaviour of Kubokota deictic (PATHD) motion verbs is described: the deictic verbs are claimed to be liminal processes, while *kamu* 'arrive' is a liminal state; 'come', 'go' and 'arrive' are contrasted with *uke* 'die'. In §4.5 I discuss the behaviour

of subject markers in complex clauses expressing motion events; and in §4.6 I examine other aspectual categories and their interaction with modality and deictic motion.

4.2 Lexical aspect and mood

The subject markers are analysed as markers of modality. Their distribution, however, is closely linked with aspect. The lexical aspect of the verb and the realisation status of the event at reference time both have a part to play in the choice of mood marking. These factors are particularly important in explaining the distribution of the realis vs. prospective irrealis markers, and the prospective irrealis vs. future markers.

With regard to lexical aspect, Timberlake (2007) identifies four main predicate types. They are roughly equivalent to Vendler's Aktionsart classes (Vendler 1957), but I use Timberlake's terms because they are more transparent, and the contrasts that they emphasise throw a useful light on the Kubokota data. They involve a binary opposition between telic and atelic predicates (i.e. denoting events with and without an endpoint), and a second opposition between states and processes.

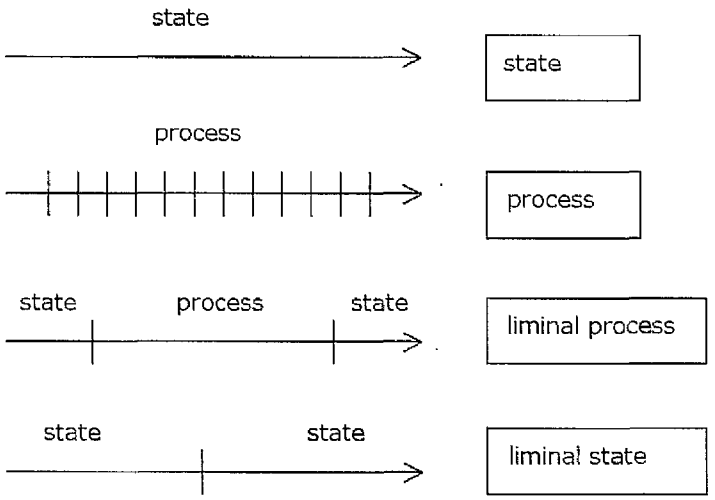
Atelic predicates are unbounded; they involve no change of state. Both states and processes are atelic. States are situations that do not change, e.g. *Matepitu likes fishing* and *Lamu is Betsy's husband.* Processes (equivalent to Vendler's activities) are situations that change in a continuous, unbounded fashion. A process differs from a state in that it does not proceed by inertia but requires input of energy to continue, e.g. *Matepitu is fishing* and *Betsy is working in the garden.*

Telic predicates involve a bounded change of state; Timberlake calls these 'liminal predicates'. Liminal processes (Vendler's accomplishments) are situations that have a transitional stage between an initial phase in which a property does not hold, and a final phase where a property does hold. In a sentence such as *Lamu climbed Mount Kela*, there is an initial phase before Lamu starts to climb, an intermediate phase in which he is climbing, and a final phase in which the climbing of the mountain is complete.

Liminal states (Vendler's achievements) are situations that involve a change of state with no extended process phase leading up to it, i.e. they are bounded states. In the sentence *Lamu reached the summit*, no process is involved in the predicate *reach*

the summit; Lamu has either reached the top of the mountain or he has not. Liminal states can often be distinguished from liminal processes (as can states from processes) by whether or not they can occur in the progressive, or with adverbs of manner.[1] *Lamu is climbing Mount Kela* is acceptable, but *#Lamu is reaching the summit* is slightly odd semantically.[2] A liminal process can be modified by a manner adverb, as in *Lamu climbed the hill slowly*, but a liminal state cannot because there is no process to be described: *#Lamu reached the summit slowly*. The distinction between liminal states and liminal processes is a significant one for the marking of modality in Kubokota.

Figure 4.1: Timberlake's predicate types



4.3 *Uke* 'die': process and endpoint in a non-motion verb

Kubokota subject markers index person and number, and express a four-way modal contrast. The paradigm is given in Table 4.1; for a general description of their usage, see §2.5.1.

[1] Other tests, such as *for a time / in a time* (e.g. *Lamu climbed the hill for / in five minutes* vs. *Lamu reached the summit *for / in five minutes*) cannot be used in Kubokota.

[2] Except in very specific contexts and genres; a sports commentator might, for instance, say something like *Lamu is reaching the summit* if he was reporting on a race.

Table 4.1: Kubokota subject-mood markers

	first			second		third	
	1SG	1PL.IN	1PL.EX	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
realis	*qa*	*taqe*	*gami*	*qu (qo)*	*gamu*	*za (qi)*	*qari, qe*
prospective irrealis	*ma*	*ta*	*mami*	*mu*		*mi*	*mari*
future	*mana*	*tana*	*mamina*	*muna*		*mina*	*marina*
hypothetical	*ba*	*tabe*	*babi*	*bu*		*bi*	*bari*

Before coming to the discussion of mood marking on Kubokota motion verbs, in this section I explore the aspectual and modal properties of a non-motion verb, *uke* 'die'. I have chosen the verb *uke* because it is attested in my database in naturally occurring data with all four mood markers, and because it is a change of state verb. I will claim that motion verbs also express a change of state; comparison with the verb *uke*, however, will bring to light some interesting contrasts between the structure of a motion event (consisting of source, path and goal) and the structure of a non-motion change of state such as dying.

The Kubokota verb *uke* 'die' can be either a liminal process or a liminal state. As a liminal process, the event involves a stage where the person is not dying, followed by an intermediate process of dying, and concluding in a final stage where the person is dead. As a liminal state, death is instantaneous and no process is involved. The varying emphasis on process or endpoint is reflected in the distribution of *uke* with the subject markers.

In (1), the event of dying is in the past and is marked as realis. No attention is given to process (which has no present relevance); 'die' in (1) is a liminal state.

(1) ***Za*** ***uke*** *na* *tama=di* *ko* *qe* *mule* *lagere* *dia.*
3SG.R **die** DET father=3PL.POS so 3PL.R return come.down 3PL.POS
'Their father died so they came back down (from Lale to Obobulu).' (o0851)

(1) contrasts with (2), where dying is a liminal process. The endpoint of death has not been reached in (2), but the process is marked as realis. This is not particularly unusual for realis clauses; they are used *'when a situation or event is described which the speaker asserts to have (or have not) taken place, or to be currently taking place'* (Kettle 2000:23), i.e. with both past and present events. Tense is not marked in

Kubokota; the interpretation of a realis verb as referring to past or present is entirely dependent on context.[3]

(2) *Qokolo,* ***za*** ***uke*** *nana!*
boy **3SG.R** **die** 3SG.POS
'Hey, (the stove) is dying!' (o0359)

In (3), *uke* is marked as future irrealis, and patterns with (1) as a liminal state. In (1), an instantaneous change of state is realis (and past), whereas in (3) the change of state is in the future. It should be noted that both the stove in (2) and the lamp in (3) are guttering and threatening to go out. In (2) this is construed as a process of dying, whereas the choice of the future subject marker in (3) pays no attention to the process; the lamp is either alive or dead.

(3) *Pala* ***mina*** ***uke*** *nana.*
FUT **3SG. FUT** **die** 3SG.POS
'It (the lamp) will die.' (o0403)

Conversely, in (4), *uke* is marked as prospective irrealis.[4] Like (3), (4) expresses a situation in which a change of state has not yet been realised. The implication of (4), however, is that something is happening to the lamp (the wind is blowing and causing the lamp to gutter) that is making its death likely; (4) might therefore be regarded as a liminal process with an unrealised endpoint. The liminal processes in (2) and (4) produce an interesting contrast, in that (2) is a liminal process where the attention is on the process (i.e. the process is realised), whereas in (4), the attention is on the endpoint of the process (which is unrealised). An alternative interpretation of (4) would be that it is a liminal state where the change of state is imminent but there is no process; however, there are good reasons why I do not adopt this analysis. We will return to this issue in §4.4.3, where we compare *uke* with liminal process and liminal state motion verbs.

(4) ***Mi*** ***uke*** *na juke.* ***Mi*** ***uke*** *za gua.*
3SG.IRR **die** DET lamp **3SG.IRR** **die** 3SG.R say
'The lamp's going to die. It wants to die.' (o0018)

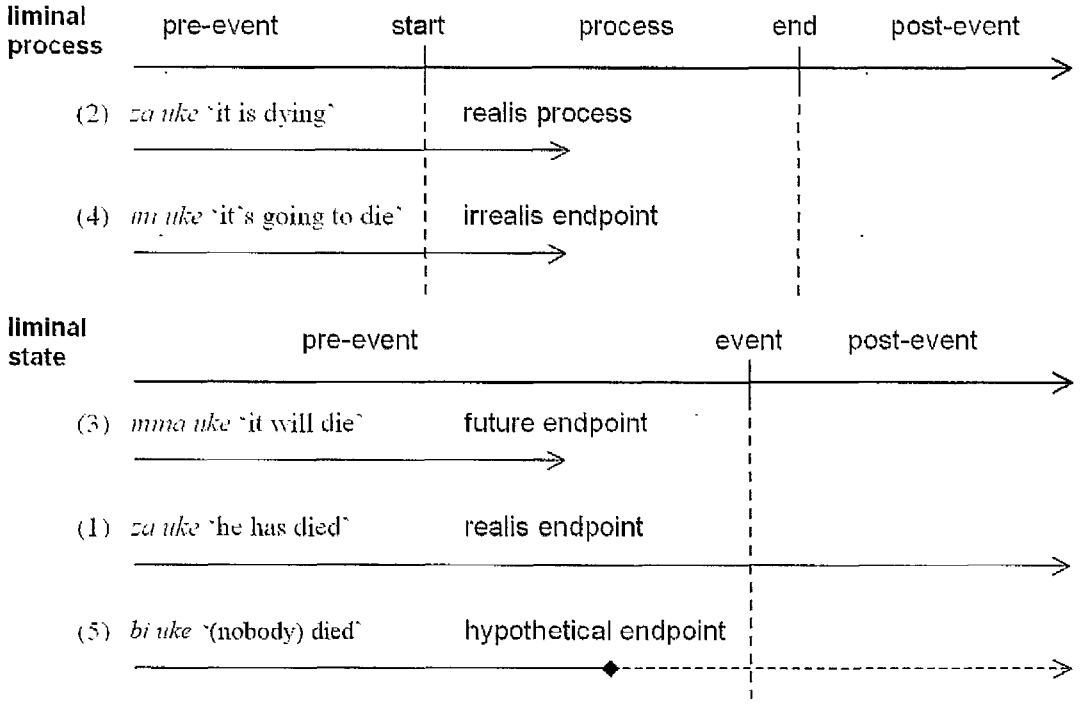
[3] The use of the possessive pronoun *nana* to index the subject (possessive pronoun subject indexing, or PPSI) is not relevant to this discussion; it occurs with reference to the past, present and future (compare (2) and (3)), and in declarative, imperative and interrogative sentences; see §2.5.6 for further details.
[4] The quotative *za gua* '3SG say' is often used with imminent events, even with inanimate objects such as the lamp, which cannot act volitionally; see also §2.6.3.4.

I will not devote a great deal of attention to the hypothetical subject markers in this chapter; however, (5) is included to complete the paradigm. In (5), *uke* must again be viewed as a liminal state, referring the whole event of dying, not to the process.

(5) *Kepore tinoni* ***bi*** *paleka,* ***bi*** *uke.*
not.exist person **3SG.HYP** be.wounded **3SG.HYP** die
'Nobody was hurt, nobody died.' (o0600)

Figure 4.2 shows the event structure of the above examples of *uke*. (2) and (4) are liminal processes, the attention being on the process in (2) and the endpoint in (4). (1), (3) and (5) are liminal states, which ignore the process of dying and focus on its endpoint. The endpoint is realised in (1) and unrealised (future) in (3); (5) is a liminal state which was a possibility at a point in the past.

Figure 4.2: *Uke* 'die' as liminal process and liminal state



4.4 Deictic motion events and modality

The vast majority of motion event clauses contain a deictic motion (PATHD) verb which lexicalises the component 'AWAY FROM DEICTIC CENTRE' ('go' verbs) or 'TOWARDS DEICTIC CENTRE' ('come' verbs). As described in §3.3, 'go' verbs (*lao* 'go', *zae* 'go up', *gore* 'go down') are goal-oriented, i.e. they express motion towards a goal, which may optionally be expressed in a prepositional phrase, as in (6). 'Come'

verbs (*lame* 'come', *zale* 'come up', *lagere* 'come down') may be either source or goal oriented; in (7), *zale* is source-oriented, whereas in (8) it is goal-oriented.

(6) *Gami* *zae* ***pa*** ***Seloro.***
1PL.EX.R go.up **IN.PRP** **Seloro**
'We went up to Seloro.' (o0201)

(7) *Koini* *zale* *tu* ***pa*** ***Pienuna.***
just come.up FOC **IN.PRP** **Pienuna**
'(We have) just come up from Pienuna (to Obobulu).' (o0819; said in Obobulu)

(8) *Gami* *zale* ***pa*** ***Paqe.***
1PL.EX.R come.up **IN.PRP** **Paqe**
'We have come up to Paqe (from Obobulu).' (o0125; said in Paqe)

'Go' and 'come' events are liminal processes: they consist of an initial phase in which the figure is located at the source, an intermediate phase where the figure moves along a path, and a final phase where the figure is located at the goal. The contrast between a source-oriented motion event (some 'come' events) versus one that is goal-oriented ('go' events and some 'come' events) is reflected in the behaviour of the subject-mood markers.

4.4.1 'Go' events

In §4.3 I showed that the verb *uke* 'die' can be marked as realis either while in process, or as a completed event. With 'go' verbs, however, the realis subject markers can only be used when the event is completed. This is usually when the goal has been reached (see, however, examples (14) and (15)). If motion is still in process, the prospective irrealis subject markers are used. It should be noted that this occurs more in real time conversational discourse or reported speech than in narratives about past events, for reasons that will be made clear below. The prospective irrealis is used for present motion events that have begun and will be completed in due course. As will be discussed in §4.5, it also has a role in complex clauses, where the realisation status of an embedded clause is interpreted with regard to the time frame set by the matrix clause.

(9) is a typical greeting when meeting somebody on the road (during the process of a motion event) and a typical response.

(9) A: *Pae* ***mu*** *lao?*
where **2.IRR** go
'Where are you going?'

B: ***Ma*** *gore* *pa* *Pienuna.*
1SG.IRR go.down IN.PRP Pienuna
'I'm going to Pienuna.'

(10) is a further exchange in the third person, about two people seen setting out to sea in a canoe:

(10) A: *Pae* ***mari*** *lao* *ari-kori* *rari?*
where **3PL.IRR** go PROX.PL-two DIST.PL
'Where are those two there going?'

B: ***Mari*** *zae* *pa* *Gijo.*
3PL.IRR go.up IN.PRP Gizo
'They're going up to Gizo.' (o0149)

The significance of (9) and (10) is that both utterances occur after the motion has commenced but before it is complete, i.e. while the motion is in process. Unlike example (2), however, where the verb *uke* 'die' is a realis process, (9) and (10) can never be marked as realis in this situation. (11) is an utterance of my own, which was rejected as incorrect because I had not yet reached the house.[5]

(11) #***Qa*** *lao* *pa* *ruma.*
1SG.R go IN.PRP house
#'I am going / I went to the house.' (o0051)

The use of a realis subject marker with a 'go' motion verb can only be interpreted as occurring in the past, never in the present. In (12) and (13), the whole motion event is completed and is marked as realis; the figure has, at a point in the past, travelled along a path and arrived at a goal.

(12) ***Qa*** *gore,* ***qa*** *gore* *kamu* *pa* *Pejapeja.*
1SG.R go.down **1SG.R** go.down arrive IN.PRP Pejapeja
'I went down, I went down (and) arrived at Pejapeja.' (a010LP_021)

(13) *Ko* ***za*** *zae* *pa* *Hotel* *i* *Mary,*
so **3SG.R** go.up IN.PRP Hotel PERS Mary
'So Mary went up to the Hotel,' (a019BN_012)

This does not mean that a realis motion event is necessarily a complete path of motion from source to goal. (14) and (15) are perfects of present relevance. It is not

5 Note that if I had reached the house, (11) would still be unacceptable while I was there, because a 'come' verb would be required rather than a 'go' verb.

known, nor is it important, whether the subjects have already arrived at their goals; the relevant information is that they have departed from their sources (the implication in the exchange in (15) being that Grace is not available at the location of the speaker). The deictic centre (i.e. the location of the speaker) remains at the source.

(14) *Goto i Rados* ***za*** *tori lao tu pa Isabel*
but PERS Rados **3SG.R** already go FOC IN.PRP Isabel
'But Rados has already gone to Isabel' (email005NS_012)

(15) *Qa nanaz-i=a, 'O, Elo, pae i Grace?' Za paranga=ziu*
1SG.R ask-TR=3SG.OBJ oh Elo where PERS Grace 3SG.R speak=1SG.OBJ

i Elo, ***'Za*** *lao pa Jericho.'*
PERS Elo **3SG.R** go IN.PRP Jericho
'I asked her, "Oh, Elo, where is Grace?" Elo told me, "She's gone to Jericho." (a010LP_023-24)

In §3.5.3 I demonstrated that the verb *zagere* 'ascend' entails the completion of the path of motion; if the subject of *zagere* does not arrive at the goal, she did not *zagere*. The same is not true for the deictic verbs. (16) is a sentence from a story about the tsunami. The speaker and I were in a canoe on our way (up) to Gizo. In (16) he uses the irrealis with the quotative *za gua* (see §2.6.3.4 on the quotative construction) to express my intention of going up (*zae*) to work (an intention which was unrealised). The prospective irrealis subject marker here is typical of quotative intentional clauses (cf. (4)). It is not the case, however, that we did not 'go up'; later in the same story, the verb *zae* is marked as realis to describe the directionality of our travel, even though we failed to reach our destination (17).

(16) *I Mary* ***mi*** *zae roiti pa computer pa Gijo,* ***mi***
PERS Mary **3SG.IRR** go.up work IN.PRP computer IN.PRP Gizo **3SG.IRR**

aru va-tuvizi=a nana vavakato, ***za*** ***gua,***
hold CAUS-be.straight=3SG.OBJ 3SG.POS story **3SG.R** **say**
'Mary wanted to going up to work on the computer in Gizo, to straighten her stories,' (a064LP_010)

(17) ***gami*** *toka* ***zae*** *pa kolo,* ***gami*** ***zae,*** ***gami*** ***zae,*** *zae*
1PL.EX.R set.out **go.up** IN.PRP sea **1PL.EX.R** **go.up** **1PL.EX.R** **go.up** go.up

tata kamu pa Gijo,
close arrive IN.PRP Gizo
'we set out up onto the sea, we went up, we went up, went up close to Gizo,' (a064LP_014-16)

The future is used where the motion event process has not yet begun; it cannot be used while the motion event is in process. (18) and (19) are future paths of motion.

Note that in (19), the participants are already moving along a path, but they have not started along the particular path described.

(18) ***Muna*** *gore* *puta* *pa* *kota?*
2.FUT go.down sleep IN.PRP seaward
'Will you go down and sleep (seawards)?' (o0583)

(19) ***Tana*** *lao* *gore* *vei* *ari.*
1PL.IN.FUT go go.down be.like PROX.PL
'Let's go down there.' (o0247; approaching small path leading seaward from main path)

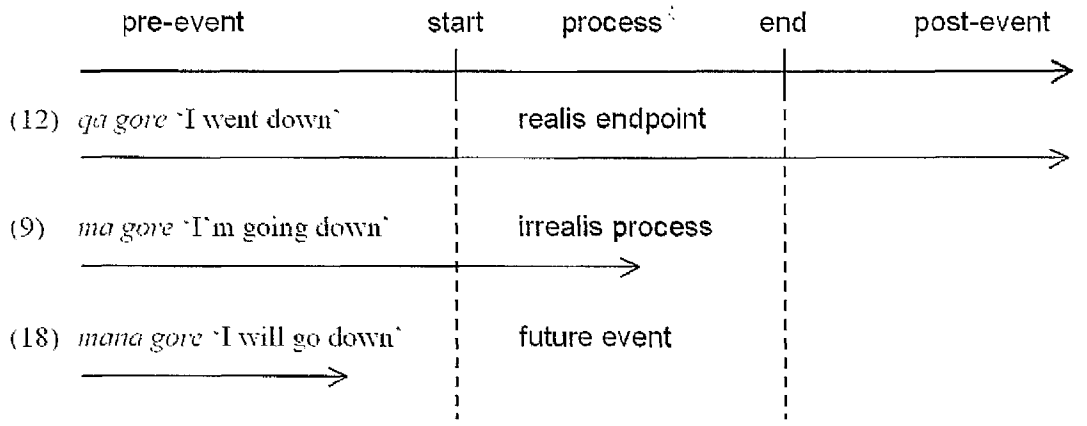
The prospective irrealis is also used with motion verbs where no physical movement is involved. In (20) and (21), *zae* 'go up' occurs in a subordinate clause (introduced by the conjunction *ko*) with an irrealis subject marker and can be glossed as 'upwards': in (20), the upwards direction is physical (from his belly up to his head), and in (21) it is temporal (twelve years and upwards). In (21), the extent of time indicated by *zae* has no endpoint. In (20) the endpoint is expressed by *kamu* 'arrive'; the modal properties of *kamu* are discussed in §4.4.3.

(20) *pa* *podalai* *pa* *loba=na* *ani* *ko* ***mi*** *zae* *kamu*
IN.PRP start IN.PRP stomach=3SG.POS PROX.SG so **3SG.IRR** go.up arrive
pa *batu=na* *qa=ke* *bati=a.*
IN.PRP head=3SG.POS 1SG.R=NEG see.TR=3SG.OBJ
'starting from his stomach and going up to his head I didn't see (his body).' (a031SM_014)

(21) *Koviria* *ari.* *podalai* *gu* *pa* *manogori* *aoro* *ko* ***mi*** *zae*
now PROX.PL begin LIM IN.PRP twelve year so **3SG.IRR** go.up
ani.
PROX.SG
'These days, (it) starts just from twelve years and upwards (children want to get married.' (a008BL_002-003)

Figure 4.3 shows the event structure of 'go' verbs such as *lao*, *zae* and *gore*.

Figure 4.3: 'Go' verbs as process and endpoint



4.4.2 'Come' events

In §4.4.1 I demonstrated that 'go' verbs differ from non-motion liminal processes in terms of the stage of the event at which they can be marked as realis (with various pragmatic restrictions). 'Come' verbs, at first glance, appear to pattern with non-motion events. (22) is a past 'come' event which is marked as realis, equivalent to (1) (*za uke* 'he died') and (12) (*qa gore* 'I went down').

(22) *Za koko pa London ko* ***za lame*** *dogoro pa Australia.*
3SG.R set.out IN.PRP London so **3SG.R** **come** look IN.PRP Australia
'He set out from London and he came to see Australia.' (o0961)

(23) and (24) are present events where the goal of the motion path has not yet been reached; the process, however, is marked as realis, equivalent to (2) *za uke* 'it (realis) is dying' and contrasting with (9) *ma gore* 'I (irrealis) am going down'. (23) was said during a rainstorm while the rain was still lashing down, but brighter sky had just become visible on the horizon. In (24) I have just asked where Mamikera is. The speaker tells me he is coming (*Kopa lame*, with the progressive, which is usually realis), enquires of a passing child to make sure, and then confirms to me that he is coming (*Za lame*, again with the realis). Mamikera himself is not yet in sight.

(23) ***Za lame*** *na bule.*
3SG.R **come** DET fine
'Fine weather is coming.' (o0923)

(24) *Mamikera?* ***Kopa lame.*** *Ae Mamikera?* ***Za lame.***
Mamikera **PROG** **come** Q Mamikera **3SG.R** **come**
'Mamikera? He's coming. Where's Mamikera (to child)? He's coming.' (o0892)

The prospective irrealis can be used for 'come' events where the motion has not yet begun, being either imminent (25) or certain (26); this is similar to the behaviour of the prospective irrealis with non-motion events, and is in contrast with 'go' events (see (18) and (19), where the future is required). In (25), an old man is sitting under a neighbouring house waiting to see me, but has not yet moved towards me; in (26), World Vision representatives have definite plans to visit Obobulu the following day, but have not yet left Gizo. Compare these motion examples to (27), a prospective irrealis non-motion event in which the process has not yet begun but where the prospective irrealis indicates an intention (cf. also (4), where, I have claimed, the dying is already in process).

(25) ***Mi*** *lame pani?*
3SG.IRR come here
'Will he come here?' (o0719)

(26) *Pala* ***mari*** ***lagere*** *pani uka.*
FUT **3PL.IRR** **come.down** here tomorrow
'They're coming down here tomorrow.' (o0888)

(27) ***Ma*** ***gani=a*** *mae na gequ keki.*
1SG.IRR **eat=3SG.OBJ** PUNC DET 1SG.ED.POS cake
'I'm just going to eat my cake.' (o0210)

In the data presented so far, 'come' events seem to pattern with non-motion events where event realisation is concerned. However, 'come' events in process can also be marked as prospective, like 'go' events. In (28), a dog has been sighted approaching along the road. In (29), the speaker is watching a boat speeding down over the sea from Gizo.[6] In neither example has the endpoint been reached; as for 'go' events, the process is marked as irrealis.

(28) ***Mi*** ***lagere*** *zana sie.*
3SG.IRR **come.down** MED.SG dog
'That dog is coming down.' (o0478)

(29) *Za tuara* ***mi*** ***lagere*** *gana.*
3SG.R power **3SG.IRR** **come.down** 3SG.ED.POS
'He's speeding down.' (o0751)

'Come' and 'go' events differ, therefore, in that 'go' events in process are (with certain exceptions) obligatorily marked as prospective irrealis, whereas 'come' events in process may be either realis or prospective irrealis. This difference, I suggest, is

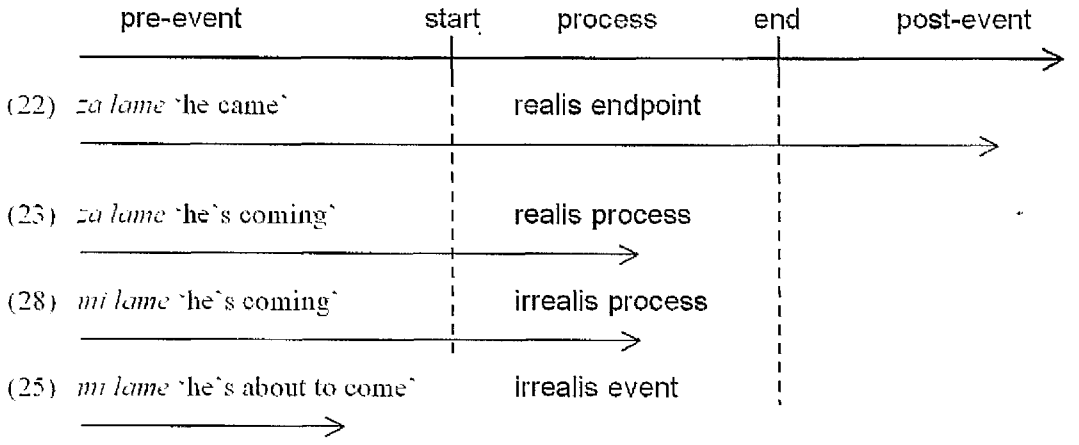
[6] (29) is an example of a clause chain; see §4.5 for discussion.

linked to whether a 'come' event is source- or goal-oriented. The significance of both (28) and (29) is that the figure (the dog and the boat respectively) is on its way to a goal, i.e. to the location of the speaker. In (23) and (24), however, it is more important that the figure has departed from the source and that the motion is already in process: fine weather will soon be here; Mamikera is on his way.

I propose that 'go' events in process are marked as prospective irrealis because orientation towards the goal is a crucial facet of the event (although, as noted in §4.4.1, failure to reach the goal does not result in the negation of the 'go' predicate). For 'come' events, however, departure from the source is all that is necessary for the event to be realised. After departure from the source, 'coming' is a realis process, *if* the focus of attention is on the source. If, however, attention is focused on 'coming to' a goal, and the path has not yet been completed, the 'come' event can be marked as prospective irrealis.

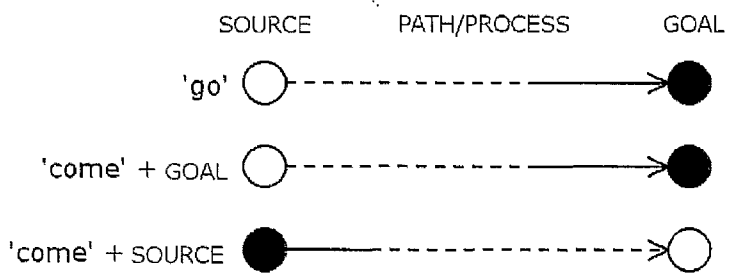
Figure 4.4 shows the event structure of realis and irrealis 'come' verbs.

Figure 4.4: 'Come' verbs as process and endpoint



The contrast between 'come' and 'go' events with regard to source and goal is shown in Figure 4.5.

Figure 4.5: Schematisation of 'come' and 'go' events



As described by Wilkins and Hill (1995), and discussed in detail in §3.3, languages *'vary in whether this linguistic element* [of motion towards speaker, or 'coming'] *semantically entails arrival at place of speaker or simply arrival at a place on the path towards speaker, or no entailment of arrival (telicity) at all'* (Wilkins and Hill 1995:215). The Kubokota 'come' verbs fluctuate between these categories: they may entail arrival at a place on the path towards speaker (up to and including the place of the speaker herself), or they may not entail arrival at all, but merely departure from source. If arrival (at any point on the path) is entailed, the irrealis subject markers are used where the path is incomplete. If arrival is not entailed, the motion event is realis regardless of whether the path is complete, departure from the source being the only requirement. The behaviour of the prospective irrealis subject markers, therefore, sheds fresh light on the complex semantics of Kubokota verbs of motion, both towards and away from speaker.

4.4.3 *Kamu* 'arrive' as a liminal state

As opposed to a three-phase liminal process (start, process, endpoint), exemplified by the 'come' and 'go' events described above, a liminal state reports *'the inception of a new state'* (Timberlake 2007:285) with no extended process phase. In Kubokota, the verb *kamu* 'arrive' is a liminal state. Unlike *uke* 'die' and the deictic motion verbs, *kamu* can never occur with the prospective irrealis forms: it can be either realis (30) or future (31), but the prospective irrealis form in (32) is ungrammatical.[7]

[7] An exception to this rule is in clauses following *keta* 'lest', which are obligatorily marked as prospective irrealis:

(30) ***Taqe*** ***kamu*** *pa* *Obobulu.*
1PL.IN.R **arrive** IN.PRP Obobulu
'We have arrived at Obobulu.'

(31) *Pa* *viza* ***mina*** ***kamu?***
IN.PRP when **3SG.FUT** **arrive**
'When will she arrive?' (a044BN_093)

(32) ****Ta*** ***kamu*** *pa* *Obobulu.*
1PL.IN.IRR **arrive** IN.PRP Obobulu
'We are arriving at Obobulu.' (o0150)

Liminal states are two-phase events. Future *kamu* in (31) represents the situation prior to the change of state, and realis *kamu* in (30) represents the situation after the change of state. Prospective irrealis *kamu* in (32) is unacceptable because, in contrast with dying, coming or going, there is no process leading to the endpoint in an event of arriving. To express the meaning of 'about to arrive', the adverb *tata* 'close' can precede *kamu*, with a realis or future subject marker, as in (33) and (34).

(33) ***(Taqe)*** ***tata*** ***kamu*** *pa* *Obobulu.*
1PL.IN.R **close** **arrive** IN.PRP Obobulu
'We are close to arriving at Obobulu.' (o0150)

(34) *I* *Debra* ***tata*** ***mina*** ***kamu.***
PERS Debra **close** **3SG.FUT** **arrive**
'Debra will arrive soon.' (a044BN_092)

In §4.3 I proposed that *mi uke* '3SG.IRR die' expresses a process of dying, the endpoint of death being unrealised (4). *Mi uke* contrasts with the future form *mina uke* '3SG.FUT die', which expresses unrealised death without process (3), and with *za uke* '3SG.R die', which expresses a realis process of dying (2). *Mi uke* and *za uke* overlap, therefore, in that both refer to the dying process. An alternative analysis of *mi uke* would be that death is imminent but there is no process (in which case it overlaps with *mina uke*). However, the absence of a prospective irrealis form for *kamu* supports the

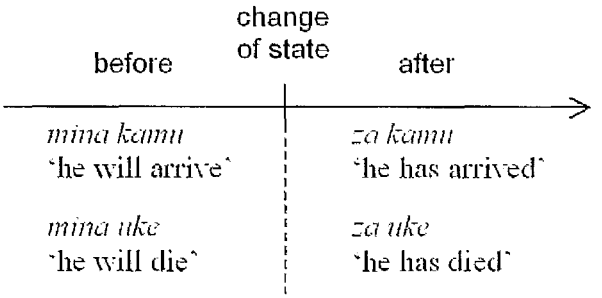
---

a. *qe* *matagutu=ni* ***keta*** *vei* *ko* ***mari*** ***kamu*** *ko* *mari* *zale* *mule*
3PL.R fear=APPL.SG **lest** if so **3PL.IRR** **arrive** so 3PL.IRR come.up return
vuru-vurungu=gita,
REDUP-burn=1PL.INCL.OBJ
'they were afraid that they would arrive and come up and burn us,' (a056IP_051)

claim that liminal states cannot be prospective because no process is involved,[8] and confirms my analysis of *mi uke* as a liminal process with an unrealised endpoint.

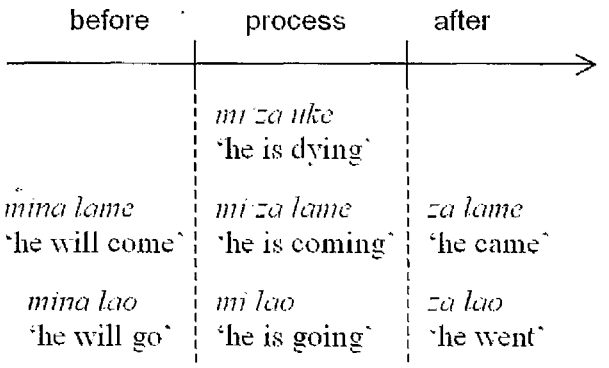
Figure 4.6 shows *kamu* 'arrive' and *uke* 'die' as liminal states.

Figure 4.6: *Kamu* 'arrive' and *uke* 'die' as liminal states



The liminal states in Figure 4.6 contrast with the liminal processes in Figure 4.7. Figure 4.7 highlights the similarities between *uke* 'die' and *lame* 'come' as liminal processes (that may be either realis or irrealis while in process). It also shows the difference between these verbs and *lao* 'go', which must be irrealis while in process.

Figure 4.7: *Uke* 'die', *lame* 'come' and *lao* 'go' as liminal processes[9]



Kamu is also found, with realis subject marking, in experiential perfects, expressing the notion of 'having been' somewhere:

(35) *Pae* *tu* ***qu*** *lao* ***kamu?***
where FOC **2SG.R** go **arrive**
'Where did you get to?' (o0891)

[8] Unfortunately I have not had the opportunity to test this claim with other liminal state verbs.
[9] The (past) realis and future forms have been deliberately omitted for *uke* as a liminal process; based on my analysis of the data in §4.3, *uke* is best treated as a liminal state (see Figure 4.6) except where there is reason to focus on the process itself.

(36) *Oqoro* ***kamu=a*** *ara pa Pienuna.*
not.yet **arrive=3SG.OBJ** 1SG IN.PRP Pienuna
'I've never (not yet) been to Pienuna.' (en009_027)

As will be described in §5.4.1 and §5.5, in serial verb constructions, *kamu* is obligatorily ordered after all other motion verbs, and before any non-motion verbs. This reflects the fact that *kamu* describes the endpoint of a path rather than motion along the path itself. Once the endpoint is reached, the motion phase of the event is concluded, and no further motion events may occur in that clause (whatever happens in subsequent clauses) (37); the same SVC may, however, contain other non-motion event components (38).

(37) *beto qari* ***zagere*** ***lame*** ***kamu=a*** *na ruma,*
then 3PL.R **ascend** **come** **arrive=3SG.OBJ** DET house
'then they came up and arrived at the house,' (a004MD_023)

(38) *Pa varipera za* ***kamu*** ***dururu*** *pani.*
IN.PRP fight 3SG.R **arrive** **sink** here
'In the war it came and sank here.' (o0769)

4.5 Complex clauses and motion events

In this section I consider the modal marking of motion events in complex clauses, in particular in clause chains. Clause chains, as will be described in §5.3.1.3, involve the juxtaposition of simple clauses and their arguments without any markers of coordination or subordination. Identity of the arguments between the two clauses is optional. There may also be a mood change between the clauses. In (29), the first clause is realis and the second is irrealis. (39) is a further non-motion realis-irrealis example, and (40) is a motion example in which both clauses are realis.

(39) *ko* [*za* ***tula***] [***mi*** ***rovu*** ***gana***] *na piropiro.*
so **3SG.R** **smoke** **3SG.IRR** **steam** **3SG.ED.POS** DET wild.ginger
'the ginger smoked and (was starting to) steam.' (a031SM_019)

(40) *Vero* [*za* ***kura=i*** *na koburu*] [*za* ***mule.***]
Vero 3SG.R carry.on.back=3SG.OBJ DET child 3SG.R return
'Vero carried the child (and) returned.' (o0115)

Clause chains are particularly common in motion events where the first clause contains a manner verb or a verb expressing some other activity simultaneous to the motion event, and the second clause contains a deictic motion verb (manner followed

by path is the typical order for verbs in a motion event serial verb construction; see §5.5). (41) and (42) are examples.

(41) [*Za* *gavere*] [*mi* *zae.*]
3SG.R crawl 3SG.IRR go.up
'It's crawling up.' (o0512; watching a lizard crawl up a tree)

(42) [*Za* *pakutoka*] [*mi* *zale*] *ani.*
3SG.R carry.on.head 3SG.IRR come.up PROX.SG
'She's carrying up her string bag.' (o0377)

In same-subject clause chains like these it is possible to omit the second subject marker (thus forming a serial verb construction).[10] (43) and (44) are serial verb constructions semantically comparable to the clause chains in (41) and (42): they consist of a non-deictic motion verb plus a PATHD verb, and demonstrate that even though there may be a disparity between the realisation status of the non-deictic motion verb (realis) and the following PATHD verb, the irrealis subject marker is optional.

(43) ***Qari*** *para-paranga* *zale.*
3PL.R REDUP-talk come.up
'They're coming up talking.' (o0503)

(44) ***Za*** *jola* *gore* *nana.*
3SG.R pass go.down 3SG.POS
'It's going down past.' (o0855)

The prospective irrealis marker in (41) and (42) expresses the unrealised modal status of an incomplete path of motion. It should be noted that the verbs *gavere* 'crawl' and *pakutoka* 'carry (bag) on head' in (41) and (42) are processes (activities) that are obligatorily marked as realis in this context. It may be that the unrealised status of the motion verb in (41) and (42), and its conflict with the realis status of preceding verb, motivates the presence of the additional subject marker. The marker may also have a stylistic function. Alpheaus Zobule (p.c.) agrees with my consultants that the irrealis subject marker in such examples is entirely optional; he suggests that *'The addition of the irrealis* mi *therefore adds an element of intentness/purpose or dramatic effect to the action'*.

[10] As discussed in §5.3.1.3, clause chains such as (41) and (42) cannot be analysed as core layer serial verb constructions because a widely accepted property of serial verb constructions is that modality remains the same for the whole construction.

This seems a convincing analysis in the light of examples such as (45). In (45), the speaker is describing what happened during the tsunami, several days earlier. Qaqa was in his canoe racing towards the speaker (in another canoe) ahead of the approaching wave. He eventually reached the speaker's canoe (in which I was a passenger), went ahead and led it to safety behind the shelter of a small island. At utterance time, the whole event is in the past. However, at the point in the story where Qaqa is approaching, his coming is marked as irrealis: the hearer does not know (unless she is already aware of Qaqa's survival) whether Qaqa completed his coming or not, and the consequences either way are crucial both to what happens next in the story, and to Qaqa himself. The prospective irrealis is used here as a dramatic device to increase the tension in the narrative: will Qaqa survive or not?

(45) *Luka-lukana* ***mi*** ***lame*** *i* *Qaqa.*
REDUP-cry **3SG.IRR** **come** PERS Qaqa
'Qaqa came crying.' (o0614)

It will be noted that, although tense is not marked in Kubokota, (45) refers to an event that occurred in the past; one might therefore expect both clauses to be realis, especially as Qaqa's coming was subsequently realised.[11] The first clause in a clause chain, however, acts as a matrix clause that sets the temporal context for the second clause. The same is true for subordinate clauses introduced by the conjunction *ko*. This means that it is possible for an irrealis embedded clause to refer to a past event that was subsequently realised. This is akin to Reichenbach's (1947) notion of relative tense. Kubokota, however, marks mood rather than tense. Examples such as (45) are perhaps best understood as relative mood, the first clause setting the modal context for the second, which is unrealised at reference time (rather than at utterance time).

(46) is a further example of a clause chain describing a past event, with an irrealis second clause: at the time to which the speaker is referring, we are waiting in Gizo for the arrival of the mother and her child by ship from Honiara (the ship having left Honiara the day before). The irrealis event in the second clause of (46) can be understood as unrealised in relation to the realis event expressed by the first clause. The mother and child's journey is complete at utterance time (a day or two after their

[11] The realis subject marker is omitted from the first clause in (45), but native speakers readily accept a realis subject marker added to this sentence: *Za lukalukana mi lame.*

arrival), but is marked as irrealis because it was incomplete at the reference time established by the matrix clause (i.e. when the speaker was waiting for them in Gizo).

(46) *zae* *adono=ria* *ari-kori* *tamatina* ***mari*** *lagere* *pa*
go.up wait=3PL.OBJ PROX.PL-two mother.and.child **3PL.IRR** come.down IN.PRP

Honiara,
Honiara
'(We) went up (to Gizo) to wait for those two (mother and child) who were coming down from Honiara,' (a019BN_002)

(47) and (48) are examples of subordinate clauses introduced by the conjunction *ko*. (47) is from a historical narrative about the establishment of the church on Ranongga. The church has now been established for many years, but the first clause *za viva ani* 'she was determined' is a matrix clause that sets a (past) realis time frame, in relation to which the founding of the church in the subordinate clause is in the future. The same is true in (48): the speaker is telling about how he had gone to Pienuna a couple of days ago; his preparations, in the matrix clause, are realis, but his journey to Pienuna has not yet commenced, and is marked as (relative) future.

(47) ***Za*** ***viva*** *ani* *ko* ***mina*** ***gore*** *tu=gu* *zana* *lotu* *ketakoi.*
3SG.R **strong** PROX.SG so **3SG.FUT** **go.down** FOC=LIM MED.SG worship there
'She was determined that the church would go down (and be established) there.' (a039JT_024)

(48) ***qa*** ***va-nama-nama*** *ara* *ko* ***mana*** ***gore*** *pa* *Pienuna* *pa*
1SG.R **CAUS-REDUP-prepare** 1SG so **1SG.FUT** **go.down** IN.PRP Pienuna IN.PRP

qua *guguzu.*
1SG.POS village
'I got ready to go down to Pienuna to my village.' (a010LP_002)

(49) and (50) are further examples (again from a tsunami story) in which a future clause is embedded in a (past) realis clause, describing motion that has not yet commenced. In (49), the participants are in a boat drifting in a dangerous channel while the tsunami builds up along the coast; eventually, the driver follows another boat (Qaqa's) to safety behind a small island, but at this point in the story the boat is static in the channel and the motion event is in the future. In (50), following rumours of a second tsunami to come, several boats take refuge in deep water and wait; this larger tsunami never materialises, i.e. its path of motion is never begun. The use of the future, however, is relative to the knowledge and expectations of the participants at the time, not to the present (where the second tsunami is no longer expected).

(49) ***gami*** ***dogor-i=a*** *pave* *ketakoi* ***mamina*** *boka* ***lao*** *vei.*
1PL.EX.R **look-TR=3SG.OBJ** where there **1PL.EX.FUT** able **go** be.like

Ba *gami=ke* *lea* *ura* *doru* *ia* *pa=na* *mati* *ketakoi*
but 1PL.EX.R=NEG good because all place IN.PRP=DET reef there

za ***lame*** *beto* *na* *boguzu.*
3SG.R **come** finish DET big.wave
'we looked to see where we could go. But we couldn't (easily go anywhere) because all the places on the reef there, the tsunami had come.'
(a064LP_038-40)

(50) *gami* *titi* *beto* *pa* *kolo,* ***gami*** ***adon-i=a*** ***mina***
1PL.EX.R anchor finish IN.PRP deep.sea **1PL.EX.R** **wait-TR=3SG.OBJ** **3SG.FUT**

lame *na* *boguzu* *lavata.*
come DET big.wave big
'we all anchored on the deep sea, we waited for the big tsunami to come.'
(a064LP_102)

(50) contrasts with (51), where the tsunami is already seen to be approaching; its coming is a realis process (see (46) for an equivalent example where the 'come' process is irrealis), i.e. it is realis at reference time.

(51) *qe* *dogor-i=a* *na* *boguzu* *za* *lame,*
3PL.R see-TR=3SG.OBJ DET big.wave 3SG.R come
'they saw the tsunami coming,' (a064LP_044)

4.6 Other aspectual categories and their interaction with modality

4.6.1 Progressive *korapa*

I mentioned in §4.2 that the progressive can be used as a test for the distinction between liminal processes and liminal states. The progressive in Kubokota is expressed with the auxiliary verb *korapa ~ kopa* (which is derived from a locative noun meaning 'middle'). As described in §5.2.1.1, the progressive aspect marker *korapa (kopa)* can be used to mark realis events in process, whether present (52), or past (53). In the past, *korapa* is used for an event that is taking place at a particular point in time, often relative to another matrix event.

(52) ***Za*** ***kopa*** *turu* *adono.*
3SG.R **PROG** stand wait
'She's standing waiting.' (o1016)

(53) *Gami* *dogoro=ria* *ari* *Tabura* *i* *Keri* ***qari*** ***korapa***
1PL.EX look=3PL.OBJ PROX.PL Tabura PERS Keri **3PL.R** **PROG**

iu *dia* *pa* *ivere.*
wash 3PL.POS IN.PRP sea
'We saw Tabura and Keri swimming in the sea.' (a013BN_006)

In fact, the progressive is almost exclusively marked as realis. (54) is a single hypothetical example (where it is not known whether the predicated event is still in process or whether another situation, that he has died, is true instead).

(54) *Ko* *qa=ke* *va-gila-gila=i* *pa* *rane* *pa* *ngenari*
and 1SG.R=NEG CAUS-REDUP-know=3SG.OBJ IN.PRP day IN.PRP today

bi ***korapa*** *toa* *ba* *bi* *uke*
3SG.HYP **PROG** live or 3SG.HYP die
'And I don't know today if he is still alive or if he has died' (a017SM_084-85)

The function of the progressive is to establish *'that a process exists – is going on – at the contextual occasion'* (Timberlake 2007:287). The existence of this process is marked as realis. Even 'go' motion events, therefore, use the realis subject markers if the event is marked as progressive (55). Perhaps because progressive events can be assumed to be realis, the subject markers tend to be omitted in the presence of the progressive (56); in elicitation, however, speakers will readily add a realis subject marker to sentences such as (56).

(55) ***Gami*** ***korapa*** ***zae*** *pa* *Seloro.*
1PL.EX.R **PROG** **go.up** IN.PRP Seloro
'We are going up to Seloro.' (o0201)

(56) ***Kopa*** ***zae*** *lao* *gita.*
PROG **go.up** go 1PL.IN
'(We) are always going up (to Gizo).' (o0730)

(57) ***Qari*** ***kopa*** ***lame-lame*** *ke.*
3PL.R **PROG** **REDUP-come** EXCL
'(The people) are still coming (one by one).' (o0630)

From the above examples, we do not expect it to be possible for progressive clauses to be marked as prospective irrealis, and on the whole this is true. (58) and (59), however, are two exceptions. In both examples, the quotative construction is used to express an intention or purpose that is as yet unrealised. In both cases, the speaker is moving along a path of motion at the time of utterance, as in (9) and (10). (58) was suggested when I asked my consultant about whether the prospective irrealis would be possible with (55) above; (59) is reported speech from a narrative about a

journey. Neither example would be grammatical without the quotative *gua* (see §2.6.3.4 for more on quotatives).

(58) ***Mami*** ***korapa*** ***zae*** *pa* *Seloro,* ***gami*** ***gua.***
1PL.EX.IRR **PROG** **go.up** IN.PRP Seloro **1PL.EX.R** **say**
'We're going to go up to Seloro.' (o0201)

(59) *Koi,* ***mami*** ***korapa*** ***gore*** *tu* *pa* *Pienuna* ***gami*** ***gua.***
hey **1PL.EX.IRR** **PROG** **go.down** FOC IN.PRP Pienuna **1PL.EX.R** **say**
'Hey, we're going to go down to Pienuna.' (a044BN_026)

4.6.2 *Lao* 'go' as continuative

As already mentioned in §3.8.3, *lao* 'go' is grammaticalised as a post-verbal modifier indicating the continuity or permanence of a situation. It seems to occur primarily with realis process (activity) predicates, with reference to either past or present events; it may be found either as the final component of the verb complex, hosting any object enclitics (61), or it may follow the verb complex and any core argument NPs (62).[12]

(60) *Kipu-kipu* ***lao*** *nana* *gu* *na* *juke* *zana.*
REDUP-blink **go** 3SG.POS LIM DET light MED.SG
'That light is always blinking.' (o0199)

(61) *Qari* *va-pavu=ria* *ria* *na* *koburu;* *qari* *garunu* ***lao=ria***
3PL.R CAUS-be.tired=3PL.OBJ 3PL DET child 3PL.R send **go=3PL.OBJ**

gu *vai* *rolo.*
LIM buy tobacco
'They're making the children tired; they're always sending them to buy tobacco.' (o0638)

(62) *Za* *lukan-i=a* *na* *pie* ***lao*** *nana* *gu.*
3SG.R cry-TR=3SG.OBJ DET water **go** 3SG.POS LIM
'He cried for water all the time.' (o1032)

In (63) and (64), *lao* is the main verb in a mono-verbal clause (modified in (64) by the progressive *korapa*); again, it expresses continuity rather than motion. It should be noted that *lao* is marked as realis in both examples; this is expected with the progressive, but is particularly interesting in (63) because (63) refers to a present situation, where a prospective irrealis subject marker might be anticipated. I suggest that because (63) describes an unbounded process rather than a liminal process with an endpoint, the realisation status of the event is interpreted differently: essentially, there is no endpoint to be anticipated; the process is the whole event.

[12] The latter could possibly be interpreted as a core serialisation; see §5.3.1.3.

(63) *Na practice* ***za lao*** *gu.*
DET practice **3SG.R go** LIM
'The practice is (still) going on.' (o0885)

(64) ***Za*** *korapa* ***lao*** *na okoro.*
3SG.R PROG **go** DET rain
'It's still raining.' (o0622)

In contrast to its use as a marker of continuity, the verb *lao* also occurs with a prospective irrealis marker in clause chains. Its function here is quite different: in (65) to (67), it has an inceptive meaning; it seems to be used particularly where an ongoing process is approaching its end state (cf. the grammaticalisation of the English verb *go* as a marker of future intention in clauses such as *I'm going to leave*):

(65) *Za podalai kakaza* ***mi lao.***
3SG.R start long **3SG.IRR go**
'(Your string bag) is starting to get long.' (o0212)

(66) *Za quala* ***mi lao*** *na raro.*
3SG.R boil **3SG.IRR go** DET pot
'The pot is starting to boil.' (i.e. it's simmering) (o0378)

(67) *Za nyoro beto* ***mi lao.***
3SG.R want finish **3SG.IRR go**
'(My back pain) is starting to get better.' (lit. 'wants to finish') (o0680)

4.7 Modality with other motion verbs

The discussion in this chapter has focussed primarily on the deictic (PATHD) motion verbs. This is not merely because they are the most frequently occurring motion verbs but also because they exhibit the most interesting behaviour in terms of modality. The PATHD verbs are liminal processes. MANNER verbs, conversely, are atelic processes; they lexicalise the manner in which motion along a path takes place, paying no attention to source and goal; like other processes, therefore, they are marked as realis while in process, and are often progressive (see also examples (41) to (44)).

(68) *Za rerege na vonana=di.*
3SG.R walk DET brain=3PL.POS
'Their brains are walking (i.e. being exercised).' (o1039)

(69) *Kopa rerege na numu.*
PROG walk DET earthquake
'The earthquake is moving/travelling.' (o0744)

The PATH + GROUND (PATHG) verbs, particularly the boundary-crossing verbs, involve motion from one point to another with regard to a specific ground (e.g. entering or exiting from a house), and one therefore predicts that they will be liminal predicates of some sort. The verb *jola* 'pass' behaves very much like *uke* 'die': where a *jola* event is in process, the process can be either realis (70) or irrealis (71), or the attention can be focussed on a future endpoint (72). These examples are very similar to (2) to (4) with *uke*.

(70) ***Za*** ***jola*** *gore* *nana.*
3SG.R **pass** go.down 3SG.POS
'It's going down past.' (o0855; watching raincloud pass from the southern end of the island to the north)

(71) ***Mi*** ***jola*** *jola* *jola* *na* *okoro.*
3SG.IRR **go.past** go.past go.past DET rain
'The rain is passing.' (o0282; said in heavy rain storm as light becomes visible on the horizon)

(72) *Pala* ***mina*** ***jola*** *na* *okoro.*
FUT **3SG.FUT** **pass** DET rain
'The rain will pass.' (o0282; said in heavy rain storm as light becomes visible on the horizon)

Both MANNER and PATHG verbs can occur as the first verb in a clause chain. The fact that this verb is realis, while the following PATHD verb is irrealis, confirms my claim that MANNER and PATHG verbs are process verbs (atelic in the case of MANNER verbs, liminal in the case of PATHG verbs) that exhibit modal behaviour very similar to that of non-motion process verbs. The deictic path (PATHD) verbs, however, are a distinct category in terms of modality. In (73), *keni* is shown to pattern with the deictic path verbs. *Jola* 'pass' (73) and *zagere* 'ascend' (74) are PATHG verbs; *gavere* 'crawl' (75) is a MANNER verb.

(73) [***Za*** *jola*] [***mi*** *keni*] *na* *totozo.*
3SG.R pass 3SG.IRR go.away DET time
'Time is going past.' (o0995)

(74) [*Zagere*] [***mi*** *zale*] *na* *tapo.*
ascend 3SG.IRR come.up DET sun
'The sun is rising.' (o1014)

(75) [***Za*** *gavere*] [***mi*** *zae.*]
3SG.R crawl 3SG.IRR go.up
'It's crawling up.' (o0512)

4.8 Summary

This chapter set out to demonstrate how the semantics of 'come' and 'go' verbs in Kubokota affects their aspectual and modal behaviour. The available evidence suggests that Kubokota deictic motion (PATHD) verbs are distinct from all other verb classes in terms of modality. I have argued that the behaviour of these verbs can be explained in terms of whether they are source or goal-oriented, which affects whether a motion event in process can be marked as realised or unrealised.

- Verbs such as *uke* 'die' can behave either as liminal processes (with a process phase leading to an endpoint) or as liminal states (where the change of state is instantaneous). Either the process of dying, or death itself, can be marked either as realis or prospective irrealis.

- 'Go' motion events expressed by PATHD verbs can only be marked as realis when the goal is reached; at any point along the path or during the process, the event is marked as prospective irrealis.

- 'Come' motion events in process vary between realis and irrealis marking, depending on whether they are source-oriented (in which case realis marking is used) or goal-oriented (in which case they are similar to 'go' events and prospective irrealis marking is used).

- The verb *kamu* 'arrive' always expresses a liminal state and can never be marked as prospective irrealis; it is either future or realis, because no process is involved.

- In complex clauses and clause chains, the first clause is a matrix clause that sets the modal context for the following clauses; thus, a clause that was unrealised at reference time is marked as irrealis, even if it was subsequently realised. This is best understood as relative mood, rather than relative tense (tense is not a relevant category in Kubokota).

- Other motion verbs, such as PATHG and MANNER verbs, do not exhibit the same deictic modal behaviour seen in the PATHD verbs. MANNER verbs are activity verbs and behave like other process verbs, while PATHD verbs are telic and tend to pattern with liminal process/state verbs such as *uke* 'die', variation in mood-marking being dependent on semantic and pragmatic considerations.

CHAPTER FIVE

Serial verb constructions

5.1 Introduction

In Chapter Three I introduced the verbs that lexicalise various components of the Kubokota motion event. However, Kubokota motion events are characteristically expressed not by a single motion verb in isolation, but by a series of verbs expressing various facets of the motion event. These might include manner of motion (e.g. *rerege* 'walk', *abutu* 'run'), path of motion with respect to a physical ground (e.g. *poana* 'travel along beach', *votu* 'exit', *paja* 'go inland'), and deictic path of motion with reference to the location of participants and the relevant geocentric scale (e.g. *zae* 'go up', *lame* 'come,' *gore* 'go down'; see Chapter Seven for details of geocentric scales). (1) is a typical example of a motion event clause:[1] *rerege* 'walk' expresses manner of motion (MANNER), *poana* 'travel along beach' expresses geographical path (PATHG), and *zale* 'come up' expresses path of motion plus deictic information, in this case on the intermediate scale (PATHD). The three verbs in (1) obligatorily occur in this order.[2]

			MANNER	PATHG	PATHD
(1)	*beto*	*qa*	***rerege***	***poana***	***zale,***
	then	1SG.R	**walk**	**travel.along.beach**	**come.up**

'then I walked up (southwards) along the beach' (a029MP_007)

Constructions such as (1) are analysed by Kettle as serial verb constructions (SVCs). SVCs are common in Oceanic languages but are the subject of considerable debate. One of the reasons they are controversial is that, as Sebba points out, *'It is not at all clear that all authors are referring to the same thing when they speak of "serial verbs"'* (1987:1). Some authors choose not to use the term at all, preferring terms such as "complex verb", "contiguous nuclei" or "multi-predicate structure". The first priority in this section, therefore, is to set out the criteria that we will use to identify a serial verb construction. In particular it must be possible to distinguish serial verbs

[1] Throughout this thesis I will refer to motion event clauses rather than predicates, the reason being that a particular type of figure/actor/subject may have implications for the interpretation of the motion event. There is a difference, for instance, between *Donald went to Exeter* and *The M5 goes to Exeter*. In §3.1 the acceptability of the predicate *gore pa kubo* 'go down IN.PRP mountain' was shown to depend on whether or not the subject was able to fly.

[2] See §5.5 for more on the ordering of components in a motion event serialisation.

from other construction types such as verbal compounds, subordinate constructions and coordinate constructions (Crowley 2002:13-14). Having done this, we will consider a broad range of data from Kubokota; we will show that, while some of the structures analysed by Kettle as "serial verb constructions" can better be analysed as auxiliary verb constructions and other subordinating relationships between verb-like elements, there is a substantial amount of Kubokota data that does fall within the domain of serial verb constructions and can be described within a verb serialisation framework.

A serial verb construction *'consists of a sequence of two or more verbs which in various (rather strong) senses, together act like a single verb'* (Durie 1997:290). Most definitions of serial verbs include some or all of the following criteria (based on Aikhenvald 1999, 2006, Bril and Ozanne-Rivierre 2004, Bril 2007, Crowley 2002, Durie 1997, Kettle 2000, Kroeger 2004, Sebba 1987 and others):

- a serial verb construction is a single clause containing two or more morphologically independent lexical verbs;
- a serial verb construction has the same phonological (particularly intonational) properties as a mono-verbal clause;
- verbs in the serialisation share at least one argument;
- tense, mood, aspect and polarity are shared across the clause;
- transitivity applies to the whole clause, the valence of the clause being the combined valence of the individual verbs;
- all verbs are able to occur as lexical verbs in a mono-verbal clause and must retain that lexical meaning in the serialisation, the meaning being predictable from the meaning of the constituent parts (thus distinguishing serial verb constructions from co-lexicalised compounds and auxiliary verb constructions);
- if the clause can be nominalised, the whole serialisation can be nominalised;
- there are usually no markers of coordination or dependence between the verbs;

- serialisation should be productive, i.e. a wide range of verb-verb sequences should be possible;
- verbs in a serialisation are conceived of as expressing aspects of a single event or a chain of closely related sub-events.

It has been observed by several authors that features such as intonation and eventhood are highly unreliable criteria on the basis of which to identify syntactic structures. The notion of eventhood will become important when discussing the semantics of verb serialisations later on, but for the purposes of identifying a serial verb construction, the discussion here will focus primarily on syntactic criteria and word-level lexical meaning.

Example (1), transitive examples such as (2), and the nominalised example in (3), conform to the syntactic criteria set out above: they share arguments; any transitivity features apply to the whole series; and aspect, mood and polarity are the same across the clause (the nominalised clause in (3) is unmarked for aspect and mood). In all three examples, all the verbs are lexical verbs in their own right, and the meaning of the clause is predictable from the meaning of its parts, thus excluding an analysis of compounding (which is also unsatisfactory on phonological grounds, as each root carries the stress of an independent word).

(2) *za* ***lomoto*** ***paqal-i=a*** *na* *poko.*
3SG.R **cut** **split-TR=3SG.OBJ** DET cloth
'he cut split the cloth.' (e008BNa_009)

(3) *Na* *ruma* *ani* *na* ***lotu*** ***gore=na.***
DET house PROX.SG DET **fall** **go.down**=3SG.POS
'This house is a fall down one.' (o0543)

Table 5.1 summarises the principal types of complex verb constructions[3] found in Kubokota, based both on Kettle's (2000) study and on my own data. They are divided into two categories. Headed complex verb constructions are those in which a lexical verb (or verbs) is modified by a verblike modifier such as an auxiliary or adverbial. Co-headed constructions are true serialisations involving two or more lexical verbs, none of which has a higher syntactic status than the others (i.e. they are co-heads).

[3] I will henceforth use the term "complex verb constructions" for all construction types discussed in this chapter; the term "serial verb constructions" will be used only for those construction types that I regard as true verb serialisations.

Complex verb constructions involving motion verbs are excluded from discussion for the moment; their status will be discussed in §5.3.

Table 5.1: Classification of major non-motion complex verb constructions in Kubokota (following Kettle 2000:110)

	function	first element	second element
headed	causative "adverbial"	lexical verb (head)	*va-* plus lexical verb
	aspectual (V1)	auxiliary verbs *beto*, *kole*, *korapa*; adverbs *tori*, *oqoro*, *gojo*	lexical verb (head)
	aspectual (V2)	lexical verb (head)	aspectual verbs *beto, gojo*; iterative verbs *soga, mule, mutu*
	reflexive	lexical verb (head)	reflexive verb *mule*
	prepositional	lexical verb (head)	prepositional verbs *tari, taviti, pale, vani*
co-headed	instrumental	instrumental verb	result (lexical verb)
	purposive	action (lexical verb)	purpose (lexical verb)
	recipient	motion verb	*va* 'give'
	resultative	action (lexical verb)	result (lexical verb)

In what follows, I will argue that headed complex verb constructions are not genuine SVCs; the modifying element can be analysed as an auxiliary verb or adverb. This verbal modifier is contained within the verb complex, in the sense that the transitive enclitics are aligned to the right of it (the enclitics attach to the final element in the verb complex whether that element is a lexical verb or not), and subject markers and negative clitics to the left, but it is not a lexical verb and does not have the status of a verbal head or clause nucleus. (4) is an example of the progressive auxiliary verb *korapa* occurring as the first element in the verb complex, following the subject marker (*korapa* is also a lexical verb meaning 'be/stay', but loses this sense in complex verb constructions). In (5), the causative adverbial *va-leana* 'CAUS-be.good' (i.e. 'well') is the final element in the verb complex; the object enclitic attaches to the adverbial element, rather than to the transitive verb *pate* 'close' which licenses it.

(4) *boko mabuzu qari* ***korapa*** *parogo bilu*
group grandchild 3PL.R **PROG** cook.in.fire lime
'a group of grandrelations were burning lime' (a013BN_012)

(5) *Pate* ***va-lean-i=a.***
close **CAUS-be.good-TR=3SG.OBJ**
'Close it well.' (o0701)

The order of lexical verbs in a co-headed serialisation is determined on semantic rather than syntactic principles; a particular verb within the sequence may belong to a particular semantic category (such as motion or instrument) depending on the event type, but these semantic categories are not necessarily closed classes. Co-headed constructions are true verb serialisations in the sense that they are highly productive; the verbs involved retain their full lexical meaning and can also be the main verb in a mono-verbal clause; and no single verb in the sequence can be identified as the head, or as having a higher syntactic or semantic status than any of the others. This does not mean that the verb phrase does not have a head, but that the head comprises all the verbs in the sequence, or is co-headed.

In §5.2 I describe headed constructions and present evidence that they do not conform to the criteria typically used to identify verb serialisations, proposing that these elements are best analysed as verbal modifiers. In §5.3 I move on to co-headed constructions. I first discuss their syntactic structure, particularly with regard to path verbs and transitivity issues; I also consider the distinction often made in verb serialisation literature between nuclear and core layer serialisations, and explore the contrast between core layer serialisation and clause chaining in Kubokota. In §5.4 I explore the semantics of verb serialisations and the principles that determine their order; and in §5.5 I investigate motion event serialisations in more detail, and consider some of the theoretical challenges that they pose, both for theories of verb serialisation and for the lexicalisation of motion events.

5.2 Headed complex verbs (asymmetrical serialisations)

Aikhenvald (1999) identifies three major types of SVCs: symmetrical, asymmetrical and (following Crowley 1987) ambient. In symmetrical constructions, all verbs come from a large open class, are iconically ordered and reflect the temporal sequence of events; these are my co-headed serialisations, although the issue of iconicity is problematic (see §5.4 for discussion). Asymmetrical constructions:

> *consist of one verb chosen from a large open class, and the other selected from a small, closed set... [They] usually correspond to a single event described by the verb from the large class; while the verb from a closed class provides an additional directional or aspectual specification.* (Aikhenvald 1999:472)

In ambient constructions, also called event-argument serialisations, the head verb is an event that becomes an argument for the modifying verb, which often describes the manner in which the event was performed (Crowley 1987:40). Ambient constructions may be regarded as a subtype of asymmetrical constructions (Dixon 2006:342).

In what follows, I will argue that Aikhenvald's asymmetrical and ambient categories, at least in Kubokota, need not be treated as verb serialisations at all, but consist of a verb (or serialised verbs) plus a modifying element, often a grammaticalised verb, which expresses aspect and other non-predicative features of the event.

5.2.1 Aspectual verbs

A principal function of verbal modifiers in Kubokota is to express the aspect of the main verb. As stated by Foley and Van Valin:

> *One of the ways for aspect to be indicated is by a serial verb construction with a stance verb like "sit", "stand", or "lie" for progressive aspect and "finish", "throw away", or a similar verb for perfective aspect. These are not verbs in a nuclear juncture, but rather aspectual operators realized by a verb stem and a predicate in its scope.* (Foley and Van Valin 1984:210)

In Kubokota, the posture verbs *kole* 'lie' and *korapa* (~*kopa*) 'be/stay' may occur immediately after the subject marker, preceding the first main verb of the clause, to indicate progressive or continuous aspect. The perfective adverb *tori* 'already', the negative adverb *oqoro* 'not yet' and other adverbs (which never occur as independent main verbs) also occur in this position. They are described in §5.2.1.1.

The completive verb *beto* 'finish' and the adverb *gojo* 'always/all the way' can occur in either the first or final verbal slot, their scope over the clause varying according to their position (§5.2.1.2); the iterative verbs *soga*, *mule* and *mutu* (all of which can be glossed as 'again') can only occur in the final position in the SVC (§5.2.1.3).

Aspectual verbs occurring pre-verbally can be regarded as auxiliary verbs; those occurring post-verbally are more like adverbs. I will show below that pre- and post-verbal aspectual verbs differ significantly in scope and function.

5.2.1.1 *Kole* and *korapa*

As a main verb, and as a lexical head in a verb serialisation, *kole* is a posture verb 'lie'. (6) and (7) are verb serialisations in which *kole* retains its lexical meaning. In (6) *kole* is iconically ordered after the act of falling; in (7) the event of lying is concurrent with the event of sleeping.

(6) *Za lotu* ***kole*** *pa pezo i Tuta.*
3SG.R fall **lie** IN.PRP ground PERS Tuta
'Tuta fell (and) lay on the ground.' (a036LP_024)

(7) *I zei za* ***kole*** *puta zana?*
PERS who 3SG.R **lie** sleep MED.SG
'Who's that lying sleeping there?' (o0521)

Kole and *korapa* both act as locative verbs, *kole* for inanimate entities (8) and *korapa* for animates (9).

(8) *Panakai, na neka za* ***kole*** *pa nana peleta.*
potato DET slippery.cabbage 3SG.R **lie** IN.PRP 3SG.POS plate
'Potato (and) slippery cabbage were in his plate.' (a010LP_036)

(9) ***Korapa*** *pa nana ruma tu!*
stay IN.PRP 3SG.POS house FOC
'He's in his house!' (o0153)

Kole is also an existential verb, usually with possessive pronoun subject indexing (10). *Korapa* is also a locative noun meaning 'middle' (11).

(10) *Pa keketai=na pa Pejapeja za* ***kole*** ***nana*** *maka pie.*
IN.PRP side=3SG.POS IN.PRP Pejapeja 3SG.R **exist** **3SG.POS** one river
'Beside Pejapeja there is a river.' (a030IB_013)

(11) *korapa suvere nana i Seleveni pa* ***korapa*** *leo mola.*
PROG stay 3SG.POS PERS Seleveni IN.PRP **middle** inside canoe
'Seleveni was inside the canoe.' (a048TN_027)

In their aspectual function, both *kole* (12) and *korapa* (often reduced to *kopa* in its aspectual function (13)) are used to indicate ongoing events. They occur in the same position in the clause as adverbs such as the perfective marker *tori* 'already' (24), the negative adverb *oqoro* 'not yet' (25) and others.

(12) *Qari* ***kole*** *nyumu dia pa zona.*
3PL.R **CONT** sit 3PL.POS IN.PRP road
'They were sitting by the road.' (a064LP_100)

(13) *Za* ***kopa*** *turu* *adono.*
3SG.R PROG stand wait
'She's standing waiting.' (o1016)

Korapa expresses the progressiveness of an event. Cross-linguistically, the function of the progressive is to establish *'that a process exists – is going on – at the contextual occasion'* (Timberlake 2007:287). The contextual occasion in which *korapa* tends to occur is very often the (realis) present, as in (13) and (14). *Korapa* may also be used, however, to indicate an event that is ongoing at a point in time (usually in the past) when another event occurs, as in (15).

(14) ***Korapa*** *keni* *tiro.*
PROG go.away look.down
'We're going nut collecting.' (o0186; said as we set out for the garden to collect nuts)

(15) *Za* ***korapa*** *keza=i* *aza* *zana* *bateu* *zana* *za,*
3SG.R PROG climb=3SG.OBJ 3SG MED.SG breadfruit MED.SG PRO
za *lagere* *gazavotu* *na* *iliganigani.*
3SG.R come.down go.seaward DET giant
'(While) he was climbing that tree, the giant came down towards the sea.' (a038JW_030-1)

In its aspectual function, *kole* 'lie' expresses continuous or imperfective events. In clauses referring to the present time, it appears very similar to the progressive *korapa*.

(16) *I* *Mary* *ba* *za* ***kole*** *uki.*
PERS Mary but 3SG.R CONT stitch.thatch
'Mary too is stitching sago palm thatch.' (o0674)

(17) *I* *Gavin* *za* ***kole*** *lukana* *gana.*
PERS Gavin 3SG.R CONT cry 3SG.ED.POS
'Gavin is crying for his (fish).' (o0369)

More commonly, however, *kole* refers to non-present (past or future) events (native speakers interpret examples like (16) and (17) as referring to the past when presented with them out of context; speakers also suggest that *kole* is a marker of "past tense", but this is clearly not the case). In (18) and (19) *kole* refers to past events, while in (20) and (21) it refers to the future.

(18) ***Kole*** *lukana* *zana* *ke!*
CONT cry MED.SG EXCL
'That one was crying (in the past)!' (o0449)

(19) *I Zelo za* ***kole*** *leo lao. Za=ke puta.*
PERS Zelo 3SG.R **CONT** play go 3SG.R=NEG sleep
'Zelo played the whole time (while her mother and sister were sleeping). She didn't sleep.' (o0524)

(20) *Mina* ***kole*** *vei nana gu zara.*
3SG.FUT **CONT** be.like 3SG.POS LIM MED.PL
'(The reef exposed by the earthquake) will stay like that.' (o0580)

(21) *Uka mina* ***kole*** *bule.*
tomorrow 3SG.FUT **CONT** be.fine
'Tomorrow (the weather) will be fine.' (o1001)

The crucial difference between continuative *kole* and progressive *korapa* is that while *korapa* indicates an event that is ongoing in a particular context or at a particular moment, *kole* merely indicates the ongoing nature of an event without necessarily relating it to any other event. This contrast is shown in examples (22) and (23), which both come from the same text, an account of the speaker's fishing habits. In (22) the speaker's fishing (*raverave*) is a progressive event that is ongoing at the moment when the event in the following clause takes place (the tuna rise in another location, so he pulls up his line and pursues them). In (23), *raverave* is continuative: he fishes, he catches a few fish, and he continues to fish; there is no interruption of the process of fishing, because catching fish is part of the process.

(22) ***Kopa*** ***rave-rave*** *ara, za umoro na izo, eo*
PROG **REDUP-catch.fish** 1SG 3SG.R feed.on.surface DET tuna therefore

qa kau=a na tali ko qa voze zae pa kolo,
1SG.R pull=3SG.OBJ DET fishing.line so 1SG.R paddle go.up IN.PRP deep.sea

adu=a,
chase=3SG.OBJ
'As I fish, the bonito come up to eat, so I pull up the fishing line and I paddle up to the deep sea, I chase (them),' (a047M_012-14)

(23) *Lagere pa kelekele pa Leva, qa va-va-gore, qa*
come.down IN.PRP point IN.PRP Leva 1SG.R CAUS-CAUS-go.down 1SG.R

kole ***rave-rave,*** *qa rave=ria ka=viza igana,*
CONT **REDUP-catch.fish** 1SG.R catch.fish=3PL.OBJ CARD=few fish
'(I) come down to Leva Point, I drop the line, I fish (continuously), I catch a few fish,' (a047M_016-18)

As noted above, *kole* and *korapa* occur in the same syntactic position in the clause as adverbs such as the perfective marker *tori* 'already' (24), the negative adverb *oqoro* 'not yet' (25) and others.

(24) *Tamaza, qu* ***tori*** *dogor-i=a mua tu.*
God 2SG.R **already** look-TR=3SG.OBJ 2SG.POS FOC
'God, you've already seen it.' (o0562)

(25) *Za* ***oqoro*** *lame kamu i Lipa.*
3SG.R **not.yet** come arrive PERS Lipa
'Lipa hasn't come yet.' (o0289)

In (26), *korapa* occurs in a clause chain with *korapa* marked as realis and the following verb, *nunu* 'earthquake' as prospective irrealis (see §2.6.3.3 and §4.5 for more on clause chains).

(26) ***za korapa mi nunu*** *na kota to-tonai.*
3SG.R PROG 3SG.IRR earthquake DET place REDUP-LOC
'the earth kept on shaking there.' (a064LP_115)

(26) describes an event that is progressive in that frequent aftershocks are shaking the area. The quakes themselves, however, are irrealis because they are not constant; they occur at irregular and unpredictable intervals, and one never knows when they are about to happen. This example is problematic for the analysis of *korapa* as a modifying or auxiliary verb, rather than as a verbal head in its own right. The aspectual forms of *korapa* and *kole* are grammaticalised as auxiliaries, but in (26), *korapa* sits at a midway point along the grammaticalisation cline.

Anderson notes that it is common for a V1 or V2 in a SVC to be grammaticalised as a functional verbal element, which is often (re)analysable as an auxiliary verb construction. He adds:

> *the point at which a mono-clausal, mono-event verb-verb combination becomes an AVC and stops being an SVC cannot really be defined per se... Indeed, in certain language families, there is a tendency for serialised or clause-chaining constructions and auxiliary constructions to show an overt formal similarity to each other.* (Anderson 2006:13)

5.2.1.2 *Beto* and *gojo*

The completive verb *beto* 'finish' and the adverb *gojo* 'always/all the way' can occur either pre-verbally, in the same position as *korapa* and *kole*, or post-verbally, at the right edge of the verb complex. Their scope and meaning changes depending on the position in which they occur: pre-verbally they modify the verb alone; post-verbally they also have scope over its arguments.

As a lexical verb, *beto* means 'finish'; it is also a conjunction 'and/and then' (see §2.6.3.1). As a pre-verbal auxiliary, *beto* refers to the completion of an action (27), (28):

(27) *Qa* ***beto*** *saqu-saqu.*
1SG.R **finish** REDUP-sweep
'I've finished sweeping.' (o0258 – elicited)

(28) *Za* ***beto*** *vai=ria* *na* *kadi.*
3SG.R **finish** buy=3PL.OBJ DET card
'She finished buying the cards.' (a019BN_018)

Far more commonly, *beto* occurs post-verbally, with scope over the argument(s) rather than the action (29), (30); it can often be translated as 'both' or 'all'. It may be followed by the prepositional verb *pale* (31) (see §5.2.4.2).

(29) *kolu* *qari* ***aru*** ***beto*** *vei=ni* *pa* *kale* *matua=na.*
walking.stick 3PL.R **hold** **finish** towards=APPL.SG IN.PRP side right=3SG.POS
'they both hold (their) sticks on the right side.' (e010SM4_034 – Men and Tree)

(30) *Qe* ***au*** ***beto*** *doru* *tinoni* *ura* *ara* *qa* *juju=a* *na*
3PL.R **laugh** **finish** all people because 1SG 1SG.R push=3SG.OBJ DET
wheelbarrow.
wheelbarrow
'All the people laughed (at me) because I pushed the wheelbarrow.' (a012LP_102)

(31) *Qe* ***vai*** ***beto*** ***pale=di*** *na* *nea* *ti* *Nelly.*
3PL.R **buy** **finish** **SOURCE=APPL.PL** DET betelnut AN.PRP.PERS Nelly
'They've bought all Nelly's betelnut.' (o0639)

Across clause boundaries, *beto* often marks the completion of one action before the next action begins. The main verb is repeated from the previous clause, but the repeated verb is a bare root, with no subject or object marking. In this context too, pre-verbal *beto* has scope over the verb: for instance, *beto paduku pepa* 'finish picking peppers' in (32) does not mean that all the peppers were picked but that the event of picking peppers was complete. Conversely, in (33), post-verbal *beto* has scope over the arguments (which are not necessarily expressed in the repeated clause): the speaker is describing the process of splitting pandanus leaves for mat-weaving, and all the leaves are split before the weaving can begin.

(32) *Betoko qa lao paduku=ria mule na pepa.* ***Beto***
then 1SG.R go pick.from.vine=3PL.OBJ again DET pepper **finish**

paduku *pepa, qa gu=ni Mary, 'Leana.'*
pick.from.vine pepper 1SG.R say=APPL.SG Mary good
'Then I went and picked peppers. When I had finished picking peppers, I said to Mary, "Okay."' (a006BN_016-18)

(33) *Za keka beto gami topil-i=a beto gami jira=i.*
3SG.R white then 1PL.EX.R roll-TR=3SG.OBJ then 1PL.EX.R split=3SG.OBJ

Jira beto, *beto gami viri=a na lovu.*
split finish then 1PL.EX weave=3SG.OBJ DET **mat**
'(When the pandanus leaf) is white then we roll it and we split it (into strips for weaving). When it's all split, then we weave the mat.' (a024EL_014-15)

Beto can also be separated from the rest of the verb complex by the arguments of the main verb, as in (34), or can act as a NP modifier itself, hosting any agreement enclitic, as in (35). Its scope in (34) and (35) is the same as in (29): it refers to the subject of the main verb.

(34) *Na kolu qari okoto aru=ria ari-kori pa lima matua=di*
DET stick 3PL.R each hold=3PL.OBJ PROX.PL-two IN.PRP hand right=3PL.POS

beto.
finish
'The sticks, they each hold them on their right sides.' (e020EI4_065)

(35) *qe aru=a na kolu pa kale matua* ***beto=di.***
3PL.R hold=3SG.OBJ DET stick IN.PRP side right **finish=3PL.POS**
'they both hold the stick on their right.' (e020EI4_059)

Gojo, which can be glossed either as 'always' or 'all the way', never occurs as an independent main verb, but like *beto* can occur as either a pre- or post-verbal modifier. It often occurs pre-verbally in motion events, and as such usually means 'go all the way' (36). Post-verbally, it is better glossed as 'always' (37); like *beto*, it carries the transitive enclitics if the clause is transitive (38).

(36) *Mina* ***gojo*** *gore?*
3SG.FUT **all.the.way** go.down
'Will he go all the way down?' (o0656)

(37) *Taqe raro* ***gojo*** *panakai, ko ta naqoto mae.*
1PL.IN.R boil **always** potato so 1PL.IN.IRR bake.in.stone.oven PUNC
'We always boil potatoes so we'll bake (them) this time.' (o0262)

(38) *Za garata* ***gojo=ziu*** *na roqo.*
3SG.R bite **always=1SG.OBJ** DET mosquito
'Mosquitos are always biting me.' (o0814)

5.2.1.3 Iterative verbs

Soga and *mule* are iterative verbs. They occur post-verbally or outside the verb complex. As independent main verbs, and as lexical verbs in SVCs, *soga* means 'change' (39) and *mule* is a path verb meaning 'return' (40). *Mutu* is an iterative adverb which does not have an independent verbal function.

(39) *Lao iu ko mu* ***soga*** *poko, be?*
go wash so 2.IRR **change** cloth okay
'Go wash and change clothes, okay?' (o0134)

(40) *ko gami* ***mule*** *gami-kori.*
so 1PL.EX.R **return** 1PL.EX-two
'and we two came back.' (a006BN_030)

As a post-verbal modifier, *soga* means 'again' (41). Like *beto* and *gojo*, *soga* occurs at the right edge of the verb complex and takes transitive enclitics where it follows a transitive verb.

(41) *Za ole mule* ***soga.*** *Za ole kamu* ***soga.***
3SG.R float return **again** 3SG.R float arrive **again**
'It floated back again. It floated (and) arrived again.' (o0566)

(42) *beto gami kau va-toa* ***soga=i*** *na sikolo,*
then 1PL.EX.R pull CAUS-live **again=3SG.OBJ** DET engine
'and we pulled (and) started the engine again,' (a012LP_014)

The verb *mule* 'return' in a complex verb construction can express either the directionality of an event (41), (43) or its iterativity (44), (46). In both functions it may occur either inside or outside the verb complex (as is typical for path verbs; see §5.3.1). In (43) and (44) the transitive morphology is attached to *mule*; in (45), *mule* occurs outside the verb complex. There is no meaning distinction between the different structures in (44) and (45).

(43) *Mae zana, pogozo* ***mule=ni.***
come MED.SG carry **return=APPL.SG**
'Give me that, bring it back.' (o0322)

(44) *Ba mina tuvaka* ***mule=ni*** *tu na ragomo ani,*
but 3SG.FUT cure **again=3SG.APPL** FOC DET spirit PROX.SG

pa korapa=na na neqi ta=na ragomo.
IN.PRP middle=3SG.POS DET strength AN.PRP=DET spirit
'But the spirit will cure it again, by the power of the spirit.' (a021MD_012)

(45) *ko gami pogozo=ria* ***mule*** *na koburu.*
so 1PL.EX.R carry=3PL.OBJ **again** DET child
'and we carried the children again.' (a062BN_061)

In its iterative function, it should be noted that the scope of *mule* is over the action rather than the arguments (cf. *beto* in §5.2.1.2). Thus in (46), Mary has bought several things earlier in the story, but this is the first time that she has bought fish; it is the buying that is repeated, not the buying of fish. Similarly, in (47) it is not that Lamu's father has died again, but that Lamu's father is another person who has died. See also example (32) above, where *mule* refers to more picking, not more peppers, and (52) below, where *mule* in a non-verbal clause indicates that the subject is a different river than the one previously referred to.

(46) *Ko vai igana* ***mule*** *i Mary.*
so buy fish **again** PERS Mary
'And Mary bought fish again.' (a019BN_071)

(47) *Za uke* ***mule*** *na tama=na i Lamu.*
3SG.R die **again** DET father=3SG.POS PERS Lamu
'Lamu's father has died (again).' (o0652)

As the final verb in a SVC, *mule* may also be used to encode reciprocal action, as in (48); in this case, *mule* seems to have scope over the participants rather than over the event expressed by the lexical verb.

(48) *ko qe lao ko qe v-uke* ***mule=di*** *gu maka=di.*
so 3PL.R go so 3PL.R CAUS-die **again=3PL.APPL** LIM one=3PL.POS
'and they go and they kill themselves.' (a023SM_008)

Unlike *mule* and *soga*, the adverb *mutu* does not occur as an independent main verb. There are no cases in the database where transitive morphology attaches to *mutu*; in (50), it clearly falls outside the verb complex. Its scope in both (49) and (50) is over the event.

(49) *Gore* ***mutu*** *na okoro.*
go.down **again** DET rain
'The rain is going down again.' (o0261)

(50) *betoko* *gami* *va-gore=a* *gami* *raro* *soga=i* ***mutu.***
then 1PL.EX.R CAUS-go.down=3SG.OBJ 1PL.EX.R boil again=3SG.OBJ **again**
'then we take it out and we cook it again.' (a024EL_020)

Both *mule* and *mutu* modify NPs as well as verbs (*soga* does not).

(51) *Maka* ***mutu*** *ti* *Cinderella* *mi* *lao* *vani.*
one **again** AN.PRP.PERS Cinderella 3SG.IRR go give.APPL.SG
'She's going to give another one to Cinderella.' (o0384)

(52) *Maka* *pie* ***mule.***
one river **again**
'(There is) another river (there).' (a029MP_023)

The data in this section aims to show that aspectual verbs and adverbs, although they occur within the verb complex and may carry transitive morphology, have a number of features that differentiate them from full verbs and that preclude their analysis as co-headed serial verbs. In particular, verbs such as *korapa, kole*, *beto*, *soga* and *mule* lose their lexical meaning in these constructions and are grammaticalised in various ways (and to varying degrees). As pre-verbal modifiers, *korapa*, *kole* and *beto* are auxiliary verbs. Their semantic and syntactic relationship to the verbs they modify, and to the participants in the clause, are quite different from their behaviour as lexical main verbs; they lose their lexical meaning and occur in the same syntactic position as adverbs such as the perfective adverb *tori* 'already' and the negative adverb *oqoro* 'not yet'. The verb *beto* and the adverb *gojo* can occur both before and after the verb, and vary in syntactic scope accordingly. Post-verbally, *beto*, *gojo*, the iterative verbs *soga* and *mule,* and the adverb *mutu*, have an adverbial function, and again have a different relationship to the main verb and its participants than would be expected from a true lexical verb.

A particular feature of this relationship is the behaviour of these verbs with regard to the transitive enclitics. The causative adverbials are a further category of verbal modifiers that share this behaviour; they are introduced in §5.2.2 and the interaction of post-verbal modifiers with the transitive enclitics is discussed in §5.2.3.

5.2.2 Causative adverbials

A further complex verb construction that can be analysed as verb plus verbal modifier involves an intransitive stative verb as the modifying element, marked as causative and constituting a comment on the preceding lexical verb(s). (53) and (54) are

examples. Note that in (54), the transitive marking associated with the main verb *aru* 'hold' is attached to the modifying verb *neqi* 'be strong'.

(53) *Nyumu* ***va-nogoto.***
sit **CAUS-be.quiet**
'Sit down quietly.' (o0158)

(54) *Aru* ***va-neqi=a.***
hold **CAUS-strong=3SG.OBJ**
'Hold it strongly.' (o0665)

François (2006) and others (e.g. Aikhenvald 2006) use the term "event-argument serialisation" for constructions of this type, because *'The underlying subject of V2 is not an individual participant, but the whole event... corresponding to V1 – more precisely, V1 and its arguments'* (François 2006:235). This is similar to the notion of "ambient serialisation" introduced by Crowley (1987:49), defined as: *'a construction in which a verb is serialised to another verb, but in which there is no specific referent associated with the subject of the serialised verb.'*

Davis (2003:134) refers to similar constructions in Hoava as both adverbs and adverbials. The term "adverbial" is a functional rather than a syntactic category, referring to any element that modifies the verb, and is thus a useful, theory-neutral term to adopt (the "adverb" categorisation is more problematic, as it refers to a particular grammatical category that tends not to be very clearly defined). I will henceforth refer to these constructions as "causative adverbials". Causative adverbials are formed from lexical nouns and verbs with a causative verbal prefix. *Jola* 'pass' in (55) and *leana* 'good' in (56) can both be lexical verbs in Kubokota. The root *rane* 'day' (57) and other temporal terms can be either nouns or verbs in Kubokota, as described in §2.2; *va-rane* means 'to do something during daylight'.

(55) *Za* *qera* ***va-jola.***
3SG.R be.happy **CAUS-pass**
'He's very happy.' (o0292)

(56) *Suvere* ***va-leana*** *pa* *Obobulu?*
live **CAUS-good** IN.PRP Obobulu
'Do you live well in Obobulu?' (o0287)

(57) *Lao* *iu* ***va-rane.***
go wash **CAUS-day**
'Go and wash by daylight (i.e. before it gets dark).' (o0417)

5.2.3 Post-verbal modifiers and transitivity

The interaction of aspectual verbs and causative adverbials with the transitive enclitics gives an important clue to their status. In a true serial verb construction, the transitivity of the clause is the sum (or combination) of the arguments of all the constituents (Foley and Van Valin 1984:200). As will be discussed in §5.3.1, a final intransitive verb can influence the realisation of transitivity features on the whole construction. Post-verbal aspectual verbs and causative adverbials, however, do not have this effect. As with all complex verb constructions, if the clause is transitive, the object enclitic attaches to the last element in the verb complex. If this element is a modifying verb (i.e. an aspectual verb or causative adverbial), the enclitic will be the same as that normally required by the lexical main verb; the verbal modifier is ignored as far as argument structure is concerned.

(58) is an example of a serialisation involving a transitive verb, *pogozo* 'carry' which would normally take direct object marking, and a following intransitive verb, *suvu* 'dive'. The transitivity of the clause is marked on the verb *suvu*, not with a direct object enclitic, but with the applicative enclitic *=ni*. The motivation for applicative marking on transitive-intransitive serialisations is discussed in more detail in §5.3.1.1; here, the important point is that both verbs contribute to the transitivity of the clause.

(58) *Lao* *tu* *na* *viruviru* *qokolo* *ko* *za* ***pogozo*** ***suvu=ni*** *na*
go FOC DET billfish boy so 3SG.R **carry** **dive=APPL.SG** DET

tama=na,
father=3SG.POS
'The billfish went, boy, and he carried the father (and) dived,' (a057RK_069)

(59) is a complex verb construction involving two instances of the verb *beto* 'finish' as a modifying element. The first *beto* has an applicative enclitic because the lexical verb that it modifies, *va-tapo* 'CAUS-sun', requires an applicative object. The second *beto* has a direct object enclitic because the verb that it modifies, *vijongo* 'roll', requires a direct object. Unlike *suvu* in (58) above, *beto* is transparent as far as transitivity marking is concerned.

(59) *Gami* ***va-tapo*** ***beto=ni*** *betoko* *za* *malai* *zana* *gami*
1PL.EX.R **CAUS-sun** **finish=APPL.SG** and 3SG.R limp MED.SG 1PL.EX.R
vijong-i=a. ***Vijongo*** ***beto=a,*** *gore* *tapo=ni* *pa* *nagaza,*
roll-TR=3SG.OBJ **roll** **finish=3SG.OBJ** go.down sun=APPL.SG IN.PRP sand
'We dry it in the sun and when it's soft/limp we roll it. When it's rolled we go down and sun it on the sand,' (a024EL_011-12)

The same pattern occurs with the iterative verb *soga*. In (60), *va-gore* would normally have direct object marking (*va-gore=a*), and this is what appears on *soga* (the object marker is *=i* because this is required by the phonological shape of *soga*; see §2.5.3). In (61), the serialisation *teku votu* 'take out' would normally take applicative object marking (being a transitive-intransitive serialisation with an argument structure similar to (58) above), and *soga* is therefore marked for an applicative object. Note that in its function as a lexical main verb, *soga* is a transitive verb 'change' which takes a direct object; if it retained this lexical status in (61), a direct object marker would occur instead of the applicative.

(60) *Za* *teku* ***va-gore*** ***soga=i.***
3SG.R take **CAUS-go.down** **again=3SG.OBJ**
'He took it down again.' (e003LP_001 – Caused Positions)

(61) *Za* ***teku*** ***votu*** ***soga=ni.***
3SG.R **take** **exit** **again=APPL.SG**
'He took it out again.' (e003LP_37 – Caused Positions)

The same pattern is found with causative adverbials. The main verb *pate* 'close' in (62) usually takes a direct object, and this is what is marked on the adverbial *va-leana* 'well'. *Kopu* 'look after' in (63) usually has an applicative object, and *va-leana* is marked with an applicative enclitic. In (56) above, *va-leana* modified the intransitive verb *suvere* 'stay', and had no object marking.

(62) *Pate* ***va-lean-i=a.***
close **CAUS-be.good-TR=3SG.OBJ**
'Close it properly.' (o0701)

(63) *Kopu* ***va-leana=ni.***
look.after **CAUS-be.good=APPL.SG**
'Look after it well.' (o1034)

It becomes clear that, on the one hand, causative adverbials and aspectual verbs are an integral part of the verb phrase, aligned to the right edge of the verb complex and acting as hosts for the verbal enclitics. Constructions containing these elements cannot, however, be regarded as true verb serialisations because, unlike other

intransitive final verbs, causative adverbials and aspectual verbs do not contribute to the valence of the clause, and are transparent for purposes of object marking. It makes sense, therefore, to treat them as verbal modifiers – an integral part of the clause nucleus, but lacking the syntactic status of a lexical verb.

5.2.4 Prepositional verbs

As discussed in §2.6.1 and §3.1, Kubokota has only two prepositions, *pa* and *ta*, which do not distinguish features such as source, goal or location, but are instead differentiated on grounds of animacy, *pa* occurring with inanimate objects and *ta* (with a few exceptions) with animates.

As noted by Foley and Olson, *'The use of serial verbs to mark core arguments is functionally parallel to case marking in other languages'* (1985:56). Elsewhere, Foley and Van Valin claim that *'The most widespread function of complex-verb constructions in both nuclear and core junctures is as a valence increaser'* (Foley and Van Valin 1984:197). Instead of encoding thematic roles in prepositions, Kubokota relies on packaging such information in the verb complex. It may rely on the semantics of a single verb to do this (see §3.1 for discussion of how this works with motion verbs), but Kubokota has a closed set of defective verbs whose function is usually to add an argument with a specific thematic role (in contrast with the applicative enclitic, which can add a range of roles depending on the semantics of the verb). Kettle (2000:119ff) follows Durie (1988) in calling these "prepositional verbs". Durie proposes that prepositional verbs (also called "verbal prepositions")[4] are on a cline between prepositions and verbs, and are *'manifestations of a widespread diachronic drift at work there* [in Oceanic languages], *whereby verbs in serial verb constructions can develop into prepositions'* (Durie 1988:2). Typically, prepositional verbs occur as the final "verb" in modifying constructions, taking the transitive enclitics and performing a range of the functions that other languages would express by means of case-marking or prepositions; essentially, they are valence-increasing morphemes. The Kubokota prepositional verbs can be roughly glossed as *taviti* 'COMIT(ative)' (§5.2.4.1), *tari* 'GOAL' and *pale* 'SOURCE' (§5.2.4.2), and *va* 'BEN(efactive)' (§5.2.4.3).

[4] Because of its frequency in the Oceanic literature, I will continue to use the term "prepositional verb", although I acknowledge that these morphemes are neither truly verbal nor truly prepositional. They are best regarded as defective verbs that are used to increase the valence of the clause by adding an argument with a particular thematic role.

5.2.4.1 Comitative: *taviti*

The prepositional verb *taviti* expresses comitative relationships. This may be a relationship between either human (64) or non-human (65) arguments.

(64) *betoko qa kole nyumu* ***taviti=a*** *pa ruma kau,*
and 1SG.R stay sit **COMIT=3SG.OBJ** IN.PRP house ash
'then I sat with him in the kitchen,' (a010LP_039)

(65) *Kubo pie muna buku* ***taviti=a.***
plenty water 2.FUT drink **COMIT=3SG.OBJ**
'Drink lots of water with it.' (o0873)

The arguments linked by *taviti* are of equal status in animacy, and the event affects them in the same way. Alexandre Arkhipov (p.c.) defines a genuine comitative construction as one in which the participants occupy different syntactic slots but share the same thematic role. Thus in (64) both participants are human, and are co-agents of the action of sitting, while in (65), the water and the medicine are co-themes and are both to be consumed (the water is the syntactic object of *buku* 'drink' while the medicine is referenced anaphorically by the direct object enclitic on *taviti*). Participants of different status, or with different roles, cannot co-occur in a comitative construction. In (66), the human subject goes to the forest with Lamu; it is not possible, however, for Lamu to go to the forest with his bushknife, which is an undergoer theme moved by an agent. Kubokota expresses this more naturally as two clauses, or as two distinct sub-events in a clause chain (67) (the issue of whether the events in (67) are sequential or concurrent will not be debated here; see §5.4).

(66) *Za somana tuti keni so-soe* ***taviti=a*** *i Lamu.*
3SG.R join follow go.away REDUP-saw **COMIT=3SG.OBJ** PERS Lamu
'He joined and followed to go and saw (timber) with Lamu.' (o0696 – answer to question 'Where is Donald?')

(67) **[***I* ***Lamu za pogoz-i=a nana likoto***] [*za keni*
PERS Lamu 3SG.R carry-TR=3SG.OBJ 3SG.POS bushknife 3SG.R go.away
pa tokutoku.]
IN.PRP forest
'Lamu went to the forest with his bushknife.' (lit. 'Lamu carried his bushknife (and) went to the forest.') (en002_063)

The clause chain in (67) can be contrasted with examples such as (68), where the theme is an applicative object of a serialisation (see §5.3.1.3 for discussion of clause chaining). The difference seems to be one of topicality: (68) is about the arrival of the

flippers, not about the person who brought them, whereas (67) is about Lamu rather than the bushknife.

(68) *Za* ***pogozo*** ***kamu=ni*** *na* *buti* *suvu* *aza.*
3SG.R **carry** **arrive=APPL.SG** DET boot dive 3SG
'He brought flippers (to Ranongga for the first time).' (a017SM_015)

Taviti can also be used to express a relationship between simultaneous events, as in (69).

(69) *Za* *okoro* ***taviti*** *gava.*
3SG.R rain **COMIT** wind
'It's raining and windy.' (o0284)

Taviti never occurs as a main verb; it is the only prepositional verb, however, that can be separated from the main verb by its arguments. (70) and (71) are possible core serialisations (see §5.3.1.3).

(70) ***Gore*** ***vavakato*** *i* *Mary* ***taviti=a*** *i* *Dereki.*
go.down **tell.story** PERS Mary **COMIT=3SG.OBJ** PERS Derek
'Mary went down to tell stories with Derek.'

(71) *qa* ***zae*** ***titi*** *pa* *kolo* ***taviti=ria*** *kaki* *mola* *mule*
1SG.R **go.up** **hang** IN.PRP deep.sea **COMIT=3PL.OBJ** some canoe again
'I went up and anchored on the deep sea with some other canoes' (a064LP_100)

Taviti is also the only prepositional verb to take the reciprocal verbal prefix *vari-* (72). More usually, however, *vari* occurs on the main verb (73). Given the lack of further examples, it is probable that *tekuteku varitaviti* is a lexicalisation used to refer to this particular custom, rather than reciprocals occurring on prepositional verbs as a productive process.

(72) *Roiti* *na* *teku-teku=na* *ko* *marina* ***teku-teku*** ***vari-taviti*** *ari-kori.*
make DET REDUP-take=NMLZ so 3PL.FUT **REDUP-take** **RECIP-COMIT** PROX.PL-two
'They're making food for the two of them to eat together (as part of a custom marriage ceremony).' (o0688)

(73) *Qe* ***vari-puta*** ***taviti.***
3PL.R **RECIP-sleep** **COMIT**
'They sleep together.' (o0688)

Taviti is also nominalised, with the direct possession enclitics, to mean 'relative/kin member'.

(74) *Gamu vei=ni=ziu na **taviti=qu.***
2PL.R be.like=APPL.SG=1SG.OBJ DET **relative=1SG.POS**
'You are like my relatives to me.' (o1004)

Alternative means for expressing comitative relationships in Kubokota include the use of inclusory pronominals to introduce a non-topical co-agent (75), and the use of the verbs *tuti* 'follow' (76) and *toka* 'take' (77) for comitatives in motion events. *Tuti* and *toka* are discussed in §3.7; see §2.4.1.1 for inclusory pronominals.

(75) *Ae, korapa nyumu mami pa zona **gami-kori maka reko.***
so PROG sit 1PL.EX.POS IN.PRP road **1PL.EX-two one woman**
'So, I was sitting beside the road with a woman.' (a045BN_003)

(76) *Mune=ke **tuti=ziu** lao lotu ao?*
2.FUT=NEG **follow=1SG.OBJ** go church 2SG
'Won't you come with me and go to church?' (o0560)

(77) *Ao na tu=mu ae vei, muna **toka=ria** ba muna*
2SG DET child=2SG.POS Q how 2.FUT **accompany=3PL.OBJ** or 2.FUT
va-suvere=ria?
CAUS-stay=3PL.OBJ
'How about your children, will you take them or make them stay here?' (a018LP_009)

5.2.4.2 Source and goal prepositional verbs: *tari, pale*

The prepositional verbs *tari* and *pale* have such a broad range of uses that it is hard to find English glosses that come anywhere close to expressing their meaning. Crucially, however, *tari* seems to express relationships of proximity, contact or 'towards', whereas *pale* expresses distance, contrast and 'away from'. For simplicity's sake I have glossed them as 'GOAL' and 'SOURCE' respectively.

Tari expresses a goal where no verb of motion is present to license one:

(78) *Za lotu **tari=a** na ruma ko za uke.*
3SG.R fall **GOAL=3SG.OBJ** DET house so 3SG.R die
'A house fell on him and he died.' (o0538)

(79) *Za titolo **tari=ziu** maka patu.*
3SG.R roll **GOAL=1SG.OBJ** one stone
'A stone rolled against me.' (o0700)

Tari occasionally contrasts with the preposition *pa* in dynamic versus stative situations. In (80), the subject is merely sitting on a chair (stative), and her location is

expressed with *pa*; in (81), the speaker's dynamic act of sitting on a board causes her to notice and comment on it.

(80) *Za* *nyumu* ***pa*** *sea.*
3SG.R sit IN.PRP chair
'She is sitting on the chair.' (e013RVa_020 – Cut and Break)

(81) *Qa* *nyumu* ***tari=a.***
1SG.R sit GOAL=3SG.OBJ
'I sat on it.' (o0506)

As well as concepts such as 'into' or 'onto', *tari* often denotes spatial proximity or contact, and is particularly associated with actions of covering, shutting or tying together. Note that in (82) it is intransitive.

(82) A: *Ae* *panakai?*
Q potato
'Where are the potatoes?'

B: *Za* *tuki* ***tari*** *pa* *peleta.*
3SG.R cover GOAL IN.PRP plate
'They're covered in the plate.' (o0596)

(83) *Za* *piko* ***va-tari=ni*** *va-pate.*
3SG.R tie CAUS-GOAL=APPL.SG CAUS-shut
'He tied (his hands) together.' (o0387)

More metaphorically, *tari* can be used with verbs of perception such as *dogoro* 'look' and *bata* 'see', to express perceptual contact:

(84) *Za* *dogoro* ***tari=go.***
3SG.R look GOAL=2SG.OBJ
'She's looking at you.' (o0664)

(85) *Qari* *vari-bata* ***tari.***
3PL.R RECIP-see GOAL
'They're facing each other.' (Men and Tree – e010SM4_029)

Tari is also a defective lexical verb, which in my data occurs only in imperatives, meaning 'leave it' or 'let it be'.

(86) ***Tari*** *tu* *ko* *mi* *tumu!*
leave.it FOC so 3SG.IRR be.cooked
'Leave it so that it cooks (on finding grains of rice in a mug of tea)!' (o0365)

The prepositional verb *pale* usually indicates movement away from an entity (or from an unspecified deictic centre). It often occurs with verbs that express removal,

separation or discarding, such as 'take', 'throw' or 'leave'. Examples (87) to (89) involve (usually caused) movement of objects away from subjects.

(87) *Za juju va-ole* ***pale=ni*** *na mola ti Pua.*
3SG.R push CAUS-drift **SOURCE=APPL.SG** DET canoe AN.PRP.PERS Pua
'He pushed Pua's canoe adrift.' (lit. 'He pushed (and) caused it to drift away.') (o0325)

(88) *Mine=ke gore. Za gava* ***pale.***
3SG.FUT=NEG go.down 3SG.R wind **SOURCE**
'(The rain) won't fall. (The wind) is blowing (it) away.' (o0922)

(89) *Didi* ***pale=ni*** *na lokaloka=na.*
remove.leaf.spine **SOURCE=APPL.SG** DET spine=3SG.POS
'Take away the spine (of the leaf),' (a024EL_004)

(90) and (91), however, involve the reverse – the object is left where it is, and it is the subject who moves away.

(90) *za loi va-kole* ***pale=di*** *pa leo=na na mola*
3SG.R leave CAUS-lie **SOURCE=APPL.SG** IN.PRP inside=3SG.POS DET canoe
'he left them in the canoe' (a012LP_041)

(91) *Kole* ***pale=ni*** *ko mi suvere nana.*
lie **SOURCE=APPL.SG** so 3SG.IRR stay 3SG.POS
'Leave her (behind) so she stays.' (o0393)

The use of the gloss 'SOURCE' is not intended to imply that movement is necessarily involved in the case of *pale*. In (92) and (93), *pale* seems to denote loss (physical in (92), mental in (93)).

(92) *Za nunu pi-piara* ***pale.***
3SG.R earthquake REDUP-smash **SOURCE**
'The earthquake destroyed (them).' (o0905)

(93) *Ara ba qa roqumuma* ***pale=ni*** *mutu.*
1SG but 1SG.R forget **SOURCE=APPL.SG** again
'I forgot again too.' (o0906)

Pale often co-occurs with the completive verb *beto*. In (94) it emphasises the completion of a task (i.e. getting it out of the way); in (95) it refers to the death of all the people on whom the tree fell (see §5.2.1.2 for discussion of *beto*).

(94) *Gona pale nada toa! Ta siqarai* ***va-beto*** ***pale.***
throw SOURCE 1PL.IN.POS life 1PL.IN.IRR hurry **CAUS-finish** **SOURCE**
'We'll throw away our lives! Let's hurry up and finish it.' (o0886)

(95) *ko lotu v-uke* ***beto*** ***pale=di*** *ria na tinoni ari*
so fall CAUS-die **finish** **SOURCE=APPL.PL** 3PL DET people PROX.PL
'and (the tree) fell and killed all those people' (a023SM_046)

Pale also has a comparative function. In (96), a white man wearing flippers beats the village children in a swimming race, leaving them behind. (97) is a comment on a choir performance in church, *pale* indicating that the audience thought it surpassed anything else (or at least that they very much enjoyed it).

(96) *za ponyu va-ligu-ligu* ***pale=di=gami*** *ura za*
3SG.R swim CAUS-REDUP-behind **SOURCE=APPL.PL=1PL.EX.OBJ** because 3SG.R
va-zae=a na nene daki ani ke,
CAUS-go.up=3SG.OBJ DET leg duck PROX.SG EXCL
'he swam and left us behind, because he wore the duck legs (flippers),'
(a017SM_018)

(97) *Za leasa* ***pale=di.***
3SG.R good **SOURCE=APPL.PL**
'They really like it (It's good to them).' (o0713)

5.2.4.3 Benefactive: *vani*

The Kubokota verb *vani* 'give' is grammaticalised as a post-verbal modifier to introduce a benefactive role. *Vani* is a reflex of POc **pani*, which is reconstructable both as a main and prepositional verb. In Kubokota **pani* has been reanalysed as containing an applicative enclitic (*vani* 'give.APPL.SG', *vadi* 'give.APPL.PL'), although unlike other verbs it never occurs without applicative marking (e.g. in noun incorporation – see §2.5.3.3), except occasionally in the presence of an object-marking enclitic (100). (98) is an example of *vani* as a main verb. In (99) and (100), it has a benefactive function.

(98) *Vei muna leana, mana* ***vani=go*** *na loli.*
if 2.FUT good 1SG.FUT **give.APPL.SG=3SG.OBJ** DET lolly
'If you're good I'll give you a lolly.' (o0057)

(99) *Qa sari* ***vani=go*** *ao ke!*
1SG.R decorate **BEN.APPL.SG=2SG.OBJ** 2SG EXCL
'I decorated it for you!' (o0152)

(100) *Za vai* ***va=ziu*** *na tu=qu pa Honiara.*
3SG.R buy **BEN=1SG.POS** DET offspring=1SG.POS IN.PRP Honiara
'My son in Honiara bought it for me.'

(101) is a benefactive serialisation with a non-human subject, where there is clearly no giving involved.

(101) *Za* *bule* ***vani*** *Mary.*
3SG.R fine **BEN.APPL.SG** Mary
'(The weather) is fine for Mary.' (o0281)

Vani may also retain its lexical meaning in a serial verb construction, in which case the object is a recipient (102). The circumstances in which *vani* gives a recipient rather than a benefactive interpretation in SVCs are described in §5.4.2.

(102) *Zae* ***vani*** *borogo* *na* *panakai.*
go.up **give.APPL.SG** pig DET potato
'Go up and give the pig the potatoes.' (o0146)

From a structural point of view, it is worth noting that *vani* never occurs separately from the applicative enclitic; other elements that tend to occur post-verbally, such as the iterative verb *soga*, either precede *vani* or fall outside the verb complex. The motivation for this may be historical: *vani* is a reflex of POc **pani*, and a prohibition on separating the applicative *=ni* from the verb root maintains the historical shape of the word. A more detailed account of this is found in Kettle (2000:169).

(103) a. *Qa* *va-lao* ***vani=go*** ***soga.***
1SG.R CAUS-go **BEN.APPL.SG=2SG.OBJ** **again**

b. *Qa* *va-lao* ***soga*** ***vani=go.***
1SG.R CAUS-go **again** **BEN.APPL.SG=2SG.OBJ**
'I sent it to you again.' (email006_009 – agreed both ok)

The other prepositional verbs can allow their enclitics to attach to later modifiers such as the causative adverbial *va-mauru* in (104):

(104) *Piko* ***tari*** *va-maur-**i=a.***
tie **GOAL** CAUS-strong-**TR=3SG.OBJ**
'Tie it together strongly.' (o1044)

5.3 Co-headed serialisations

Thus far we have considered "headed" complex verbs, which, I have argued, do not meet the syntactic or semantic criteria for verb serialisations: they are typified by dependence or modifying relationships between the lexical head verb and a non-head modifier; non-head verbs either cannot occur alone, or, if they do occur as lexical main verbs, are grammaticalised and bleached of their lexical content in headed constructions. Aspectual verbs and causative adverbials are transparent for purposes of argument marking and transitivity, while the primary function of prepositional

verbs is to alter the transitivity of the clause by adding an argument with a specific thematic role.

We now come to co-headed verb serialisations. These involve the juxtaposition of verbs of equal syntactic and semantic status. Aikhenvald's symmetrical serialisations are defined as follows: *'all their components are "equal" in that none of them determines the semantic or syntactic properties of the construction as a whole'* (Aikhenvald 1999:472). While asymmetrical constructions are ordered on the basis of syntactic criteria, in symmetrical constructions, ordering is determined by semantics: *'the order of components tends to be iconic, reflecting the temporal sequence of subevents (e.g. Durie 1997:331-5)'* (Aikhenvald 2006:22).

(105) and (106) are examples of verb serialisations in which all the components have equal syntactic status.

(105) ***Zale*** ***nyumu*** *pani.*
come.up **sit** here
'Come up and sit here.' (o0227)

(106) *Qari* ***para-paranga*** ***zale.***
3PL.R **REDUP-talk** **come.up**
'They're coming up talking.' (o0503)

(105) is an imperative sentence in which the acts of 'coming up' and 'sitting' are sequentially ordered, as described by Aikhenvald. In (106), however, the acts of 'talking' and 'coming up' occur simultaneously. François (2006) identifies concurrent serialisations as a major functional type: *'this is when V1 and V2 refer to two simultaneous facets of a single event, performed by the same subject'* (François 2006:233).

Aikhenvald includes serialisations such as 'fly come' and 'take book come' (which are similar to the example in (106)) in her asymmetrical category, analysing directional verbs as verb modifiers. I will argue, however, that this is an unsatisfactory analysis for path verbs in Kubokota, for two principal reasons: firstly, path verbs behave differently from other verb modifier elements when they occur in serialisation with transitive verbs, in that they make a contribution to the argument structure of the clause; and secondly, there are theoretical problems with regarding path verbs as non-head elements in serialisations where all the verbs describe concurrent aspects of a motion event.

Bril (2007) uses the term "co-ranking" as a theory-neutral term to refer to verb serialisations in which no single verb can be identified as a head. Co-ranking or co-headed serialisations in Kubokota can be divided into two categories: sequential, as in (105) (equivalent to Aikhenvald's "symmetrical") and concurrent, as in (106). Motion verbs, particularly verbs that lexicalise path or direction (i.e. PATHD and PATHG verbs), are very frequent in both serialisation types.

5.3.1 Co-headed serialisations and transitivity

Cross-linguistically, directional and motion verbs are the most commonly serialised, followed by postural verbs and other active intransitives, stative/process verbs, and finally transitives (Crowley 1987:42, Foley and Olson 1985:41-3, 48). All of the types in this hierarchy can be serialised in Kubokota, and transitive serialisations are not uncommon. Transitivity features apply not to single verbs but to the whole serialisation, attaching to the final verb in the sequence. The transitivity of the clause is equivalent to *'the sum of the arguments of the constituent verbs'* (Foley and Olson 1985:44), as will be explained below.

All four possible combinations of transitive and intransitive verbs are allowed in the Kubokota SVC. If a serialisation contains a transitive verb, the SVC is transitive, but the nature of the combination determines what kind of transitive argument is required. If the final verb is transitive, the SVC takes the usual transitive enclitic required by that verb (generally, but not always, the direct object enclitic; see §2.5.3). If the final verb is intransitive but the SVC as a whole is transitive, the transitive enclitic is usually applicative; the reasons for this, and the other possibilities for handling a transitive serialisation with an intransitive final verb, are discussed below. The possible structures are given in A to D below.

A. $V1^{INTR} + V2^{INTR} \rightarrow$ intransitive SVC

B. $V1^{INTR} + V2^{TR} \rightarrow$ transitive SVC, transitive argument (usually direct) determined by V2

C. $V1^{TR} + V2^{TR} \rightarrow$ transitive SVC, transitive argument (usually direct) determined by V2

D. $V1^{TR} + V2^{INTR} \rightarrow$ transitive SVC, usually with applicative enclitic

Example (107) contains two serialised clauses, separated by an intonation break. They illustrate the first two serialisation types listed above. The first clause is intransitive, consisting of three intransitive motion verbs with a single shared subject argument. In the second clause, V1 is intransitive but V2 is transitive. The verb *kamu* 'arrive', can be either transitive or intransitive; when transitive, as in (107), it takes a goal as a direct object. As the final verb in the serialisation, it occurs with its usual direct object transitive marker *=a* '3SG.OBJ'.

(107) **[*Rerege karovo zale,*]** **[*lame kamu=a*]** *mule maka na pie.*
walk cross come.up come arrive=3SG.OBJ again one DET river
'We walked up across (the hill), came to another river.' (a029MP_016)

In (108), both *paqala* 'split' and *loi* 'leave' are transitive verbs (Structure C). In a transitive-transitive serialisation, no transitive marking occurs on V1, but V2 takes its usual direct object enclitic.

(108) *Za=ke* ***paqala loi=a*** *goto za paqal-i=a gu ia peki.*
3SG.R=NEG **split leave=3SG.OBJ** but 3SG.R split-TR=3SG.OBJ LIM little.bit
'He didn't split it completely (lit. 'split leave it') but he just split it a little bit.' (e008BNa_038)

The final logical possibility in terms of transitivity is a transitive-intransitive serialisation, as in Structure D. In terms of handling changes of argument structure between verbs in the SVC, this is the most complex type of serialisation. Intransitive serialisations are straightforward because both verbs have the same subject and share the same argument structure. Serialisations with transitive final verbs (Structures B and C) are unproblematic because the transitive V2s retain their normal argument structure, whatever the valence of V1. Transitive-intransitive serialisations, however, have to contend with the problem that while the serialisation as a whole is transitive, the final verb is not transitive and does not normally take an object of any kind.[5] Path verbs (both PATHD and PATHG) are particularly common in this structure.

Kubokota resolves this problem in three different ways. The first converts the intransitive V2 into a transitive verb by adding a causative prefix (*va-*) and the appropriate direct object enclitic. The second (which seems to be restricted to path V2s and does not affect any other intransitive verbs) attaches the transitive enclitic to the transitive V1, leaving the path verb outside the verb complex and unmarked for

[5] *Kamu* 'arrive' in (107) is an example of an intransitive verb that does take a direct object in certain contexts; various other verbs can also be either transitive or intransitive (see §2.5.3).

subject or object. The third strategy, and by far the most common, indexes the internal argument of V1 as an applicative object. These structures are given in E to G below.

E. (SM) $V1^{TR}$ CAUS-$V2^{INTR}$ = DIR.OBJ

F. (SM) $V1^{TR}$ = DIR.OBJ $V2^{DIR}$

G. (SM) $V1^{TR}$ $V2^{INTR}$ = APPL

Structure E, with a causative V2, is illustrated in examples (109) and (110).

(109) *tana* *peki-peki* ***ovulu*** ***va-gore=a.***
1PL.IN.FUT REDUP-little **lift** **CAUS-go.down=3SG.OBJ**
'we'll lift it down slowly.' (a023SM_038)

(110) *Qari* *qera=ni=go* *ria* *koburu* *ko* *qari* ***surana***
3PL.R happy=APPL.SG=2SG.OBJ 3PL child so 3PL.R **load**

va-karov-i=go.
CAUS-go.across-TR=2SG.OBJ
'The children were happy with you so they transported you across (the river in a canoe).' (o0160)

Structure F, with an external V2, is illustrated in examples (111) and (112).

(111) *Tuti=a* *gore.*
follow=3SG.OBJ go.down
'Follow him down (to the beach).' (o0752)

(112) *Teku-i=a* *aza* *ko* *za* ***pogoz-i=a*** ***gore,*** *ko* *za* *gore,*
take-TR=3SG.OBJ 3SG so 3SG.R **carry-TR=3SG.OBJ** **go.down** so 3SG.R go.down
'He took it and he carried it down and he went down,' (a038JW_042)

Structure G, with an applicative V2 (or final verb), is illustrated in examples (113) and (114).

(113) *Ovulu* *gore=ni.*
lift go.down=APPL.SG
'Lift it down.' (o0992)

(114) *Teku* *votu* *lame=ni.*
take exit come=APPL.SG
'Bring it out.' (o0395)

5.3.1.1 Applicative V2

By far the most frequently occurring structure with transitive-intransitive SVCs is the applicative construction given in Structure G. The vast majority of verbs affected are path verbs, either expressing deictic path (PATHD, e.g. *zae* 'go up', *lagere* 'come

down') or path+ground (PATHG, in particular the boundary-crossing verbs *votu* 'exit' and *luge* 'enter').

Transitive verbs such as *teku* 'take' or *pogozo* 'carry' normally take direct object marking, as in (115). Where these verbs are followed by a path verb, however, no direct object marking occurs; instead, the transitivity of the whole clause is marked on the final verb with an applicative object enclitic. This structure occurs with a PATHD verb in (116) and a boundary-crossing PATHG verb in (117).

(115) *Kori* *za* ***pogoz-i=a*** *i* *Mary,* *ka=made* *qa* ***pogozo=ria***
two 3SG.R **carry-TR=3SG.OBJ** PERS Mary CARD=four 1SG.R **carry=3PL.OBJ**
ara
1SG
'Mary carried two, I carried four.' (a006BN_027-8)

(116) *Na* *moge,* ***pogozo*** ***zale=ni!***
DET knife **carry** **come.up=APPL.SG**
'The knife, bring it up!' (o0455).

(117) *Pogozo* *luge=ni.*
carry enter=APPL.SG
'Carry it inside.' (o0333)

This is not an unusual structure for Oceanic languages: it occurs in neighbouring Hoava (Davis 2003:165), and is mentioned in passing by Crowley (2002:90) for Paamese, Hyslop (2001:284) for NE Ambae, and Margetts (1999:105) for Saliba. One wonders what movitates it, however, when the most common means of transitivising an intransitive verb in a mono-verbal clause is to make it causative (see §5.3.1.2 below). The answer is concerned with the argument structure of the intransitive verb and the thematic role of its object.

Crowley proposes that similar serialisations in Paamese are switch-subject constructions in which the applicative object represents the patient of V1 and the agent of V2, *'though it is formally expressed as the object of the transitivized form of the* [V2] *verb'* (Crowley 2002:90). Kettle suggests a similar, "conceptually switch-subject" analysis for Kubokota: *'the second verb may be used to express movement of the theme, which may be unexpressed, and not of the agent'* (2000:112). These analyses confuse the contrast between an actor theme, which moves under its own volition (e.g. *Lamu went to Gizo*) and an undergoer theme, which is moved by an actor (e.g. the radio in *Lamu took his radio to Gizo*).

Hyslop provides a more satisfactory, albeit brief, analysis: *'If one of the verbs* [in a serialisation] *is derived from an unmarked intransitive verb, it must be marked for an increase in transitivity with an applicative suffix'* (Hyslop 2001:284). As described in §2.5.3.2, the applicative can be used to add a peripheral or non-prototypical argument. It does something similar here, except that the added argument is a core argument of V1 and is therefore a core argument of the whole clause and obligatorily marked on V2.

Recall that the intransitive verb *kamu* 'arrive' can, as an independent main verb, take a direct object goal (118).

(118) *beto qari zagere lame* ***kamu=a*** *na ruma.*
then 3PL.R ascend come **arrive=3SG.OBJ** DET house
'then they came up and arrived at the house,' (a004MD_023)

When *kamu* is serialised with a preceding transitive verb, however, it has a different relationship with the object of that transitive verb. The applicative object of *kamu* in (119) is the undergoer theme, the flippers. Even when transitive, *kamu* does not anticipate a theme as one of its arguments, and therefore requires valence-increasing applicative marking to permit it. This theme is co-referential with the undergoer of *pogozo* 'carry', and occurs instead of the expected external argument of *kamu*, the actor.

(119) *Za* ***pogozo*** ***kamu=ni*** *na buti suvu aza.*
3SG.R **carry** **arrive=APPL.SG** DET shoe dive 3SG
'He brought flippers (to Ranongga for the first time).' (a017SM_015)

One can understand why Kettle and Crowley analyse such structures as a conceptual switch of subjects, because *kamu*, lacking an actor, has no other external argument, and we are therefore inclined to look for a subject. Structurally, however, the situation is handled by expressing the theme argument as the applicative object (as, indeed, acknowledged by Crowley), and semantically it does not make sense to treat an undergoer theme as a "conceptual" subject. What occurs here might be described as a remapping of the argument structure of V2. "Subject" is a syntactic category and *kamu* in this context is an intransitive verb (or, perhaps more usefully, a one-place predicate), which licenses only one argument. The anticipated argument is an actor, but in the absence of an actor *kamu* does not have a syntactic subject but takes a non-prototypical undergoer argument, licensed by the applicative, instead.

It will be recalled from §5.2.3 that verbal modifiers in headed constructions make no contribution to the transitivity of the clause. The transitive enclitic on a causative adverbial or aspectual verb is the same as would appear on the preceding head verb. The fact that path verbs make a contribution to the argument structure of the clause is a syntactic argument in favour of their status as full lexical verbs in verb serialisations, rather than merely as verbal modifiers.[6]

The majority of transitive-intransitive serialisations involve only two verbs. Examples such as *pogozo zale=ni* 'carry it up' in (116) are concurrent serialisations. One might make a case that semantically, *zale* 'come up' has a modifying function, contributing circumstantial directional information to the main event described by the preceding verb *pogozo* 'carry'. Aikhenvald analyses such serialisations as asymmetrical or headed, the verb of motion coming from a restricted word class and providing 'directional specification' to the main verb (Aikhenvald 1999:472).

There are at least three problems with this analysis in Kubokota. Firstly, it has already been demonstrated that verbal modifiers such as those described in §5.2 are transparent as far as the argument structure of the clause is concerned; they may carry the transitivity enclitics but they do not affect their form. The path verbs, however, affect the transitivity status of the clause.

Secondly, there are examples in the Kubokota data where a transitive verb occurs between two path verbs in a three-verb sequence. (120) and (121) are indisputable sequential serialisations: in (120), for instance, Simon and the others first 'go up (to Gizo)', then 'buy' the material, and then 'come down' (with it). It is untenable to treat the first path verb in this chain of events as having its full lexical status, and the final path verb as not. Note that the applicative enclitic is still used to express the object on the final (intransitive) verb. The occurrence of the applicative V2 structure with both concurrent and sequential serialisations is a semantic argument in support of the lexical status of path verbs.

[6] The verb *mule*, which has both a path and an iterative function, contributes to the valency of the clause in both roles. For instance, in example (44), *tuvaka* 'cure' usually requires a direct object, but in the serialisation *tuvaka mule=ni* 'cure it again', an applicative object is required, conforming to Structure G.

(120) *Na vai=na na material qari* ***zae vai lagere=ni***
DET buy=NMLZ DET material 3PL.R **go.up buy come.down=APPL.SG**
ari-kue Simon,
PROX.PL-three Simon
'The price of the material that they went up to buy and bring down, the three of them including Simon,' (o0978)

(121) *Tabura,* ***gore tinu zale=ni*** *na pie.*
Tabura **go.down fill come.up=APPL.SG** DET water
'Tabura, go down and fill and bring up the water.' (en029_003)

Thirdly, it is not clear exactly what is meant by a 'directional', and how this category may be restricted and defined in Kubokota. Either a PATHD (116) or a PATHG verb (117) may occur in the applicative V2 construction. However, we have already seen in §3.4.1 that PATHD and PATHG verbs regularly co-occur in serialisations (*votu lame* 'exit come', *luge lao* 'enter go' etc.). In §5.5, I will demonstrate that the categories MANNER, PATHG and PATHD occur in distinct, semantically ordered slots in a motion event serialisation. If, as I maintain, these verbs belong to discrete semantic categories which have a full lexical function in motion event serialisations such as (1), there is no justification for collapsing PATHD and PATHG verbs into a single category of "directional particle" in other serialisations. Furthermore, there are even cases in the database where MANNER or MOTION verbs occur as V2 in the applicative V2 construction. It would be unsatisfactory to have to treat *suvu* 'dive' (58), *lotu* 'fall' (123) and *abutu* 'run' (122) as directional particles, but the syntactic structure is identical.[7]

(122) *ko za pogoz-i=a na deer,* ***pogozo abutu=ni*** *na koburu,*
so 3SG.R carry-TR=3SG.OBJ DET deer **carry run=APPL.SG** DET child
'and the deer carried him, he carried (and) ran with the child,' (fs001LP_067)

(123) *za* ***pogozo lotu=ni*** *na botolo.*
3SG.R **carry fall=APPL.SG** DET bottle
'he carried and fell (with) the bottle.' (fs002EM_018)

5.3.1.2 Causative V2

Where path (or other intransitive) verbs occur as single main verbs, the most common means of making them transitive is to add a causative prefix and direct object enclitic, as in (124). An intransitive serialisation can also be made transitive in this way, with the causative prefix *va-* on V1 and the object enclitic on V2, as in (125) and (126).

[7] Note that the structure applies to both unergative verbs (such as *abutu* 'run') and unaccusative verbs (such as *lotu* 'fall').

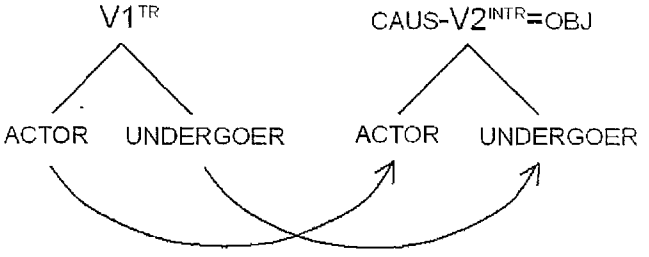
(124) ***Va-****zae=****a*** *poko-nene.*
CAUS-go.up=3SG.OBJ cloth-leg
'Put (your) trousers on.' (o0045)

(125) ***Va-****mule* *zae=****gita!***
CAUS-return go.up=1PL.IN.OBJ
'Make us go back up!' (o0610 – to driver of canoe when drifting too close to the reef)

(126) *ko* *gami* *boka* *mami* ***va-****rijo* *zae=****ria,***
so 1PL.EX.R able 1PL.EX.POS CAUS-move go.up=3PL.OBJ
'so that we could move them up,' (a039JT_032)

One might therefore anticipate that this would also be the usual means of adjusting the argument structure of intransitive verbs in transitive-intransitive serialisations. Effectively, the argument structure of V1 is copied or merged with that of V2 so that the actor and undergoer retain their respective syntactic roles. This is shown in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1: Argument structure of serialisation with causative V2



In fact, such constructions occur relatively rarely, and sometimes even seem unnatural to native speakers. (127) and (128) are natural language examples ((127) from observed speech, (128) from a story), but (129) below was considered by my consultant to be barely grammatical.[8]

(127) *Tina,* *lame* ***teku*** ***va-luge=****a* *ani.*
Tina come take CAUS-enter=3SG.OBJ PROX.SG
'Tina, come take this one inside.' (o0178)

[8] It has been suggested to me (Austin p.c.) that the existence of two types of causative serialisations – those such as (125), where the whole serialisation is causativised (CAUS-V1 V2=OBJ), and those such as (127), where only one verb is causativised (V1 CAUS-V2=OBJ) – raises problems for the notion of constituency within the verb complex. However, the whole serialisation can only be causativised (as in (125)) where the whole serialisation is intransitive. In (127), the first verb is already transitive and to increase its transitivity, without first dealing with the existing tension between the transitive V1 and intransitive V2, produces an ungrammaticality; it is hard to imagine what **va-teku luge=a* would mean.

(128) *Adu va-keni=a.*
chase CAUS-go.away=3SG.OBJ
'Chase him away.' (a012LP_095)

(129) *?Pogozo va-mule=a.*
carry CAUS-return=3SG.OBJ
'Bring it back.' (o0322 – elicited)

Examples (109) and (113), repeated here as (130) and (131), provide evidence that the same verbs can be serialised in different ways to express (superficially) similar events. Further data suggests, however, that the causative construction occurs only in sequential, resultative serialisations, whereas the applicative construction can also be used in concurrent serialisations. In (130), the speaker is proposing that his tribe should catch branches of the sago palm as they fall from the tree, and then lower them carefully to the ground so that they don't get broken; (131) describes a single action of lifting a box down onto the floor. (130) can be conceived of as a sequence of actions that make up a unitary event, in contrast with the single, multifaceted action of (131). In (132), hitting the child is intended to cause her to come down (from the kitchen to the house) thereafter – a further example of sequential, purposive action.

(130) *tana pekipeki* ***ovulu va-gore=a.***
1PL.IN.FUT REDUP-little **lift** **CAUS-go.down=3SG.OBJ**
'we'll lift it down slowly.' (a023SM_038)

(131) *Ovulu gore=ni.*
lift go.down=APPL.SG
'Lift it down.' (o0992)

(132) *Osborne, keta mi vui!* ***Maja va-lager-i=a!***
Osborne lest 3SG.IRR burn **hit** **CAUS-come.down-TR=3SG.OBJ**
'Osborne, don't (let her get) burnt! Hit her (to) make her come down!' (o0875)

The two structures are differentiated by the temporal characteristics of the event. The causative structure occurs with sequential serialisations in which V1 tends to express a telic event: it has an endpoint, and V2 occurs after that endpoint; these are often cause-result serialisations. In the applicative construction, V1 and V2 express atelic (unbounded) events, which may occur either in parallel or in sequence. Interestingly, there are no causative directionals with the verb *pogozo* 'carry'. In all

the available data, the act of carrying is simultaneous with the direction of carrying, and it seems that no cause-effect or sequential relationship is possible.[9]

The difference between these event types is illustrated below. Figure 5.2 shows the simultaneous occurrence of V1 and V2 events in the applicative; Figure 5.3 shows the causative V2 event as sequentially ordered after the V1 event; and Figure 5.4 shows the sequential ordering of the three-verb applicative constructions discussed in §5.3.1.1.

Figure 5.2: Simultaneous ordering with applicative directional (131)

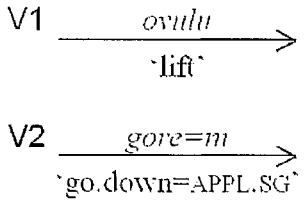


Figure 5.3: Sequential ordering with causative directional (132)

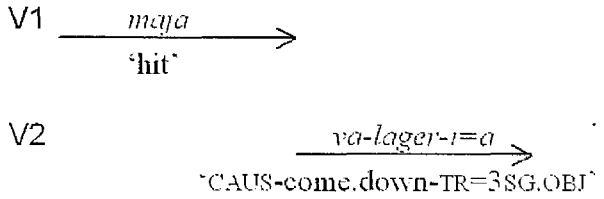
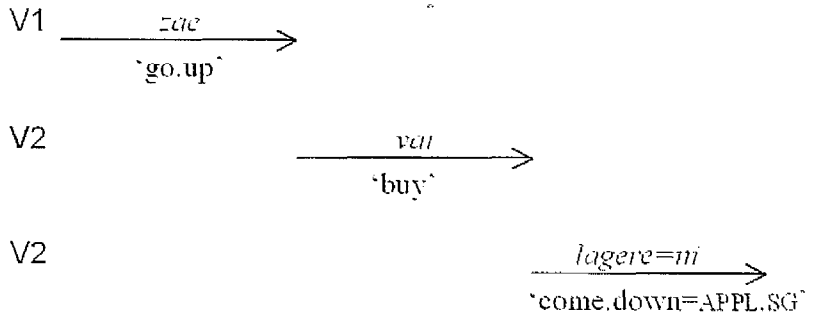


Figure 5.4: Sequential ordering with applicative directional (120)



It should be noted that the contrast between sequential and simultaneous events in the causative and applicative constructions may be a tendency rather than a strict grammatical rule. (133) and (134) are examples of observed speech, (133) containing a telic V1 in a causative construction, and (134) an atelic V1 in an applicative construction, as predicted by my account. The alternative structures given in (135)

[9] (119) could arguably be interpreted as a sequential serialisation, but note that the applicative construction is still required.

and (136) have not been observed in naturally-occurring speech, but were judged grammatical by my consultant.

(133) *Piko* ***va-zale=a.***
tie CAUS-come.up=3SG.OBJ
'Tie (and) bring (the pig) up.' (o0337)

(134) *Kau* *zae=**ni**.*
pull go.up=APPL.SG
'Pull (your trousers) up.' (o0316)

(135) *Piko* *zale=**ni**.*
tie come.up=APPL.SG
'Tie (and) bring him up.' (o0337 – agreed ok)

(136) *Kau* ***va-zae=a.***
pull CAUS-go.up=APPL.SG
'Pull it up.' (o0316 – agreed ok)

An alternative account of the distinction between the two construction types involves the degree of affectedness of the V2 undergoer or theme, the causative construction occurring where the V2 object is more affected or where the V1 subject is more agentive. For instance, the verb *maja* 'hit', where the undergoer is highly affected, is typically followed by a causative V2, whereas a verb such as *pogozo* 'carry', which merely involves a change of location for the undergoer, always occurs in the applicative construction. However, further data would be necessary to investigate this hypothesis.

5.3.1.3 External path V2

In Structure F, the final intransitive verb falls outside the verb complex, with transitive morphology attaching to the preceding verb. In this case, the intransitive verb can only be a PATHD verb. As shown above, the use of a causative versus an applicative V2 seems to reflect a semantic contrast between the serialisations with which they can occur. The external path structure occurs in similar environments to the applicative V2, although the applicative structure is far more common. Thus (137) and (138) are equally acceptable. (139) is a further example of an external PATHD verb.

(137) *Pogozo* ***lao=ni.***
carry go=APPL.SG
'Take it.' (o0346)

(138) *Pogoz-i=a* ***lao.***
carry-TR=3SG.OBJ go
'Take it.' (o0346)

(139) *Tina, mae* *toka=ria* ***gore.***
Tina come.to.S accompany=3PL.OBJ go.down
'Tina, come take them down.' (o0080)

The status of the PATHD verbs *lao* and *gore* in (138) and (139) is debatable. It is not uncommon in Oceanic languages for directionals to grammaticalise as enclitics and particles (Ross 2003, 2004). Pawley, however, notes that for a sample of Oceanic languages, *'there are no languages where a particular directional occurs both as a V2 modifier in SVCs and as a postposed adverbial particle. Call this the one directional modifier constraint'* (Pawley 2003:164). I resist analysing Kubokota external path verbs as particles because these verbs undergo no phonological reduction; lack of inflection is not unusual for Kubokota verbs; and it is unsatisfactory to posit a category change if there is another straightforward explanation.

A distinction that is commonly made in the literature on verb serialisation is between nuclear and core layer serialisation (Foley and Van Valin 1984, Foley and Olson 1985). The categories "nuclear" and "core" come from Role and Reference Grammar, where the nucleus is the innermost layer in the layered structure of the clause, typically a verb. Nuclear serialisation is a sequence of verbs with no other components intervening, acted on by operators such as aspect. The next layer is the core, which consists of the nucleus plus its arguments; modality operates at this level. The outermost layer is the periphery, which contains the core plus spatio-temporal information and secondary participants in the event (Foley and Van Valin 1984:77).

The serialisations we have discussed so far are nuclear junctures, consisting of sequences of verbs with no conjunctions or intervening verbal morphology, and the whole serialisation acting like a single nucleus (verb). The structure of a Kubokota nuclear SVC can be summarised as follows:

H. [(SM) V^n (=TR) (NPOBJ)]

(140) and (141) are possible core layer junctures. They involve the juxtaposition of two clause cores (verb plus arguments) with no markers of conjunction. Their intonation contours are similar to that of a mono-verbal clause. The identity of the subject is the same between one nucleus and the next; in (140), the identity of the

object is also the same. Transitivity marking occurs on the nucleus to which it applies (*va-gore=a*, *kura=i*). In (141), a transitive-intransitive serialisation, the object NP of the first verb intervenes between the two nuclei.

(140) *betoko* *gami* ***va-gore=a*** *gami* ***raro*** *soga=i* *mutu.*
and 1PL.EX.R **CAUS-go.down=3SG.OBJ** 1PL.EX.R **cook.in.pot** again=3SG.OBJ again
'and then we take it out (and) we cook it again.' (a024EL_020)

(141) *Vero* *za* ***kura=i*** *na* *koburu* *za* ***mule.***
Vero 3SG.R **carry.on.back=3SG.OBJ** DET child 3SG.R **return**
'Vero carried the child back.' (o0115)

Given the Kubokota tendency to omit subject markers, (140) and (141) are structurally not dissimilar to the so-called "external path" examples above: in (138) and (139), the path verb could be regarded as a second core with the subject marker omitted. All four examples might therefore be analysed as core layer serialisations, with a structure as given in I. Note that the verbs in each nucleus may also be nuclear serialisations themselves.

I. [(SM) V^n (=TR) (NPOBJ)] [(SM) V^n (=TR) (NPOBJ)]

The examples in (142) and (143) lend support to this argument: they consist of a transitive verb in the first nucleus, followed by the overt NP object of that verb, and then by a second verb with no subject marker. (142) is identical in structure to external path examples such as (144), except for the presence of the object NP. (143) differs in that the second nucleus consists of two verbs; the verb *lao* 'go' in this example, which occurs in a similar position to the so-called "external paths", cannot be considered a particle because it functions as the first lexical co-head in a sequential serialisation.[10]

(142) *Qa* ***juju=a*** *na* *wheelbarrow* ***gore*** *vei* *ari.*
1SG.R **push=3SG.OBJ** DET wheelbarrow **go.down** be.like PROX.PL
'I pushed the wheelbarrow down like that.' (a012LP_093)

[10] Path verbs as V1 are regarded as full lexical verbs; it is only as the final verb in a serialisation that their status is disputed. See §5.5.

(143) *Maka reko za* ***pogoz-i=a*** *maka kesi* ***lao*** ***v-ake=a***
one female 3SG.R **carry-TR=3SG.OBJ** one box **go** **CAUS-lie=3SG.OBJ**
pa=na are=na tevolo.
IN.PRP=DET top=3SG.POS table
'A woman carries a box (and) goes (and) puts it on the table.' (e003LP_27 – Caused Positions)

(144) *Tuti=a gore.*
follow=3SG.OBJ go.down
'Follow him down (to the beach).' (o0752)

The core serialisation analysis seems satisfactory for examples (138) to (144). It is not unproblematic, however. Recall that one of the criteria for serial verb constructions is that modality remains constant across the serialisation. Foley and Van Valin (1984) consider modality as a core layer operator, and would therefore predict that there would be no changes of modality in a core serialisation (Durie (1988) and others make similar claims). Kubokota allows the juxtaposition of two verbs without conjunction or other subordination, in a linear sequence very similar to the examples above, but with a mood change (encoded in the subject marker) between one verb and the next. The majority of examples involve intransitive verbs with a manner or activity verb as V1, followed by a path verb as V2; the manner-path ordering is interesting because, as will be described in §5.5, this is also the order required for nuclear serialisations of manner and path verbs. As exemplified in (145) and (146), the V1 MANNER verb (*gavere* 'crawl', *lukalukana* 'cry') in such constructions is usually marked as realis, but the PATHD V2 (*zae* 'go up', *lame* 'come') may have irrealis mood. As described in Chapter Four, PATHD verbs have different modal properties from other verbs and the motivations for this mood change are probably lexical (see §4.5 on complex clauses, motion verbs and modality).

(145) ***Za*** *gavere* ***mi*** *zae.*
3SG.R crawl **3SG.IRR** go.up
'It's crawling up.' (o0512)

(146) *Luka-lukana* ***mi*** *lame i Qaqa.*
REDUP-cry **3SG.IRR** come PERS Qaqa
'Qaqa came crying.' (o0614)

Examples such as (145) and (146), although similar in shape to the core serialisations posited above, cannot be regarded as core serialisations because of their modal properties. They are better analysed as clause chains (still at the core layer). Clause chaining is common in Kubokota and, like core serialisation, involves the

juxtaposition of simple clauses and their arguments without any marking of coordination or subordination. Like examples (145) and (146), they may involve mood changes, but they take a further step away from the criteria identified for serial verb constructions in §5.1, in that they allow changes of subject that are atypical of switch-subject serial verbs.[11] In (147) the subject of the first clause is the object of the second. In (148), only one of the two participants referenced as subject in the first clause is a participant in the second. In (149), which also involves a mood change, there is no identity between the participants of the two clauses at all.

(147) *Mina iqolo toka lame=ni.*
3SG.FUT wake accompany come=APPL.SG
'When he wakes bring him.' (o0048)

(148) ***Tana*** *kamu pa Obobulu* ***mana*** *iu.*
1PL.IN.FUT arrive IN.PRP Obobulu **1SG.FUT** wash
'When we get to Obobulu I will wash.' (o0150)

(149) ***Mina*** *ta-rio na lebu ani* ***mari*** *keni beto na kuru.*
3SG.FUT PASS-chop DET mango PROX.SG **3PL.IRR** go.away finish DET pigeon
'When this mango tree is chopped down, all the pigeons will go away.' (o0587)

The distinction between core serialisation and clause chaining in Kubokota seems to be a continuum rather than a clear-cut boundary. As we have already seen in §5.2.1.1, auxiliary verb constructions may occur in clause chains, challenging the claim that they are verbal modifiers; likewise, the data presented above suggests that any attempt to separate clause chaining and core and nuclear serialisation types can only be an imprecise one. Crowley proposes a structural continuum from verbal compounds through nuclear and core serialisation to clause chaining, subordination and coordination; this continuum involves *'a gradual loosening of syntactic juncture between lexical compounds at one extreme and coordinated constructions at the other extreme'* (Crowley 2002:18).

5.4 Semantics of verb serialisation

In the remainder of this chapter we will focus on co-headed nuclear serialisations. We have discussed the syntactic status of co-headed serialisations and differentiated them from headed complex verbs (which do not qualify as verb serialisation) and clause

[11] In a typical switch-reference serialisation, the object of V1 becomes the subject of V2 (Crowley 2002:40)

chains. We now come to their semantic functions and to the semantic principles that determine their order.

As demonstrated in Chapter Three, information packaging in the Kubokota clause is heavily concentrated in the verb complex. We have already shown in this chapter that the licensing of roles such as benefactive, recipient, source, goal, location and theme is integral to the verb complex, usually in structures that we consider to be headed complex verbs, rather than verb serialisation. Kubokota verb serialisation has a heavy functional load in the expression of semantic notions such as path, manner, cause and instrument. These are concepts typically encoded in verbal satellites, cross-linguistically (Talmy 1985).

In §5.3 I introduced a contrast between sequential and concurrent serialisations. (150) and (151) are examples of sequential SVCs, where the sub-events are temporally or iconically ordered; (152) and (153) are concurrent serialisations, where the serialised verbs describe simultaneous facets of a single event.

(150) ***Zale*** ***nyumu*** *pani.*
come.up **sit** here
'Come up (and) sit here.' (o0227)

(151) ***lotu*** ***v-uke*** *beto* *pale=di* *ria* *na* *tinoni* *ari*
fall CAUS-**die** finish SOURCE=APPL.PL 3PL DET person PROX.PL
'(it) fell (and) killed all those people' (a023SM_046)

(152) *Qari* ***para-paranga*** ***zale.***
3PL.R **REDUP-talk** **come.up**
'They're coming up talking.' (o0503)

(153) *Za* ***tatava*** ***nyaqo*** ***ganigani*** *na* *zako.*
3SG.R **fly** **seek** **REDUP-eat** DET eagle
'The eagle is flying looking for food.' (Kubokota Alphabet Book)

One of the features used to distinguish symmetrical from asymmetrical serialisations in Aikhenvald's typology is that non-head elements in asymmetrical SVCs are typically drawn from restricted semantic classes, while symmetrical serialisations are unrestricted (although there are clearly limitations on what may be regarded as a "unified event" in a given language (e.g. Pawley 1993)). In this section, I will explore the idea that broad semantic restrictions may apply even to verbs that enjoy equal syntactic status as lexical verbs in a sequential co-headed serialisation. In §5.4.1 I will discuss sequential SVCs and the types of sub-events that may be

serialised in Kubokota. Recipient SVCs are a particular sub-type of sequential SVCs with interesting semantic restrictions of their own, and these will be described in §5.4.2.

In §5.4.3, concurrent serialisations are described; as already suggested, the semantic principles that govern the ordering of concurrent serialisations cannot easily be accounted for either in terms of temporal iconicity, or by treating these constructions as asymmetrical, with their ordering determined on syntactic grounds. Instrumental serialisations, discussed in §5.4.4, sit at the boundary between sequential and concurrent SVCs, V1 expressing the instrument that is used to perform the purpose described by V2; thus, an instrumental V1 fills a semantically defined slot, but the relationship between V1 and V2 is purposive, if not sequential.

Finally, in §5.5, I will come to a more detailed discussion of motion event serialisations.

5.4.1 Sequential SVCs

The main semantic criterion for sequential SVCs is that the verbs involved express temporally ordered components of a unified event. There is often a purposive relationship between the verbs in sequential SVCs (Kettle 2000:123). In (154) and (155), V1 is a motion event performed for the purpose of the act described by V2.

(154) ***Zale*** ***loi=a*** *na* *'ijini.*
come.up **leave=3SG.OBJ** DET engine
'He came up (from Pienuna) to leave the engine.' (o0477)

(155) *Ko* *za* ***paja*** ***vavakato.***
so 3SG.R **go.inland** **tell.story**
'And she (came) inland to tell the story.' (o0429)

The verb *kamu* 'arrive', which occurs frequently in SVCs, is nearly always sequentially ordered, either preceded by a motion sub-event leading up to arrival at a goal (156), or followed by a non-motion event subsequent to the arrival. The verb following *kamu* is often stative, as in (157), but may also express an active purpose, as in (158).

(156) *Ko* *qe* ***mule*** ***kamu*** *ari-kori,*
so 3PL.R **return** **arrive** PROX.PL-two
'And the two returned (and) arrived,' (a018LP_034)

(157) *za* ***kamu*** ***titi*** *pa* *leo=na* *na* *harbour* *pa* *Gijo,*
3SG.R **arrive** **hang** IN.PRP inside=3SG.POS DET harbour IN.PRP Gizo
'it came and anchored inside Gizo harbour,' (a012LP_065)

(158) *qari* ***kamu*** ***vaqara=ria*** *ko* *za=ke* *ve-vei* *tu*
3PL.R **arrive** **fish.with.net=3PL.OBJ** so 3SG.R=NEG REDUP-be.like FOC

pa *moa.*
IN.PRP before
'they come and fish with nets and it's not like before.' (a033JW_023)

Other sequential SVCs are resultative, V2 being the consequence of the action described by V1. In (159), hitting the dog causes him to cry; in (160), falling causes Tuta to lie on the ground.

(159) *qari* ***maja*** ***va-lukan-i=a***
3PL.R hit CAUS-cry-TR=3SG.OBJ
'they hit (the dog and) made him cry' (a049JM_032)

(160) *za* ***lotu*** ***kole*** *pa* *pezo* *i* *Tuta*
3SG.R **fall** **lie** IN.PRP ground PERS Tuta
'Tuta fell (and) lay on the ground' (a036LP_024)

5.4.2 Recipient SVCs

Recipient SVCs, in which the verb *vani* 'give' has a recipient reading, are also sequential, and provide an interesting contrast between a co-headed and a head-modifying structure. As described in §5.2.4.3, the verb *vani* 'give' occurs in modifying constructions with a benefactive meaning, as in (161) and (162):

(161) *Za* *vai* ***vani*** *igana* *i* *Mate.*
3SG.R buy BEN.APPL.SG fish PERS Mate
'She bought fish for Mate.' (o0315)

(162) *Kera* ***vani.***
sing **BEN.APPL.SG**
'Sing for her.' (o0265)

In (161), the subject has not yet returned to Mate's village to give him the fish; it is conceivable that she might buy fish for Mate and then eat it herself, such that Mate never becomes a recipient. There is, therefore, a contrast between the benefactive role introduced by *vani* in (161) and (162), and the recipient reading required by *vani* in (163). The contrast is not only semantic but syntactic: in (161), *vani* is a verbal modifier adding a benefactive argument to the head verb *vai* 'buy'; in (163), however, *vani* occurs with its lexical meaning 'give', its object has the thematic role of

recipient, and *vani* has the same syntactic and semantic status as the other nucleus in the serialisation, *teku* 'take':

(163) *I* *John Wesley* *oqoro* ***teku*** ***vani.***
PERS John Wesley not.yet **take** **give.APPL.SG**
'You haven't given (the tobacco) to John Wesley yet.' (lit. 'You haven't yet taken (and) given it to John Wesley.') (o0816)

Foley and Olson note that 'give' verbs are widely employed cross-linguistically to give both recipient and benefactive readings. They suggest that *'The benefactive reading seems to be favored with activity verbs and the recipient... with motion verbs'* (Foley and Olson 1985:55). Foley and Olson's claim relates to core serialisations; however, the same is true for nuclear serialisations in Kubokota. (164), where V1 is a motion verb, can only have a recipient meaning, with the recipient verb *vani* sequentially ordered after the motion event of 'going up'. (165), meanwhile, only allows a benefactive reading, *vani* expressing the benefactive facet of the activity described by V1 *kura* 'carry on back'; the sequential reading, 'She carried and gave the child to Rosie', is not available. When asked about a sequential reading, my consultant produced the sentence in (166), where the clause containing the benefactive serialisation *kura vani* is conjoined with another serialisation *zale loi vani* 'come up and leave him for her' (*vani* in the latter is probably also benefactive, but would be recipient if *loi* were omitted – cf. (164)).

(164) ***Zae*** ***vani*** *cassava* *i* *Grace.*
go.up **give.APPL.SG** cassava PERS Grace
'Go up and give the cassava to Grace.' (o0459)

(165) *Za* ***kura*** ***vani*** *koburu* *i* *Rosie.*
3SG.R **carry.on.back** **BEN.APPL.SG** child PERS Rosie
'She carried the child for Rosie.' (o0115)
* 'She carried and gave the child to Rosie.' (o0115)

(166) *Za* ***kura*** ***vani*** *na* *koburu* *i* *Rosie* *ko* *za*
3SG.R **carry.on.back** **BEN.APPL.SG** DET child PERS Rosie so 3SG.R
zale ***loi*** ***vani.***
come.up **leave** **BEN.APPL.SG**
'She carried the child for Rosie and she came up (and) gave him to her.' (lit. 'came up (and) left him for her') (o0115)

5.4.3 Concurrent serialisations

Concurrent serialisations contrast with sequential serialisations in that while the verbs in a sequential SVC express a temporally ordered chain of sub-events, those in a concurrent serialisation express simultaneous facets of a single event. In (167) and (168), the participants are walking and talking at the same time.

(167) *Qari* ***para-paranga*** ***zale.***
3PL.R **REDUP-talk** **come.up**
'They're coming up talking.' (o0503)

(168) *Za* ***vela-vela*** ***leko*** *pa* *zona* *i* *Mamikera.*
3SG.R **REDUP-shout** **stroll** IN.PRP road PERS Mamikera
'Mamikera is shouting (as he) walks along the road.' (o0818)

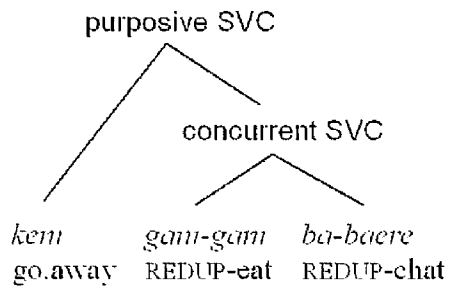
The notion of concurrent serialisations will be important for the analysis of motion event serialisations (see §5.5). However, concurrent serialisations do not have to involve verbs of motion. In (169), 'taking' and 'stealing' refer to the same action; in (170), *keni* 'go' is iconically ordered before the other events, but eating and chatting take place simultaneously.

(169) *Tana* ***iko*** ***teku=a*** *maka* *totozo.*
1PL.IN.FUT **steal** **take=3SG.OBJ** one time
'We'll steal a time.' (o0893)

(170) *Keni* *gani-gani* *ba-baere.*
go.away REDUP-eat REDUP-chat
'(We'll) go and eat and chat.' (o0842)

As pointed out by Kettle (2000), SVCs containing three or more verbs can often be analysed as combinations of two (or more) "overlapping" SVCs. Thus *ganigani babaere* in (170) is a concurrent serialisation "nested" within a purposive serialisation consisting of *keni* and an SVC constituent. This is illustrated in Figure 5.5; note that this figure is not intended to imply a syntactic hierarchy.

Figure 5.5: Nesting of purposive and concurrent SVCs (170)



Sequential ordering is governed by iconic principles, and this accounts for the ordering of *keni* before the concurrent SVC *ganigani babaere*. The principles on which concurrent SVCs are ordered are slightly less obvious, however, and worthy of further investigation. In §5.4.1 I mentioned purposive serialisations, where the action verb is ordered before the verb that expresses the purpose. These are often sequential, but (171) is a simultaneous example: Joshua will carry (a mattress) for the purpose of helping me. In (170), the order of *ganigani babaere* might also be interpreted as purposive; my friend and I are going for a picnic in order to spend some time together before my departure from the Solomons.

(171) *Mina paja i Joshua, mina* ***pogozo toka=ni=go.***
3SG.FUT go.inland PERS Joshua 3SG.FUT **carry help=APPL.SG=2SG.OBJ**
'(When) Joshua goes inland he will carry it for you.' (lit. 'will carry (it) to help you') (o0550)

The vast majority of concurrent serialisations in Kubokota involve path verbs, and in particular path verbs serialised with other verbs of motion. These are described in more detail in §5.5.

5.4.4 Instrumental SVCs

Instrumental SVCs sit on the borderline between sequential and concurrent constructions, V1 expressing the instrument used to perform the action described by V2. The V1 slot is therefore subject to semantic restrictions, but I claim that these have the status of co-headed serialisations for two reasons: firstly, the instrumental verb can usually also occur as a lexical main verb and undergoes no change of meaning in a SVC; and secondly, the instrumental verb belongs to a far larger and less restricted semantic class than the small classes of modifying verbs discussed in §5.2, in that, with a few exceptions, virtually any noun referring to an instrument can be verbalised and can then occur in an instrumental serialisation, including English borrowings such as *hama* 'hammer'.

Cross-linguistically, it is common for an instrument-adding verb to occur in V1 position. In languages as diverse as Òbòlò and Nupe (Niger-Congo), Barai (Trans-New Guinea) and Tetun Dili (Austronesian), a concept such as 'I cut the bread with the knife' can be expressed as 'I take knife cut bread' (Hajek 2006, Durie 1997, Foley and Olson 1985). This, according to Durie, can *'be motivated in terms of a causal event chain'*: 'I take knife cut bread' can be decomposed to 'I did something

with a knife' + 'This caused the knife to cut the bread' (Durie 1997:335). Durie stresses that this is a causal, not necessarily a temporal, iconicity.

As in the languages mentioned above, the verb 'take' can also be used to add an instrument in Kubokota. However, unlike in those languages, such a clause cannot be a serialisation but must be expressed using two conjoined clauses, as in (172). This requirement is probably structurally motivated; transitive-transitive serialisations can license only one direct object.

(172) *Za* ***teku=a*** *na* *moge* *ko* *za* ***lomoto*** ***paqal-i=a*** *na*
3SG.R **take=3SG.OBJ** DET knife so 3SG.R **cut.in.half** **split-TR=3SG.OBJ** DET
poko.
cloth
'He took the knife and he cut split the cloth.' (e008BNa_009)

Alternatively, the instrument itself can be expressed as V1 in a SVC. As described in §2.2, nouns very frequently function as verbs, and verbs as nouns, without any overt verbalisation or nominalisation process. In (173) and (174) *likoto* and *moge* are verbs, both meaning 'cut with knife'; in (175) and (176) they are nouns, added as instrumental arguments by means of an applicative suffix. Instrumental verbs can also occur as independent main verbs (see *ngabutu* 'scissors' in (179)).

(173) *Za* ***moge*** ***lomot-i=a*** *na* *kae* *suvege.*
3SG.R **knife** **cut.in.half-TR=3SG.OBJ** DET branch tree
'He cut the tree branch with the knife.' (e008BNb_051)

(174) *Za* ***likoto*** ***paqal-i=a*** *na* *poko.*
3SG.R **bushknife** **split-TR=3SG.OBJ** DET cloth
'He split the cloth with the knife.' (e008BNa_008)

(175) *Za* *lomoto=ni* ***moge*** *na* *kae* *suvege.*
3SG.R cut =APPL.SG **knife** DET branch tree
'He cut the tree branch with the knife.' (e008BNb_053)

(176) *Za* *paqala=ni* ***na*** ***likoto*** *na* *deri.*
3SG.R split=APPL.SG **DET** **bushknife** DET melon
'He cut the melon with the knife.' (e013RVb_163)

It is not clear from these examples whether *likoto* and *moge* are underlyingly verbs or nouns. Kubokota has nouns such as *merekena* 'axe' and *patu* 'stone' which are never verbalised as instruments (177).[12] There are also instrumental verbs such as

[12] *Patu* can be a verb in other contexts, having an inchoative meaning 'to become stone':

ruku 'to hammer' and *qete* 'to stab', which imply the use of an implement but cannot be nominalised (178). Other lexemes such as *rio* 'axe', *ngabutu* 'scissors' (179) and *hama* (from English 'hammer') can be either nouns or verbs, similar to *likoto* and *moge* above.

(177) **Za patu rikat-i=a.*
3SG.R stone tear-TR=3SG.OBJ
'She tears it with a stone.' (lit. 'She stone tears it.') (e013RVa_073)

(178) *Za* ***ruku*** *rikata=ni patu.*
3SG.R **hammer** tear=APPL.SG stone
'She hammers it with the stone and tears it.' (e013RVa_076)

(179) *Za* ***ngabut-i=a*** *na gazoro.*
3SG.R **scissor-TR=3SG.OBJ** DET rope
'She scissored the rope.' (e008BNb_060)

The argument structure of instrumental verbs also varies with regard to passivisation. For instance, clauses containing *ngabutu*, *likoto* and *rio* (whether as V1 in SVCs or as independent main verbs) can be passivised, but those containing *moge* and *qete* cannot. The verb *qete* 'stab' is particularly interesting, in that it cannot be passivised on its own but can take the passive prefix if followed by a result verb such as *lomoto* 'cut' (see §2.5.4.2).

(180) **Za* ***ta-moge.***
3SG.R **PASS-knife**
'It was cut.' (e013RVa_058)

(181) *Za* ***ta-likoto.***
3SG.R **PASS-bushknife**
'It was cut.' (e013RVa_059)

(182) **Za* ***ta-qete.***
3SG.R **PASS-stab**
'It was stabbed.' (e013RVb_145)

(183) *Za* ***ta-qete lomoto.***
3SG.R **PASS-stab cut**
'It was stab cut.' (e013RVb_144)

---

a. *Za peluku patu nana gu.*
3SG.R turn stone 3SG.POS LIM
'He became stone.' (a048TN_034)

Natural phenomena such as earthquakes, which are often expressed as intransitive verbs, can also occur as V1 in an SVC, having a resultative effect, described by V2, on a direct object.

(184) *Za* ***nunu*** ***piar-i=a*** *na* *mua* *alarm* *clock?*
3SG.R **earthquake** **break-TR=3SG.OBJ** DET 2SG.POS alarm clock
'Did the earthquake break your alarm clock?'

Durie states that *'In instrumental serialisation, the verb which introduces the instrumental argument comes first, no matter whether the verb sequencing is contiguous or not'* (Durie 1997:305). In Kubokota, conjoined clauses involving the verb 'take' (172), and instrumental serialisations where the instrument is V1 (173), and V2 is the action performed by the instrument, follow this pattern.[13] Instrumental SVCs are similar to resultative SVCs in that the instrumental verb expresses an action (such as cutting with a knife) that leads to a result. It could also be argued, however, that they are akin to motion SVCs in which manner of motion is expressed as one simultaneous facet of a motion event (see §5.5). In instrumental SVCs, the instrument expresses the means of cutting, which is concurrent with the act of cutting. Thus, in an example such as (185), where the reduplication of the verb *lomoto* 'cut' indicates the iterative (process) nature of the event (see §2.5.5.2), there is no sequential ordering (although there is a causal relationship); the knife is involved in the whole event, repeatedly being used to cut the carrots.

(185) *Za* ***likoto*** ***lomo-lomoto=ria*** *na* *karoti.*
3SG.R **knife** **REDUP-cut.in.half=3PL.OBJ** DET carrot
'He cut the carrots repeatedly with the knife.' (e008BNa_014)

5.5 Path verbs and motion events in the Kubokota SVC

As noted by Foley and Olson, *'Of all verbs the most favored verbs for serializing constructions are the basic active intransitive motion verbs,* come *and* go*'* (Foley and Olson 1985:41). In Kettle's (2000) analysis, "directional" verbs occur in both co-headed (symmetrical) and modifying (asymmetrical) constructions. In general,

[13] English has similar instrument-result ordering in noun-verb compounds. Recipes and food literature, in particular, contain sentences such as the following:

a. *To **wok-sear, wok-roast, wok-char** or **stir fry**, almost any ingredient is suitable.*
(http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m3190/is_23_35/ai_75407328)

b. *Try your hand at **oven-roasting** fresh raw peanuts at home.*
(http://homecooking.about.com/c/ht/00/06/Oven_Roast_Peanuts0962136690.htm)

Like Kubokota, English verb-verb compounds also allow sequences where V1 is the method and V2 the result or purpose: 'stir fry' is an example.

when a path verb is the first verb in a SVC, the ordering is iconic, the path verb describing a motion event that leads to or has as its purpose a non-motion event. In (186), the purpose of 'going' is to wash the clothes. In (187), the motion event of 'climbing up' is sequentially ordered with arriving in the garden.

				PATHD	PURPOSE
(186)	*betoko*	*ara*	*qa*	***lao***	***sopu-sopu,***
	and	1SG	1SG.R	**go**	**REDUP-wash**

'then I went to wash clothes' (a006BN_039)

		MANNER			PATHG	PATHD	PATHD	PATHD	GOAL	
(187)	*Qe*	*rerege*	*ko*	*qe*	***paja***	***zae***	***zae***	***zae***	***kamu***	*pa*
	3PL.R	walk	so	3PL.R	**go.inland**	**go.up**	**go.up**	**go.up**	**arrive**	IN.PRP

dia	*inuma*	*nari,*	
3PL.POS	garden	DIST.SG	

'They walked and went inland up up up to their garden,' (a018LP_014)

There are occasional circumstances in which a path verb can occur either as V1 or V2; either (188) or (189) is acceptable, for instance. (190) is an instance of sequential ordering of a motion event after a non-motion event (the order of the verbs *lao sopusopu* in (186) can also be reversed, but *sopusopu lao* means 'to wash clothes all the time or continuously'; *lao* in this instance is a verbal modifier, discussed in §4.6.2). These are exceptional cases, however; in the majority of motion event serialisations, word order is fixed and cannot be changed without either changing the meaning or producing an ungrammaticality.

(188)	*Mana*	***somana***	***gore***	*pa*	*workshop*	*pa*	*Pienuna.*
	1SG.FUT	**join**	**go.down**	IN.PRP	workshop	IN.PRP	Pienuna

'I'll join and go down to the workshop at Pienuna.' (o0342)

(189)	*Mana*	***gore***	***somana***	*pa*	*workshop*	*pa*	*Pienuna.*
	1SG.FUT	**go.down**	**join**	IN.PRP	workshop	IN.PRP	Pienuna

'I'll go down and join to the workshop at Pienuna.' (o0342)

(190)	*Maka*	*tori*	***surana***	***keni.***
	one	already	**load**	**go.away**

'The other one (they've) already loaded (and taken) away.' (o0918)

When a directional verb is the second verb in a serial verb construction, the SVC is considered asymmetrical by Aikhenvald (1999:472) and Kettle (2000:111-12), V2 indicating the directionality of V1. In this analysis, in (191), the main event is described by the verb *juju* 'push', and *gore* 'go down' expresses the direction of the pushing; the same applies to *pogozo* 'carry' and *geli* 'dig' in (192) and (193).

(191) *Juju* *gore.*
push go.down
'Push (the canoe) down.' (o0435)

(192) ***Pogozo*** ***lao=ni*** *ta=di* *ria* *pa* *leo* *ruma.*
carry **go=APPL.SG** AN.PRP=PL 3PL.OBJ IN.PRP inside house
'Carry it (the light) to them in the house.' (o0398)

(193) *kaki* *qe* ***geli*** ***livut-i=a*** *na* *ruma*
some 3PL.R **dig** **go.around-TR=3SG.OBJ** DET house
'some (of the people) are digging around the house' (o0736)

I have already presented some evidence as to why I do not consider the examples above to be syntactically asymmetrical. In particular:

i) path verbs have an impact on the argument structure of the clause, whereas other modifying verbs are ignored for transitivity-marking purposes;

ii) path verbs, like instrumental verbs, belong to a relatively large semantic class, whereas other modifying verbs such as prepositional and aspectual verbs constitute very small, syntactically defined classes;

iii) path verbs function as lexical main verbs, and retain their lexical meaning in SVCs, whereas modifying verbs such as the aspectual verbs lose their lexical content in SVCs.

Further evidence in support of my claim comes from SVCs where the whole serialisation describes a motion event. In motion event serialisations, three verbal slots are available, each of them semantically defined. MANNER verbs occupy the first position, verbs that co-lexicalise path and ground (PATHG) occur in the second, and deictic path verbs (PATHD) in the third, as in (194):

			MANNER	PATHG	PATHD
(194)	*beto*	*qa*	***rerege***	***poana***	***zale***
	then	1SG.R	**walk**	**travel.on.beach**	**come.up**

'and I walked up along the beach' (a029MP_007)

The table below lists some of the possible verbs that can occur in each slot; none of the lists (except perhaps PATHD) is exhaustive (see point (ii) above).

Table 5.2: Verbs attested in motion event serialisations

V1	V2	V3
MANNER	PATH+GROUND (PATHG)	DEICTIC PATH (PATHD)
rerege 'walk'	*votu* 'exit'	*lao* 'go'
lekoleko 'stroll'	*luge* 'enter'	*lame* 'come'
keza 'climb'	*karovo* 'cross'	*gore* 'go down'
abutu 'run'	*jola* 'go past'	*zae* 'go up'
voze 'paddle'	*livutu* 'go around'	*lagere* 'come down'
peka 'dance'	*mule* 'return'	*zale* 'come up'
epepe 'sail'	*paja* 'go inland'	*keni* 'go away'
adu 'chase'	*ogavotu* 'go seaward'	
	poana 'travel along beach'	
	kaurai 'travel on lower road'	
	are 'travel on higher road'	
	zagere 'ascend'	
	babata 'travel along coast'	

It should be noted that the same ordering of motion event components can be found in other, unrelated languages. For instance, in the Australian language Arrernte, deictic motion is expressed by a main verb which may be preceded by derived adverbs expressing manner of motion and oriented motion. Where all three components are present in a clause, they necessarily occur in the order "manner-of-motion derived adverb" followed by "oriented motion derived adverb" followed by "deictic motion main verb", as in (195) (Wilkins 2006:44):

	MANNER	ORIENTED	DEICTIC
(195)	*artnerre-mele*	*antye-mele*	*apetye-me*
	crawl-ADV	ascend-ADV	come-NPP

'come by ascending upwards by crawling' (Arrernte, (Wilkins 2006:44))

The same order applies in Mandarin serial verb constructions (see §6.4.4 for further discussion):

	MANNER	ORIENTED	DEICTIC
(196)	*fēi*	*chū*	*lái*
	fly	exit	toward.speaker

'(he) came flying out' (Mandarin, Slobin 2004:228)

In Kubokota, all three verbal slots may be filled, as in (194), or any combination of the three may occur: MANNER + PATHG (197), PATHG + PATHD (198) or MANNER + PATHD (199).

(197) *Za voze aza ko za voze, za voze babata,*
MANNER PATHG
3SG.R paddle 3SG so 3SG.R paddle 3SG.R **paddle** **travel.along.coast**
'He paddled and paddled, he paddled along the coast,' (a038JW_010)

(198) *Koini poana lagere?*
PATHG PATHD
just **travel.on.beach** **come.down**
'Have you just walked down?' (o0488)

(199) *Za abutu gore nana mae tu.*
MANNER PATHD
3SG.R **run** **go.down** 3SG.POS PUNC FOC
'She just ran down (to the beach).' (o0575)

As shown in Chapter Three, verbs from any of the three classes may also occur alone, with the exception of some of the geographical path verbs (e.g. *babata*). In (200), the MANNER verb *rerege* 'walk' is the head of a mono-verbal clause, in (201), the geographical PATHG verb *poana* 'travel on beach', and in (202), the PATHD verb *gore* 'go down'.

(200) *Mina lea nana tu rerege?*
MANNER
3SG.FUT good 3SG.POS FOC **walk**
'Will she be able to walk?' (o0490)

(201) *gami ka=made gami poana,*
PATHG
1PL.EX CARD=four 1PL.EX.R **travel.on.beach**
'we four walked on the shore,' (a019BN_069)

(202) *Gore miu pa Pienuna?*
PATHD
go.down 2PL.POS IN.PRP Pienuna
'Are you going to Pienuna?' (o0249)

The structure may also be repeated, one motion event being temporally ordered after another within a single SVC.

(203) *Muna rerege gore keza zae kamu=a na ngari,*
MANNER PATHD MANNER PATHD GOAL
2.FUT **walk** **go.down** **climb** **go.up** **arrive=3SG.OBJ** DET canarium
'You will walk down (and) climb up (and) come to a canarium tree,' (a025SM_013)

A sequence of motion verbs can be followed by the goal verb *kamu* 'arrive', which marks the conclusion of the motion event (see also §3.5.2). In (203), two consecutive motion events (*rerege gore* 'walk down' and *keza zae* 'climb up')

precede the goal (*kamu* 'arrive'); a further example of a motion event culminating in a goal is given in (204). *Kamu* is always temporally ordered after the other components of a motion event, and never precedes them; an ordering such as **kamu zale* 'arrive come' in (204) would be impossible. *Kamu* can, however, precede non-motion events; *titi* 'anchor' (205) and *dururu* 'sink' (206) are temporally ordered after *kamu* (see §5.4.3).

			PATHD	GOAL		
(204)	*ko*	*muna*	***zale***	***kamu***	*pa*	*naga-nagaza=na,*
	so	2.FUT	**come.up**	**arrive**	IN.PRP	REDUP-sand=NMLZ

'and you will come up to a sandy beach,' (a030IB_025)

		GOAL	NON-MOTION						
(205)	*za*	*kamu*	*titi*	*pa*	*leo=na*	*na*	*harbour*	*pa*	*Gijo.*
	3SG.R	arrive	anchor	IN.PRP	inside=3SG.POS	DET	harbour	IN.PRP	Gizo

'it came and anchored in Gizo harbour,' (a012LP_065)

				GOAL	NON-MOTION	
(206)	*Pa*	*vari-pera*	*za*	***kamu***	***dururu***	*pani.*
	IN.PRP	fight	3SG.R	**arrive**	**sink**	here

'In the war it came and sank here.' (o0769)

5.5.1 Theoretical challenges

The data presented thus far raises various challenges, both for theoretical approaches to verb serialisation, and for Talmy's theory of motion event lexicalisation.

5.5.1.1 Headedness

Much of the argumentation in this chapter has been concerned with the idea of asymmetry and the headedness of the SVC. Motion events are typically treated as asymmetrical in the literature, with a final directional verb expressing the directionality of a main event expressed by V1. I have already presented several syntactic reasons why I consider this not to be the case for Kubokota SVCs. The evidence from motion event serialisation brings a semantic argument to my claim.

Each verb in a Kubokota motion event serialisation expresses a simultaneous feature of a single concurrent event. Motion event SVCs consist of elements from relatively restricted sets of verbs, which are ordered according to semantic but non-iconic principles. If these serialisations are asymmetrical, this immediately begs the question of which verb is the head. One might propose, for instance, that the MANNER verb is the head and that the path verbs are satellites or modifiers expressing

the path and/or ground of an event such as 'walking'. This, however, is problematic for two reasons. Firstly, manner is not always expressed: PATHG + PATHD sequences are equally as valid SVCs as MANNER + PATHG or MANNER + PATHD, and verbs from all three categories are equally able to occur in mono-verbal clauses (with a few exceptions among the geographical PATHG verbs).

A second issue is that Talmy's theory of the lexicalisation of motion events predicts that, if a language expresses path in the verb, other aspects of the motion event (such as manner) will be expressed as verbal satellites. If this theory holds, we anticipate that in a Kubokota motion event serialisation the path verb will be the head; this is problematic not only in terms of the fact that MANNER verbs are lexical heads too, but it also contradicts Aikhenvald's assumption that final "directionals" in asymmetrical constructions are non-head elements. It should also be noted that not only PATHD, but also PATHG verbs, can occur SVC-finally in Kubokota to express the directionality of a non-motion verb; this begs the question of how a "directional" can be defined, when verbs from two distinct semantic categories can perform this function.

In fact, neither Talmy's approach (which seems to require a path verb to be treated as head) nor Aikhenvald's (where the MANNER verb is presumably the head) seems adequately to account for the facts in Kubokota. The only satisfactory solution is that already proposed, namely to treat all the verbs in a motion event serialisation as being of equal syntactic status (co-heads), none of them having scope over any of the others.

Slobin (2004) proposes a revised version of Talmy's typology. In addition to verb-framed and satellite-framed languages, he adds a third type, equipollently-framed languages, where *'both manner and path are expressed by "equipollent" elements – that is, elements that are equal in formal linguistic terms, and appear to be equal in force or significance'* (Slobin 2004:228) Equipollently-framed languages account for verb-serialising languages such as Kubokota, where both path and manner are expressed as verbs. Further evidence in support of the proposal that Kubokota is an equipollently-framed language is presented in §6.4.4.

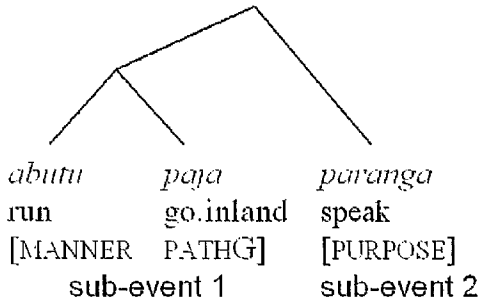
5.5.1.2 Nesting

A further problem is concerned with the internal hierarchical structure of the SVC and Kettle's observation that *'SVCs consisting of three or four verbs appear to be analysable as a combination of two (overlapping) SVCs.'* (Kettle 2000:108). Dixon (2006:344) predicts that some "nesting" will occur in SVCs consisting of more than three verbs. Lichtenberk exemplifies this for Toqabaqita, proposing that SVCs containing three or more verbs *'are binary: one of the constituents is itself an SVC. Only asymmetrical SVCs can contain an SVC as one of their constituents'* (2006:259). Kubokota is unlike Toqabaqita in that it allows at least three-verb motion events consisting of MANNER + PATHG + PATHD; such SVCs appear to be neither nested nor asymmetrical. Furthermore, unlike Toqabaqita, Kubokota allows nesting of co-headed SVCs the constituents of which are (at least) binary SVCs themselves. (207) is an example of this, as is (203) above.

(207) *qa* ***abutu*** ***paja*** ***parang-i=a*** *na.* *tai=qu* *za*
1SG.R **run** **go.inland** **speak-TR=3SG.OBJ** DET younger.sibling=1SG.POS 3SG.R
roiti *pa* *airline*
work IN.PRP airline
'I ran up to talk to my brother who works for the airline,' (a012LP_043)

(207) consists of a concurrent motion event SVC, *abutu paja* 'run inland', sequentially serialised with a third verb, *paranga* 'speak'. The structure of the whole SVC can be visualised as in Figure 5.6; note, however, that for the reasons given above, this tree should not be regarded as reflecting a syntactic hierarchy but merely a semantic one.

Figure 5.6: Event-structure of nested SVC (207)



(203) above contains two concurrent motion SVCs, *rerege gore* 'walk go down' and *keza zae* 'climb go up'. These constitute two sequentially ordered sub-events.

They are followed by a third sub-event *kamu* 'arrive'. The structure of (203) is given in Figure 5.7.

Figure 5.7: Event-structure of nested SVC (203)

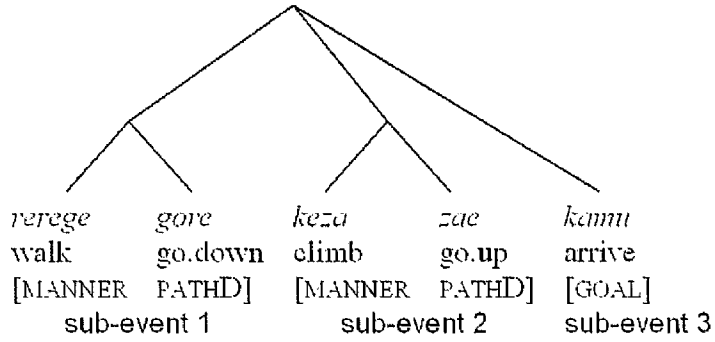


Table 5.3 presents a range of examples of motion event serialisations from my database, showing the possible semantic slots that may be filled. The first three columns represent a concurrent serialisation, consisting of maximally a MANNER, PATHG and PATHD verb; the second three columns repeat this structure, sequentially ordered after the first. The final column may contain a verb expressing a goal (usually *kamu* 'arrive') or a non-motion verb expressing the purpose of the motion event, such as *dogoro* 'look'.

Table 5.3: Motion event serialisations

sub-event 1: concurrent motion			sub-event 2: concurrent motion			sub-event 3: goal/purpose
MANNER	PATHG	PATHD	MANNER	PATHG	PATHD	
rerege 'walk'		*gore* 'go down'	*keza* 'climb'		*zae* 'go up'	*kamu* 'arrive'
abutu 'run'	*luge* 'enter'					
abutu 'run'		*gore* 'go down'				
	poana 'travel on beach'	*gore* 'go down'				
abutu 'run'	*mule* 'return'	*zale* 'come up'				
rerege 'walk'	*mule* 'return'					*kamu* 'arrive'
		lame 'come'			*zae* 'go up'	*kamu* 'arrive'
		keni 'go away'				*lekoleko* 'stroll'
		lao 'go'		*livutu* 'go around'		
		gore 'go down'			*lagere* 'come down'	
		gore 'go down'				*dogoro* 'look'

As the table shows, any combination of positions in the SVC may be filled. There are no examples where every position is filled; the highest number of verbs found is five, as in example (203). The most common motion event serialisations express a single concurrent motion sub-event (i.e. maximally MANNER + PATHG + PATHD), with or without a following goal or purpose verb. Another available structure involves a single verb (often a path verb) in sub-event 1, followed by a single verb (often a manner verb) in sub-event 2; these are purposive constructions, the path motion in sub-event 1 being performed for the purpose of the manner motion in sub-event 2. In (208) and (209), the going takes place for the purpose of walking (see §3.6).

	MOTION	PURPOSE		
(208) *Qa*	***lao***	***re-rerege***	*pa*	*Pienuna.*
1SG.R	**go**	**REDUP-walk**	IN.PRP	Pienuna

'I went and walked to/at Pienuna (i.e. I went for a walk).' (en016_002)

	MOTION	PURPOSE			
(209) ***Zae***	***leko-leko***	*mae*	*pa*	*Obobulu.*	
go.up	**REDUP-stroll**	PUNC	IN.PRP	Obobulu	

'(We'll) go up and walk to Obobulu for a bit.' (o0124)

As discussed in §5.3.1.1, a SVC may also consist of a motion verb, a non-motion purpose verb, and another motion verb (see (120) and (121), repeated here as (210) and (211)). One must assume that there is space for another motion event following the purpose slot; this is consistent with the data we have seen so far, where a non-motion V1 is serialised with a path V2. The interesting thing about (210) and (211) is that they are clearly sequential, whereas most SVCs with the applicative V2 structure seem to be concurrent.

						MOTION	PURPOSE	MOTION
(210)	*Na*	*vai=na*	*na*	*material*	*qari*	***zae***	***vai***	***lagere=ni***
	DET	buy=NMLZ	DET	material	3PL.R	**go.up**	**buy**	**come.down=APPL.SG**

ari-kue *Simon,*
PROX.PL-three Simon
'The price of the material that they went up to buy and bring down, the three of them including Simon,' (o0978)

		MOTION	PURPOSE	MOTION		
(211)	*Tabura,*	***gore***	***tinu***	***zale=ni***	*na*	*pie.*
	Tabura	**go.down**	**fill**	**come.up=APPL.SG**	DET	water

'Tabura, go down and fill and bring up the water.' (en029_003)

5.6 Kubokota SVCs and definitions of verb serialisation

Returning to the criteria for serial verb constructions set out in §5.1, the data presented in this chapter also raise various challenges for definitions of verb serialisation more broadly. I have shown that Kubokota verb serialisations satisfy the requirement for transitivity or valence to be shared across the whole clause. Polarity is also shared across the clause, a clause containing a verb serialisation has the potential to be nominalised, and there are no markers of coordination or dependence between the verbs. Kubokota verb serialisation is highly productive. Verbs in a Kubokota SVC retain their lexical meaning and are morphologically independent, no verb having a higher syntactic status than any other (in contrast with the headed constructions discussed in §5.2).

I have not investigated the phonological and intonational properties of Kubokota SVCs in detail, but Kubokota SVCs do constitute a single intonational unit. I have also avoided any discussion of the notion of eventhood here; see, however, §3.5.2 for a discussion of Bohnemeyer et al.'s (2007) proposed typology of motion event segmentation, and Chapter Six for a more detailed investigation into the distribution of motion event components across clause types.

An analysis of the Kubokota data in terms of verb serialisation seems, therefore, to be generally satisfactory. However, the requirement that modal (and perhaps also aspectual) properties be shared across the clause is a problematic one, as discussed in §5.3.1.3. A related issue is the difficulty of distinguishing apparent core layer serialisations from clause chains. As proposed by Crowley (2002), these data are best explained in terms of a continuum, which ranges from nuclear layer verb serialisations to clause chaining (and thence to coordination/subordination) not only in terms of degree of juncture, but also the extent to which modality marking is shared across verbs. It is probable that requirements on argument sharing between verbs/clauses (i.e. switch subject serialisation patterns, and which arguments of V1 are able to take which roles in V2) also become looser as juncture becomes less close; this, however, is a matter for further research. Further investigation of the interaction between modality and degree of juncture cross-linguistically, and how this relates to standard definitions of verb serialisation, would also be very worthwhile.

5.7 Summary

As in many Oceanic languages, complex verb constructions, including verb serialisations, are common in Kubokota, and are used to express a multiplicity of semantic and syntactic functions within the clause.

- Headed complex verbs, which have aspectual, adverbial and valence-increasing functions, involve the modification of a lexical verb(s) by a verb-like element within the verb complex. These modifiers may precede or follow the head verb, varying in their scope over the clause accordingly. They make no contribution to the valency of the clause; transitive marking is determined by the lexical verbs.

- Co-headed serialisations are true verb serialisations; they contain two or more verbs which retain their full lexical value and make an equal contribution to the valency of the clause. Kubokota path verbs can be shown to affect transitive marking, and are therefore treated as lexical heads with an equal syntactic and semantic status to other lexical verbs: they are not modifiers.

- Co-headed serialisations may be either sequential (e.g. purposive and recipient SVCs), or concurrent (e.g. instrumental and many motion event SVCs). The order of a sequential SVC is iconic, but the order of concurrent SVCs is determined by other semantic principles.

- A concurrent motion event serialisation may contain two or more of a MANNER verb, PATHG verb and PATHD verb; two or more concurrent motion events may also be sequentially ordered with each other, and with goal and purpose verbs.

- All of the verbs in a motion event serialisation are co-ranked and of equal status; there is no justification for treating either manner or path verbs as having head status over each other. The equal status of the components and the lack of any candidates for verbal satellites provides support for Slobin's proposal that verb-serialising languages are equipollently-framed.

CHAPTER SIX

Flying across boundaries: a case study of motion events in route descriptions and frog stories

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present a case study of motion event clauses in a subset of Kubokota texts. The aim is to explore the ways in which different types of motion events tend to be lexicalised in Kubokota. In Chapter Five I discussed serial verb constructions and outlined the typical verbal components that may be included in a motion event serialisation; however, while the data in Chapter Five was chosen to exemplify the possible range of motion event serialisations, it did not give us a real sense of how often or in what combinations motion verbs are likely to occur in actual linguistic practice. This chapter investigates the distribution of motion verbs in two specific text types (frog story narratives and route descriptions), considering issues such as which motion verbs are the most frequently occurring, which categories of motion verb are likely to combine in verb serialisations, and whether certain types of motion event are more likely to be expressed in mono-verbal clauses or serial verb constructions.

Beyond the distributional issue, the comparison of motion events across two text types, one of them anchored in the known environment, the other in a fictional landscape removed from the environment in which the speaker is embodied, highlights the importance of contextual information and local knowledge to speakers' linguistic habits. Chafe, comparing written and spoken language, notes:

> *Speakers and writers usually have different relations to their respective audiences. It is typically the case that a speaker has face to face contact with the person to whom he or she is speaking. That means... that the speaker and listener share a considerable amount of knowledge concerning the environment of the conversation.* (Chafe 1982:45)

The effects of environmental knowledge and context become evident when we consider how paths and grounds are expressed in the route descriptions (which constitute a genre where one has to be very specific about path) compared with the frog stories (where both the local environment and the speaker's location in it are more or less irrelevant).

Chafe goes on to discuss "oral literature", arguing that oral and pre-literate cultures have genres that display more of the characteristics of written than spoken language (a greater level of textual integration, more complex clauses, higher lexical density, etc.) (Chafe 1982:49-52). Similarly, with reference to the characteristics that typify written language, Foley asks *'do we want to claim that these are solely the effect of literacy, to deny such metalinguistic awareness to speakers/hearers in preliterate communities?'* (Foley 2003:88). Even entirely pre-literate communities have genres (such as ritual performances and the recitation of clan histories and topogenies) that may equate to oral literature, and that are located at different points along what Foley calls the "literate-oral continuum" of text types.[1] Foley goes on to compare a frog story and a traditional text in the Papuan language Watam, and identifies differences between the two texts that are typical of texts from the ends of the literate-oral continuum. The Watam frog story is characterised by high lexical density, relatively fixed word order and neat, coordinated clause chains, whereas the traditional narrative has low lexical density, is highly context-dependent and is structurally much freer. We will not consider these particular features in the Kubokota texts, but will instead explore the importance of context (and decontextualisation) in speakers' choices of motion verbs in the different genres.

Kubokota route descriptions and frog stories represent two points within a range of narrative genre types. Both are staged communicative events (i.e. neither is the kind of text a Kubokota speaker would produce in everyday communicative circumstances, were a linguist not present). They were chosen for this study because they are text types that contain a high number of motion verbs, because they lend themselves to comparisons between texts, and because they have the advantage that the context can be known and controlled by the linguist (in the case of route descriptions, a specific route can be requested; for frog stories, any contextual information is as available to the linguist as it is to the speaker). To ensure that these texts do not differ wildly from communicative practices, in §6.5 I compare the data with one traditional narrative. The comparison suggests that different genres vary in

[1] In §1.2.1 I suggested that the narratives in my database vary along several lines, including genre, the degree of control exercised by the researcher, the use of props, the presence of an audience, etc., the texts therefore occupying a range of points within a multi-dimensional space (which has by no means been filled). The literate-oral continuum might be a further dimension of variation, true written texts such as written stories and letters occupying one end (the database also contains emails, but these are probably located at a different place again), observed conversational data occupying the other, and the rest of the narrative range distributed in between.

the degree to which they are anchored in the temporal and spatial environment of the narrator, which has implications for deictic and geocentric reference, and the extent to which they are context-dependent. There is also evidence of variation in lexical density between the genres. However, typical patterns of motion event lexicalisation, and the combinations in which motion verbs are likely to be serialised, are shown to be consistent across the corpus.

Foley points out the importance of a large database, containing a wide variety of genre types, in order to produce a "thick description" of a language (2003:95).[2] The six texts on which this study is based are not only restricted in genre, but are a very small corpus, and the study is therefore primarily qualitative rather than quantitative. I do present some statistics to give a sense of the type-token distribution of Kubokota motion verbs, but such figures should be regarded as merely indicative of patterns tending to occur in the language; a very much larger database, containing a wider range of text types from a greater variety of speakers, would be needed to make strong predictions about Kubokota motion verb distribution.

In §6.2 I present the methodology used for the study. In §6.3 I introduce the frog story and route description texts and present samples of each type of text. In §6.4 I present the results of the study, first providing an overview of frequencies of verbs and verb combinations and how they compare, both between the two texts, and between serial verb constructions (SVCs) and mono-verbal clauses (MVCs). I then explore various issues in more detail; in particular, I discuss the use of deictic reference in the different text types (§6.4.2), consider the clause types in which grounds are likely to be referred to (§6.4.3), and examine a range of theoretical issues relating to boundary-crossing verbs (§6.4.4). In §6.5 I compare the frog story and route description data with a traditional narrative and discuss the influence of genre on some of the issues discussed in this chapter, particularly deictic and geocentric reference.

6.2 Methodology

The frog story methodology, developed by Berman and Slobin (1994), has been used extensively to explore cross-linguistic variation in the expression of motion events. It is based on the wordless children's picture book *Frog, where are you?* (Mayer 1969),

[2] Foley's own study is based on only two texts, one frog story and one traditional narrative.

a story about a boy, a dog and a frog. In the story, the frog escapes from the bottle in which the boy keeps it, and the boy and his dog undertake a journey to find the frog, encountering various other creatures (a mouse, an owl, a hive of bees, a deer) and having several adventures along the way. The procedure for frog story studies is to look through the book with speakers, making sure that they understand the story and can name all the entities (the book contains a number of culturally specific features; Kubokota speakers had particular trouble with the boy's boots, the owl and the deer). Speakers then retell the story, leafing through the book again, to another person (ideally a child, but sometimes the researcher).

For the route description task, speakers were asked to describe to me a familiar route, either a route that they themselves had travelled recently (such as the route from Pienuna to Obobulu, by a Pienuna lady visiting Obobulu), or directions for a route that I might undertake (such as the route from my house to theirs).

Both tasks have a number of advantages and disadvantages. The frog story has the value of allowing easy comparisons across instances of narratives with similar content both within and between languages. Frog story data can be compared with a large number of studies cross-linguistically; of particular interest for my purposes are studies by Dan Slobin and others (e.g. Slobin 2004, Wilkins and Levinson 2006, etc.), who use frog story data from a range of languages to build on Talmy's (1985) typology of motion event lexicalisation. A disadvantage is that *Frog, where are you?* is, as pointed out by Wilkins (in Berman and Slobin 1994:20), a product of Western culture, not only because of the culturally-specific content mentioned above, but also because the book as a medium is itself a cultural product, which already makes certain assumptions about cultural knowledge (e.g. that a book can be a basis for storytelling; that the pictures represent chronological events; that they are ordered from left to right and front to back). Most Kubokota speakers have a basic level of education and are familiar with books from school and church, such that telling a story from a picture book is not an entirely foreign task. A further issue is the decontextualising effect of basing a narrative on a book, which may have an impact not only on the use of deictic and other contextual reference, but also on the nature of actual linguistic structures. Foley, in the Watam study mentioned above, shows that the frog story data produces linguistic features that are very atypical of other Watam texts; clause chaining, for

instance, is favoured as a linkage device in the frog story, whereas in the traditional narrative, verb serialisation is preferred (Foley 2003:95).

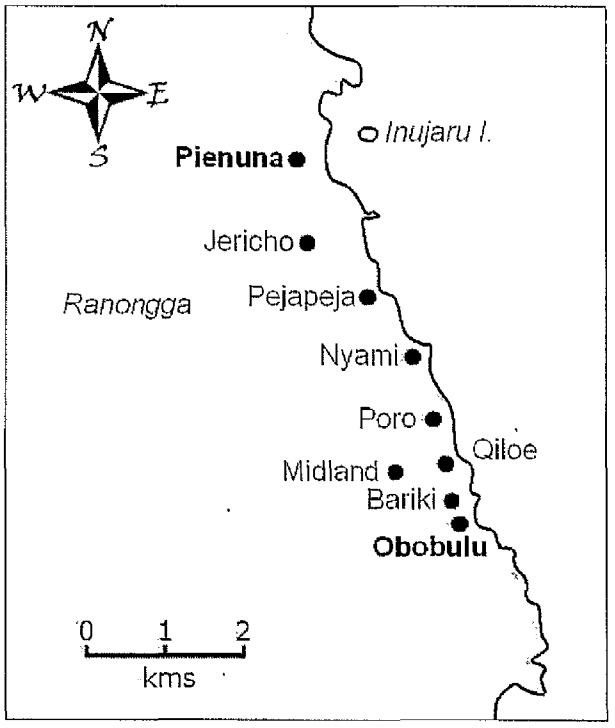
The route description texts have the advantage of describing a familiar landscape and of being anchored in the local environment, both in terms of the deictic relationship between the path of motion and the location of the speaker, and of the orientation of the path to absolute points of reference in the known landscape (see Chapter Seven); for the study of motion events, therefore, they add valuable information that is lacking from the frog stories, and they also avoid the decontextualisation issue mentioned above. Like frog stories, route narratives can potentially provide comparable data between texts within a single language, especially if two speakers describe similar routes; however, they lack cross-linguistic comparability. They are also limited in that the only motion described in a typical route description is the volitional motion of an agent-figure who walks along a path. There is a certain amount of climbing up and down hills and going across rivers, but none of the variety of complex motion types found in the frog story, in which frogs jump out of bottles, owls fly out of holes, and dogs cause bees' nests to fall to the ground.

6.3 The texts

The route description texts (a025SM, a029MP, a030IB) were all recorded in Obobulu. SM is a middle-aged man, originally from Pienuna, who lives in a hamlet just outside Obobulu. He described to me the route to his house from Obobulu. MP is a middle-aged Pienuna woman who had 'come up' from Pienuna to Obobulu; she gives an account of her journey from Pienuna to Obobulu the day before. IB is a young Pienuna man who described to me, in Obobulu, the route that I would take if I travelled from Pienuna to Obobulu. MP and IB's stories are therefore similar in that they describe the same route, but IB and SM's stories are procedural route descriptions, predominantly in the second person future irrealis, whereas MP describes a real journey in the past, and therefore in the realis mood and in the first person. All speakers base the deictic centre in Obobulu, and this characterises their choice of path verbs throughout the texts: *lame* 'come' is the most frequently occurring path verb in MP's narrative, and *zale* 'come up' ('up' in this case being along the coast in a southerly direction) in IB's, Obobulu being both the deictic centre

and the goal of the motion event. SM, who is describing a path with its source in Obobulu and its goal in an inland hamlet, Midland, uses *zae* 'go up' (on the inland-seaward axis) most frequently.

Map 6.1: Villages referred to in route description texts



The frog stories (fs001LP, fs002EM, fs003GJ) are told by a young Obobulu man (EM), a middle-aged man from Pienuna who lives in Obobulu (LP) and a middle-aged woman from Nyami (GJ).

To give a sense of the nature of the data, I present below two text samples, one from a route description and one from a frog story. In addition to motion verb semantic categories such as PATHD (deictic path verb), the label DO is used to indicate a non-motion verb serialised with a motion verb; these are often, but not exclusively, activity verbs, such as *dogoro* 'look', *kuku* 'call', *nyaqo* 'search'. The label MOTION refers to verbs that lexicalise motion with some semantic component other than PATH, MANNER or GROUND. These verbs often express caused motion (e.g. *pogozo* 'carry') and/or imply the involvement of a secondary participant in the action (e.g. *adu* 'chase', *uku* 'run away'), and are serialised with other motion verbs (for the purposes of this study, I ignore DO and MOTION verbs if they do not occur in motion event serialisations).

6.3.1 Route description text sample

(1) is a sample of text from a route description. MP is describing how she 'came up' to Obobulu for a workshop. She told the story while she was in Obobulu, and this characterises her choice of path verbs throughout, *lame* 'come' being the most frequently occurring motion verb in the text (see §6.4.2 for further discussion of deixis). MP uses both mono-verbal clauses and serial verb constructions (SVCs) to express motion events in this sample. It should be noted that she tends to use mono-verbal clauses (MVCs) where a ground is expressed as an object or in a PP, and serialisations consisting of two (or occasionally three) verbs where there is no object or PP; this issue is explored in §6.4.3.

					SOURCE		GROUND(SOURCE)
(1)	a.	*Rane*	*Monday*	*qa*	*taloi*	*pa*	*Pienuna,*[3]
		day	Monday	1SG.R	depart.from	IN.PRP	Pienuna
		'On Monday I departed from Pienuna,'					

		PATHG		GROUND(SOURCE)	
b.	*qa*	*votu*	*pa=na*	*qua*	*ruma,*
	1SG.R	exit	IN.PRP=DET	1SG.POS	house
	'I came out of my house,'				

		MANNER	PATHD
c.	*qa*	*rerege*	*lame,*
	1SG.R	walk	come
	'I walked and came,'		

	PATHD		GROUND(GOAL)
d.	*lame*	*pa*	*pie,*
	come	IN.PRP	river
	'came to the river,'		

			PATHG	GROUND(ROUTE)	
e.	*beto*	*qa*	*jola=ni*	*na*	*pie,*
	then	1SG.R	pass=APPL.SG	DET	river
	'then I went past the river,'				

		PATHD		GROUND(GOAL)	
f.	*qa*	*lame*	*pa=na*	*guguzu*	*lavata.*
	1SG.R	come	IN.PRP=DET	village	big
	'I came to the big village.'				

	PATHG		GROUND(ROUTE)	
g.	*Jola=ni*	*na*	*guguzu*	*lavata.*
	pass=APPL.SG	DET	village	big
	'Having passed the big village,'			

[3] In (1) and (2), each line represents a single clause.

		MANNER	PATHD	GOAL		GROUND(GOAL)	
h.	*qa*	*rerege*	*lame*	*kamu-i=a*	*mule*	*maka*	*pie*
	1SG.R	walk	come	arrive-TR=3SG.OBJ	again	one	river

pa *korapa=na* *na* *guguzu,*
IN.PRP middle=3SG.POS DET village
'I walked (and) came (and) arrived at another river in the middle of the village,'

	PATHD	GOAL	GROUND(GOAL)	
i.	*lame*	*kamu=a*	*ruma*	*lotu,*
	come	arrive=3SG.OBJ	house	worship

'came and arrived at the church,'

			MANNER	PATHG	PATHD
j.	*beto*	*qa*	*rerege*	*poana*	*zale,*
	then	1SG.R	walk	travel.along.beach	come.up

'then I walked up along the beach,'

	PATHG		GROUND(GOAL)
k.	*keza*	*pa*	*kubo,*
	climb	IN.PRP	hill

'climbed the hill,'

	PATHD		GROUND(GOAL)
l.	*zae*	*pa*	*sitoa.*
	go.up	IN.PRP	store

'went up to the store.'

			PATHG		MANNER	PATHD
m.	*Beto,*	*gami*	*jola=ni*	*ketakoi*	*rerege*	*lame,*
	then	1PL.EX.R	pass=APPL.SG	there	walk	come

'Then, we went past there (and) walked (and) came,'

	PATHD		GROUND(GOAL)
n.	*gore*	*pa*	*poana=na,*
	go.down	IN.PRP	travel.along.beach=NMLZ

'went down to the beach,'

	MANNER	PATHG	PATHD
o.	*rerege*	*poana*	*zale,*
	walk	travel.along.beach	come.up

'walked up along the beach,' (a029MP_001-10)

6.3.2 Frog story text sample

(2) is a sample of text from a frog story. It comes early in the story, and includes the escape of the frog from the bottle and the beginning of the boy and the dog's search for it. The first part of the text, where the frog escapes, contains several motion event serialisations (*soqolo votu* 'jump out', *gavere votu* 'crawl out', *votu kenana* 'go away out'); in the second part, most serialisations are non-motion DO activities with a path

component either preceding (*lao aru* 'go hold', *lao oviki* 'go look.into') or following (*omanga luge* 'smell into'). There are no motion event MVCs in this sample: all of the motion events are either complex paths (i.e. paths in which other semantic components such as manner are expressed) or events which combine both motion and non-motion components.

(2) a. *Tonai qe korapa puta, ari Jack beto nana sie,*
when 3PL.R PROG sleep PROX.PL Jack and 3SG.POS dog
'When they were sleeping, Jack and his dog,'

MANNER PATHG
b. *zana bakarau ani za soqolo votu nana pa botolo,*
MED.SG frog PROX.SG 3SG.R jump exit 3SG.POS IN.PRP bottle
'that frog jumped out of the bottle,'

c. *ura na winda za revanga*
because DET window 3SG.R open
'because the window was open'

MANNER PATHG
d. *ko za gavere votu na bakarau ani*
so 3SG.R crawl exit DET frog PROX.SG
'and the frog crawled out'

PATHG PATHD
e. *ko votu kenana.*
so exit go.away.3SG.POS
'and went away out.'

f. *Qari iqolo na vola-volaza.*
3PL.R awake DET REDUP-morning
'They woke up in the morning.'

g. *Dogoro qe gua za,*
look 3PL.R say PRO
'They looked,'

h. *na bakarau kepore.*
DET frog not.exist
'but the frog wasn't there.'

i. *Qe podalai nyaqo kori baere Jack beto na sie.*
3PL.R start search two friend Jack and DET dog
'The two friends, Jack and the dog, began to search.'

PATHD DO
j. *Za lao aru=a na buti,*
3SG.R go hold=3SG.OBJ DET boot
'He went and held the boot,'

				MOTION	MOTION
k.	*ko*	*za*	*ovulu*	*va-opo-i=a.*	
	so	3SG.R	lift	CAUS-capsize-TR=3SG.OBJ	

'and he lifted it upside down.'

l.	*Palu*	*ketakoi*	*za*	*korapa*	*kole,*	*za*	*gua.*
	maybe	there	3SG.R	PROG	be.LOC	3SG.R	say

'He thought maybe it was there.'

					PATHD	DO		
m.	*Goto*	*na*	*sie*	*za*	*lao*	*oviki=a*	*na*	*botolo*
	but	DET	dog	3SG.R	go	look.in=3SG.OBJ	DET	bottle

'But the dog went and looked into the bottle'

			DO	PATHG			PATHG	PATHD		
n.	*ko*	*za*	*omanga*	*luge*	*ko*	*za*	*luge*	*lao*	*pa*	*botolo,*
	so	3SG.R	smell	enter	so	3SG.R	enter	go	IN.PRP	bottle

'and he smelt inside and he went into the bottle,' (fs002EM_007-16)

6.4 Results and discussion

Table 6.1 summarises motion event clause types in each of the six texts. It shows the length of each text (based on Toolbox record numbers[4]), the total number of motion event clauses per text, and the proportion of motion events expressed with mono-verbal clauses (MVCs) and with serial verb constructions (SVCs). The table shows that approximately half of all motion events in the dataset are expressed by SVCs; the percentage of SVCs is slightly higher for frog stories than for route descriptions, which is perhaps not surprising given that, as already evident from the sample in (2) above, motion events in the frog stories tend to be more complex than those in route descriptions, often involving motion in conjunction with other activities.

[4] Toolbox records are approximately equivalent to an intonation unit or clause.

Table 6.1: Summary of motion event clauses in frog story and route description texts

reference	text length (Toolbox records)	total motion event clauses	motion event MVCs	motion event SVCs	SVCs as percentage of motion event clauses
route descriptions					
a025SM	17	22	11	11	50%
a029MP	25	42	20	22	52%
a030IB	40	52	38	14	27%
route total	**82**	**116**	**69**	**47**	**41%**
frog stories					
fs001LP	96	66	25	41	62%
fs002EM	52	39	20	19	49%
fs003GJ	58	50	21	29	58%
frog total	**206**	**155**	**66**	**89**	**57%**
overall total	**288**	**271**	**135**	**136**	**50%**

The number of verbs occurring in a motion event clause is shown in Table 6.2. MVCs and two-verb SVCs account for the majority of the data; there is a handful of SVCs consisting of three verbs, and one with five; there are no four-verb SVCs in the dataset.

Table 6.2: Number of verbs in motion event clauses

	route	frog	total
1 verb	69	66	**135**
2 verbs	39	83	**122**
3 verbs	7	6	**13**
5 verbs	1		**1**
total	**116**	**155**	**271**

6.4.1 Comparing mono-verbal and serialised motion events

Table 6.3 compares the type-token distribution of motion verb categories in mono-verbal clauses and serialisations (DO and MOTION verbs and minor categories are excluded). The percentage columns show the percentage of a particular semantic category occurring in MVCs as opposed to SVCs, i.e. 35% of PATHD tokens occur in MVCs, while 65% occur as components in SVCs.

Table 6.3: Motion verb categories occurring in MVCs and SVCs

motion verb category	MVC	% of category occurring in MVCs	component of SVC	% of category occurring in SVCs	total
PATHD	61	35%	111	65%	172
PATHG	20	33%	43	67%	64
MANNER	11	23%	37	77%	48
GOAL	7	18%	27	82%	33
SOURCE	13	100%	0	0%	13
total	**112**	**34%**	**218**	**66%**	**330**

Table 6.3 reveals that although half the motion events in the data are expressed as MVCs (see Table 6.1), MANNER verbs are more likely to occur in SVCs than in MVCs. Slobin (2004:223) points out that path is an obligatory component of a motion event, whereas manner is optional; speakers tend not to express manner alone. Of the 11 mono-verbal MANNER clauses in the data, 10 involve the verb *keza* 'climb' (which, as discussed in §3.4.3.1, arguably lexicalises a path component anyway, being used only for upward climbing); without exception, a ground is also expressed as an object or in a prepositional phrase, which makes clear the exact nature of the path (3), (4). The only other mono-verbal manner clause contains the verb *tatava* 'fly'; it is followed by the prepositional phrase *pa nulu* 'above', which again contributes the necessary path information to the motion event (5).

(3) *beto* *gami* ***keza*** ***pa=na*** ***kubo.***
then 1PL.EX.R **climb** **IN.PRP=DET** **hill**
'then we climbed the hill.' (a029MP_015)

(4) *Za* *livut-i=a* *na* *patu* *beto* *za* ***keza*** ***pa*** ***batu***
3SG.R go.around-TR=3SG.OBJ DET stone then 3SG.R **climb** **IN.PRP** **head**

patu *pa* *nulu.*
stone IN.PRP above
'He went around a stone and he climbed up to the top of the stone above.' (fs001LP_057)

(5) *za* ***tatava*** ***pa*** ***nulu*** *na* *manugu,* *na* *duduru,*
3SG.R **fly** **IN.PRP** **above** DET bird DET owl
'the bird flew up above, the owl,' (fs001LP_055)

The GOAL verb *kamu* is also more likely to occur in SVCs than in mono-verbal clauses. Again, *kamu* does not contain any information about path: fact of motion is implied, but *kamu* merely indicates the endpoint or goal of the motion (recall the evidence from modal subject markers in §4.4.3, which suggests that *kamu* expresses a punctual event that cannot be in process or prospective). SOURCE, conversely, is

expressed only in mono-verbal clauses, not only in this dataset but also in the larger Kubokota database (6).[5]

(6) *ko muna* ***taloi*** *pa kori pie zara muna zale pa Jericho*
so 2.FUT **depart** IN.PRP two river MED.PL 2.FUT come.up IN.PRP Jericho
'and you will leave those two rivers (and) come up to Jericho,' (a030IB_006)

PATHD and PATHG verbs are equally as likely to occur in mono-verbal clauses as in SVCs.

6.4.1.1 Mono-verbal motion events

Table 6.4 compares the frequencies of MVC motion verbs occurring in the two text types. It also lists the verb forms that occur.

[5] There are 30 instances of the verb *taloi* 'depart' in my whole Kubokota database, and every single one occurs in a mono-verbal clause; see §3.5.1.

Table 6.4: Motion verbs in mono-verbal clauses

verb category	route descriptions	verb frequency	frog stories	verb frequency	total
PATHD	*zale* 'come up'	12	*lao* 'go'	22	
	zae 'go up'	7	*lame* 'come'	4	
	gore 'go down'	4	*gore* 'go down'	3	
	lame 'come'	3	*keni* 'go away'	2	
	lagere 'come down'	2			
	lao 'go'	2			
	total PATHD	**30**		**31**	**61**
PATHG	*karovo* 'cross'	8	*votu* 'exit'	3	
	jola 'pass'	4	other (*livutu* 'go around', *va-luge* 'CAUS-enter')	2	
	other (*luge* 'enter', *poana* 'travel along beach', *votu* 'exit')	3			
	total PATHG	**15**		**5**	**20**
MOTION			*adu* 'chase'	4	
			lotu 'fall'	3	
			pogozo 'carry'	4	
			uku 'run away'	5	
			va-lotu 'CAUS-fall'	4	
	total MOTION	**0**		**20**	**20**
SOURCE	*taloi* 'depart from'	6	*loi* 'leave'	1	
	koko 'set out'	2			
	loi 'leave'	2			
	podalai 'start'	2			
	total SOURCE	**12**		**1**	**13**
MANNER	*keza* 'climb'	5	*keza* 'climb'	5	
			tatava 'fly'	1	
	total MANNER	**5**		**6**	**11**
GOAL	*kamu* 'arrive'	5	*kamu* 'arrive'	1	
			paro 'go ashore'	1	
	total GOAL	**5**		**2**	**7**
COMIT	*tuti* 'follow (road)'	1	*tuti* 'follow (person)'	1	
	total COMIT	**1**		**1**	**2**
total		**68**		**66**	**134**

PATHD verbs are by far the most frequently occurring tokens in MVCs. It will be noted that a greater variety of PATHD verb types occurs in route descriptions than in frog stories. This is because there is more deictic and geocentric reference in a narrative where motion is oriented with regard to the narrator's location in real space: 'come' and 'go', 'up' and 'down' forms occur in route descriptions, depending on the orientation of the route with regard to the deictic centre (the speaker's location at utterance time) and geocentric features of the known landscape, whereas in frog stories motion towards the deictic centre rarely occurs, nor are the geocentric 'up' and

'down' verbs used extensively. The frog stories are third person narratives with no strong deictic centre; 'go' verbs, which, as Wilkins and Hill (1995:215) have suggested, are more neutral with regard to deixis, and therefore predominate, while the verb *lao* 'go' is geocentrically more neutral than *zae* 'go up' and *gore* 'go down'. Deictic and geocentric reference is discussed in more detail in §6.4.2.

A further point to note from Table 6.4 is that PATHG verbs are more frequent in route descriptions than in frog stories. This again follows from the fact that the route descriptions are located in a known landscape, and that explaining a route to someone depends on anchoring the path to a number of easily identifiable grounds. The verb *karovo* 'cross' is particularly common in these route descriptions, as a consequence of the number of rivers that must be crossed between Obobulu and Pienuna. Other grounds are villages that one sets out from (*koko* 'set out', *podalai* 'start'), arrives at (*kamu* 'arrive'), passes (*jola* 'pass') or leaves (*loi* 'leave', *taloi* 'depart from'). Grounds are discussed in more detail in §6.4.3.

6.4.1.2 Motion event serialisations

Table 6.5 shows the motion verb categories that combine in serialisations. The details of possible combinations are too complex to show in a single table, but frequencies of individual motion verbs occurring in SVCs are given in Table 6.6.

Table 6.5: Motion event serialisations

SVC	route descriptions	frog stories	total
PATHD + GOAL	17	4	21
PATHD + DO (PURPOSE)		18	18
MOTION + PATHD		14	14
MANNER + PATHD	10	3	13
PATHG + PATHD	7	4	11
DO + PATHG		10	10
DO + PATHD		8	8
MANNER + PATHG	2	5	7
MANNER + PATHG + PATHD	3	2	5
MOTION + PATHG		3	3
MANNER + PATHD + GOAL	2		2
PATHD + MANNER		2	2
other SVC	6	16	22
total	**47**	**89**	**136**

Table 6.6: Motion verbs occurring in SVCs

verb category	route descriptions	no. of verbs	frog story	no. of verbs	total
PATHD	*zale* 'come up'	17	*lao* 'go'	28	
	lame 'come'	11	*gore* 'go down'	13	
	gore 'go down'	9	*lame* 'come'	7	
	zae 'go up'	9	*keni* 'go away'	6	
	lao 'go'	3	*zae* 'go up'	5	
			zale 'come up'	2	
			lagere 'come down'	1	
	total PATHD	**49**		**62**	**111**
PATHG	*poana* 'travel along beach'	3	*votu* 'exit'	14	
	karovo 'cross'	3	*luge* 'enter'	11	
	babata 'travel along coast'	2	other (*livutu* 'go around', *mule* 'return')	2	
	jola 'pass'	2			
	oqavotu 'go seawards'	2			
	other (*mule* 'return', *zagere* 'ascend', *tuvizi* 'go straight')	3			
	total PATHG	**15**		**27**	**41**
MANNER	*rerege* 'walk'	15	*soqolo* 'jump'	8	
	keza 'climb'	4	*keza* 'climb'	3	
			abutu 'run'	2	
			gavere 'crawl'	1	
			ponyu 'swim'	1	
			rerege 'walk'	1	
			tatava 'fly'	1	
	total MANNER	**19**		**17**	**37**
GOAL	*kamu* 'arrive'	22	*kamu* 'arrive'	5	
			paro 'go ashore'	4	
	total GOAL	**22**		**9**	**31**
other verbs (DO, MOTION)	pre-motion (see Table 6.7)			40	
	post-motion (see Table 6.7)			29	
	total DO and MOTION			**69**	**69**
total		**105**		**184**	**289**

Table 6.5 and Table 6.6 show that the verbs most frequently occurring in motion event SVCs are PATHD verbs. They are commonly serialised with verbs expressing GOAL, DO, MOTION, MANNER and PATHG (in descending order of frequency). If a motion event SVC does not contain a PATHD verb, it is highly likely to contain a PATHG verb. As pointed out by Slobin, *'path is an obligatory component of motion event expressions... without a path verb or satellite or other path element, there is no motion event'* (Slobin 2004:238). Therefore, either a PATHD or a PATHG verb nearly always occurs. Beyond this generalisation, however, there seem to be no strong preferences for any two categories to co-occur. A PATHG verb is slightly more likely to co-occur with a PATHD verb than with a MANNER verb, and MANNER + PATHD is

more likely than MANNER + PATHG, but this is probably not statistically significant. A three-verb combination, MANNER + PATHG + PATHD, is comparatively rare. There is insufficient data to go beyond these generalisations, but in the following paragraphs I present a number of examples of the more frequently occurring SVC types.

Examples (7) and (8) contain MOTION and MANNER verbs serialised with PATHD verbs, and (9) and (10) MOTION and MANNER verbs with PATHG. (10) also contains a PATHG + PATHD SVC.

		PATHD	MOTION					MOTION	PATHD	
(7)	*za*	***lao***	***nogoto***	*na*	*deer*	*nari,*	*za*	***lotu***	***gore***	*pa*
	3SG.R	**go**	**stop**	DET	deer	DIST.SG	3SG.R	**fall**	**go.down**	IN.PRP

pie *na* *koburu* *beto* *na* *sie.*
river DET child and DET dog
'the deer went and stopped, the boy and the dog fell down into the river.' (fs001LP_070)

		MANNER	PATHD		
(8)	*za*	***soqolo***	***zae***	*na*	*sie.*
	3SG.R	**jump**	**go.up**	DET	dog

'the dog jumped up.' (fs001LP_038)

			MOTION	PATHG					PATHD		
(9)	*Ae*	*za*	***lotu***	***votu***	*na*	*sie*	*taviti*	*botolo,*	***lao***	*pa*	*pezo.*
	so	3SG.R	**fall**	**exit**	DET	dog	COMIT	bottle	**go**	IN.PRP	ground

'Then the dog fell out with the bottle, he went to the ground.' (fs003GJ_016)

		MANNER	PATHG					PATHG	PATHD
(10)	*za*	***gavere***	***votu***	*na*	*bakarau*	*ani*	*ko*	***votu***	***kenana.***
	3SG.R	**crawl**	**exit**	DET	frog	PROX.SG	so	**exit**	**go.away.3SG.POS**

'the frog crawled out and he went out away.' (fs002EM_009)

A PATHD verb is almost invariably present in motion event serialisations containing the GOAL verb *kamu* 'arrive' (11). As part of a motion event serialisation a goal verb expresses the endpoint or final location on a path; the path leading to this endpoint is most naturally expressed by a PATHD verb. The current dataset contains only one exception: in (12), the two GOAL verbs *paro* and *kamu* are sequentially ordered, the arrival at the shore preceding the arrival at the log.

	PATHD			PATHD	GOAL					
(11)	*Gore*	*ko*	*muna*	***gore***	***kamu***	*pa*	*pie*	*pa*	*Vonga,*	*qari*
	go.down	so	2.FUT	**go.down**	**arrive**	IN.PRP	river	IN.PRP	Vonga	3PL.R

gu=ni.
say=APPL.SG
'Go down and you will come to the river at Vonga, they call it.' (a030IB_017)

				MANNER	GOAL			GOAL
(12)	*azae,*	*tonai*	*qe*	***ponyu:***	***paro***	*nari-e,*	*qe*	***paro***
	thus	when	3PL.R	**swim**	**go.ashore**	dist.SG-*E*	3PL.R	**go.ashore**

GOAL						
kamu=a	*maka*	*kobukobu*	*za*	*kole=a*	*na*	*baongo.*
arrive=3SG.OBJ	one	log	3SG.R	lie=3SG.OBJ	DET	hole

'then, when they had swum ashore, they came ashore and arrived at a log that had a hole.' (fs001LP_078)

Elsewhere in the database there is a small number of examples where *kamu* is serialised with a MANNER verb (13). As noted in §5.4.1, *kamu* may also occur as the first verb in a SVC with a following non-motion (usually stative) verb (e.g. *kamu suvere* 'arrive stay').

		MANNER	GOAL					
(13)	*Qari*	***abutu***	***kamu***	*ria*	*na*	*tamatina*	*ti*	*Elisoni,*
	3PL.R	**run**	**arrive**	3PL	DET	mother.and.family	AN.PRP.PERS	Elison

'Elison's wife and children came running,' (a062BN_040)

The frog story has a large number of SVCs containing DO and MOTION verbs. These verbs may occur either before or after the motion event in the SVC (or, more rarely, both). The verbs that are found pre- and post-motion in the frog story are listed in Table 6.7; most occur only once, but a handful have several occurrences and some verbs, *dogoro* 'look' in particular, can occur both pre- and post-motion. Also in the post-motion list are included a couple of MANNER verbs and a PATHG verb that occur in non-canonical position as the purpose of a PATHD motion event.

Table 6.7: DO and MOTION verbs in frog story SVCs

	pre-motion	
DO	*dogoro* 'look'	11
	kuku 'call'	3
	other	3
MOTION	*lotu* 'fall'	9
	uku 'run away'	5
	pogozo 'carry'	4
	podaka 'surface'	3
	other	2
	total	**40**

	post-motion	
DO	*dogoro* 'look'	4
	nyumu 'sit'	2
	other	11
MOTION	*nogoto* 'stop'	2
	tuti 'follow'	2
	other	4
MANNER	*keza* 'climb'	2
	soqolo 'jump'	1
GOAL	*paro* 'go ashore'	1
	total	**29**

Again, the data is insufficient to make any strong claims about the semantics of DO and MOTION verbs themselves. However, we can state that if a path verb (usually PATHD, but sometimes PATHG) precedes the DO or MOTION verb in these SVCs, the ordering of event components is sequential and the motion is usually purposive.

Conversely, if a path verb follows the DO or MOTION verb, the events are concurrent and the path verb expresses the directionality of the DO or MOTION event. This is consistent with the account of sequential and concurrent motion verb serialisations presented in §5.4. In (14), the boy and his dog go in order to see the frog (sequential). In (15), the PATHG verb *luge* 'enter' expresses the direction of the DO verb *dogoro* 'look' (concurrent). In the first SVC in (16), the boy goes in order to call (sequential); in the second SVC, *luge* expresses the direction of calling (concurrent).

			PATHD	DO		
(14)	*qe*		***lao***	***dogor-i=a***	*na*	*bakarau,*
	3PL.R		**go**	**look-TR=3SG.OBJ**	DET	frog

'they went to see the frog,' (fs001LP_009)

				DO	PATHG			
(15)	*ko*	*za*		***dogoro***	***luge***	*pa*	*maka*	*baongo.*
	so	3SG.R		**look**	**enter**	IN.PRP	one	hole

'and he looked into a hole.' (fs001LP_048)

	PATHD					PATHD	DO	DO	PATHG		
(16)	*Lao*	*na*	*marene*	*zana*	*ko*	***lao***	***kuku,***	***kuku***	***luge***	*pa*	*baongo*
	go	DET	male	MED.SG	so	**go**	**call**	**call**	**enter**	IN.PRP	hole

ani,
PROX.SG

'That boy went and called, he called into the hole,' (fs003GJ_023)

(17) and (18) are further examples of motion event SVCs with DO and MOTION verbs. In (17), the directionality of the MOTION verb *lotu* 'fall' is expressed by the following PATHD verb *gore* 'go down' (concurrent). (18) contains two PATHD verbs, one preceding (purposively and sequentially) the verb *lotu*, and one following (concurrent with *lotu* and expressing the directionality of falling).

		DO	PATHD							
(17)	*za*	***lotu***	***gore***	*na*	*sie*	*taviti=a*	*na*	*botolo*	*pa*	*batu=na*
	3SG.R	**fall**	**go.down**	DET	dog	COMIT=3SG.OBJ	DET	bottle	IN.PRP	head=3SG.POS

'the dog fell down with the bottle on his head' (fs001LP_026)

		PATHD	MOTION	PATHD		
(18)	*Za*	***lame***	***va-lotu***	***gore***	*pale=di*	*ketakoi,*
	3SG.R	**come**	**CAUS-fall**	go.down	SOURCE=APPL.PL	there

'He came and made them fall down there,' (fs002EM_041)

MOTION verbs may also be serialised with each other, as in (19); note that (19) conforms to the applicative V2 structure for transitive-intransitive SVCs, as described in §5.3.1.1.

(19)

		MOTION	MOTION		
za		***pogozo***	***lotu=ni***	*na*	*botolo.*
3SG.R		**carry**	**fall=APPL.SG**	DET	bottle

'he carried the bottle and fell.' (fs002EM_018)

As mentioned above, MANNER and PATHG verbs may also be sequentially ordered after a PATHD motion event. The MANNER verbs *keza* 'climb' and *soqolo* 'jump' in (20) and (21) are purposive, sequentially ordered after the PATHD verb *lao* 'go'.

(20)

Na	*koburu*	*ani*	*za*	*loi=a*	*na*	*mesu*	*ko*	*za*
DET	child	PROX.SG	3SG.R	leave=3SG.OBJ	DET	mouse	so	3SG.R

PATHD	MANNER			
lao	***keza***	*pa*	*maka*	*suvege,*
go	**climb**	IN.PRP	one	tree

'The boy left the mouse and went and climbed a tree,' (fs002EM_029)

(21)

		PATHD	MANNER	MANNER		
Eo	*ko*	***lao***	***soqol-i=a***	***soqol-i=a***	*zana*	*vurivuri*
therefore	so	**go**	**jump-TR=3SG.OBJ**	**jump-TR=3SG.OBJ**	MED.SG	nest

ta	*muji*
AN.PRP	bee

'So he went (and) jumped (and) jumped at the bees' nest' (fs003GJ_025)

6.4.2 Deixis

The verbs that occur most frequently, in both the route description texts and the frog stories, and in both MVCs and SVCs, are PATHD verbs. With all the different mechanisms available for describing and orienting a path of motion, the most important piece of information appears to be the orientation of the path with regard to the deictic centre. In the route description texts the centre is the speaker, and paths are usually oriented both with regard to the speaker and to geocentric axes; however, there are deviations from the speaker's location as deictic centre, and the examination of this data is revealing about the nature of deictic reference in Kubokota. In the frog stories, neither the speaker nor any geocentric information is available; with a few exceptions, the verb *lao* 'go', which can be both deictically and geocentrically neutral, predominates.

6.4.2.1 Deixis in route descriptions

All three route description texts were recorded in Obobulu, and Obobulu is therefore the default deictic centre for them all. Two of the texts (MP and IB) involve motion towards the deictic centre; in both cases, the path of motion originates in Pienuna and 'comes' to Obobulu. In the third text (SM), motion originates in Obobulu and 'goes'

to the hamlet of Midland. In SM's text, all motion is away from the deictic centre; there is not a single instance of a 'come' verb. In MP and IB's texts, there is more variation. Motion is predominantly towards the deictic centre, being expressed mainly by the verbs *lame* 'come' and *zale* 'come up' (Obobulu is 'up' southward along the coast from Pienuna). There are, however, several points in both texts where 'go' verbs are used instead.

In both texts, 'go' verbs are used where the figure descends a steep hill en route towards Obobulu. In (22), MP crosses a steep river valley that lies across to her path; the steepness of her descent into the valley seems to override the fact that she is still moving towards the deictic centre as she goes down to the river. The same is true for IB in (23).

(22) *beto rerege* ***zale,*** ***gore=a*** *na lolomo, karov-i=a*
then walk **come.up** **go.down=3SG.OBJ** DET valley cross-TR=3SG.OBJ

mule maka na pie, rerege ***gore*** *pa pie, beto gami keza*
again one DET river walk **go.down** IN.PRP river then 1PL.EX.R climb.up

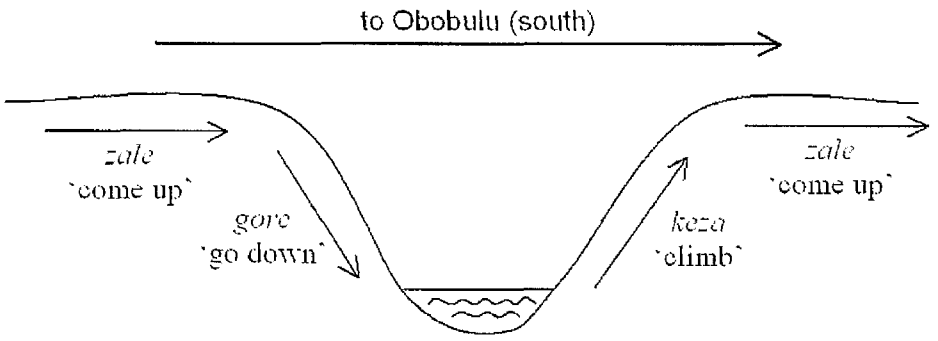
pa=na kubo. Rerege karovo ***zale,***
IN.PRP=DET hill walk cross **come.up**
'then we came walking up, went down (into) the valley, crossed another river, walked down to the river, then we climbed the hill. (We) walked up across (the hill),' (a029MP_014-16)

(23) *betoko muna* ***zale*** *ao, ko muna zagere* ***zale=ria*** *kori kubo,*
and 2.FUT **come.up** 2SG so 2.FUT ascend **come.up**=3PL.OBJ two hill

betoko muna ***gore,*** *ko muna karov-i=a ao zana maka*
and 2.FUT **go.down** so 2.FUT cross-TR=3SG.OBJ 2SG MED.SG one

nyonyola pie,
small.stream river
'and you come up, and you come up two hills, then you go down, and you cross a small stream there,' (a030IB_008-10)

Figure 6.1: Descent into a valley en route towards deictic centre (22)



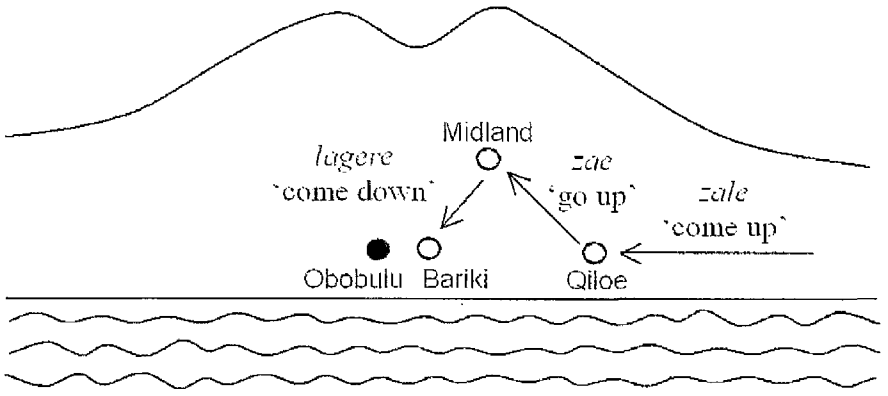
'Go' verbs are also used where motion is (approximately) orthogonal to the figure's movement towards the deictic centre in Obobulu. This occurs in the text sample in (1) where MP goes up inland (*zae*) to the store (line h) and down again (*gore*) to the beach (line j). In IB's narrative, IB describes a route from the coast up to the inland hamlet of Midland and back down (24), again using the 'go' verbs *zae* and *gore*. Both paths are transverse to the 'come' path oriented towards the deictic centre in Obobulu, and both examples end with a return to the 'come' path. The physical orientation of these transverse paths is 'up' and 'down' on the inland-seaward axis, not on the 'up' and 'down' coastal axis along which most of the motion is oriented. Note that in (1) when the speaker reaches the beach and directs her path towards Obobulu again, she uses the verb *zale* 'come up' for motion southward along the coast. In (24) the verb *lagere* 'come down' is used; this is the last major hill descent on the route towards Obobulu (cf. the use of *gore* 'go down' for steep descents in (22) and (23), where the descent is not directed towards Obobulu).

(24) *muna taloi pa Qiloe muna* ***zale,*** *ko qu kamu pa*
2.FUT depart IN.PRP Qiloe 2.FUT **come.up** so 2SG.R arrive IN.PRP

Midland, keza ***zae*** *pa Midland. Oqavotu gore ao za*
Midland climb **go.up** IN.PRP Midland go.seaward go.down 2SG PRO

qu ***lagere*** *vei ko qu lagere pa Bariki.*
2SG.R **come.down** be.like so 2SG.R come.down IN.PRP Bariki
'you leave Qiloe and come up, and you arrive at Midland, you climb up to Midland. Go down seaward and you come down that way and you come down to Bariki.' (a030IB_029-32)

Figure 6.2: Ascent inland transverse to path towards deictic centre (24)



Finally, both MP and IB use *zae* 'go up' for the route approaching a village that they pass through on the way. The village in question, Nyami, is located on an

unusually shaped peninsula, which seems to induce rather odd use of directionals in both Nyami residents and others.[6] In (25), MP interrupts her motion towards the deictic centre (*lame*) in mid-SVC and begins to 'go up' (*zae*) instead.

(25) *Beto gami rerege jola, **lame zae** kamu=a na guguzu.*
then 1PL.EX.R walk pass come go.up arrive=3SG.OBJ DET village
'And we walked past (the river), came (and) went up (and) arrived at the village.' (a029MP_017)

In (26), IB describes upward 'go' motion to Nyami, followed by another steep 'go' descent down to the river. Note the switch to the 'come' PATHD verb *zale* 'come up' in the last clause: after crossing the Vonga river, the figure reaches flat land and begins to 'come up' along the coastal axis towards Obobulu again.

(26) *Na pie aza muna karov-i=a ko muna **zae.** **Zae** muna **zae***
DET river 3SG 2.FUT cross-TR=3SG.OBJ so 2.FUT **go.up** **go.up** 2.FUT **go.up**

*kamu pa Nyami, ko **oqavotu** **gore.** **Gore** ko muna **gore***
arrive IN.PRP Nyami so **go.seaward** **go.down** **go.down** so 2.FUT **go.down**

kamu pa pie pa Vonga, qari gu=ni. Eo ko qu
arrive IN.PRP river IN.PRP Vonga 3PL.R say=APPL.SG therefore so 2SG.R

*loi=a pa pie pa Vonga qu **zale**,*
leave=3SG.OBJ IN.PRP river IN.PRP Vonga 2SG.R **come.up**
'You will cross that river and go up. You will go up and arrive at Nyami, then go down seaward. Go down and you will go down and arrive at the river of Vonga, they call it. Then you leave the river of Vonga (and) you come up.' (a030IB_014-18)

6.4.2.2 Deixis in frog stories

The frog story data contrasts with the route descriptions in that the 'go' verb *lao* predominates. This is to be expected because the default deictic centre, the speaker, is not located in the landscape of the story; the frog story takes place in a fictional landscape in which motion is unlikely to be oriented in relation to the narrator's location. As already mentioned in §3.3, Wilkins and Hill (1995) argue that deixis is not a universal semantic component of 'go' verbs, and that motion away from deictic centre is not entailed; 'go' verbs are the default choice for general, deixis-free movement, and the frog stories are a useful data source in which to observe this.

[6] The residents of Nyami, also known as Vonga, are SDA speakers, who, for historical reasons, speak a slightly different variety of Kubokota from United Church speakers in neighbouring villages. I intended to return to Vonga and investigate the local directional system further, but the earthquake intervened and the entire village relocated inland to the bush.

The majority of PATHD verbs occurring in the frog story, therefore, are 'go' verbs, as we would predict. With one or two exceptions, they are also free from directional 'up'/ 'down' information unless the motion is actually vertical (climbing up trees and falling down from windows, for instance); not enough is known about the landscape to use the 'up' and 'down' verbs for horizontal geocentric motion.[7]

The handful of 'come' verbs that occur in the frog story narratives have various functions. Occasionally they are used in reported speech, in which case the deictic centre is the speaker in the story. This occurs in (27), where the boy has just discovered the absence of the frog, and tells the dog to come and see. The boy, looking at the bottle, is maintained as deictic centre when the dog 'comes', a couple of clauses later.

(27) *Za paranga na koburu, 'Koi, Sie.* ***Lame*** *dogor-i=a na*
3SG.R speak DET child hey dog **come** look-TR=3SG.OBJ DET

bakarau...' ...za ***lame*** *i Sie ko za kole om-omang-i=a*
frog 3SG.R **come** PERS dog so 3SG.R CONT REDUP-smell-TR=3SG.OBJ

na botolo,
DET bottle
'The child said, "Hey, Dog. Come and see the frog..." ...Dog came and sniffed the bottle,' (fs001LP_017-20)

Story participants may also become deictic centres where pursuit is involved:

(28) *za paro tuti* ***lame*** *na sie.*
3SG.R go.ashore follow **come** DET dog
'the dog came ashore behind (him).' (fs001LP_080)

(29) *Ae za na sie nari za, qe* ***lame*** *tu na muji ko qe*
so PRO DET dog DIST.SG PRO 3PL.R **come** FOC DET bee so 3PL.R

garat-i=a ko qe adu=a
bite-TR=3SG.OBJ so 3PL.R chase=3SG.OBJ
'Then that dog, the bees came and they bit him and they chased him' (fs002EM_032-3)

'Come' verbs are also used for the emergence of various characters from holes or out of water. In (30), the boy looks into a hole and a mouse pops out. The mouse's path of motion is oriented towards the boy, but the boy is not necessarily the deictic centre in such cases; in (31), where *zale* 'come up' describes the emergence of the boy

[7] One exception is the use of the verb *gore* 'go down' for departure from the house. Ross (2003) notes that such usage is typical of speakers of Oceanic languages: *'POc speakers must generally have lived in stilt houses... for whose inhabitants the ground was indeed "down below"'* (Ross 2003:232).

and his dog from the water, neither of these participants can be the deictic centre. 'Come' verbs are used to indicate the emergence of an entity into the world that both the narrator and the main participants inhabit.[8] The owl and the mouse, in the frog story, 'come' out of their holes into the space where people are. The boy and his dog 'come up' out of the water into open air. In the same way, when tsunami waves swept through a village, they 'came', and when the earthquake lifted the reefs around Ranongga three metres out of the sea, they were also said to have 'come up' out of the water.[9]

(30) *Totonai za kuku luge pa baongo, **votu lame** maka mesu*
when 3SG.R call enter IN.PRP hole **exit come** one mouse
'When he called into the hole, a mouse came out' (fs003GJ_026)

*Beto qe **podaka zale** za lao na koburu ani*
then 3PL.R **surface come.up** 3SG.R go DET child PROX.SG
'Then they came out of the river (and) the boy went' (fs001LP_074)

Lame 'come' in (32) is used in the sense of coming to or arriving at a goal: the goal is the cliff, and the deer brings the boy and the dog to that goal ('come') and then makes them fall down ('go down') away from it. *Lame* also expresses arrival at a goal in (33), where MP in her route description uses *lame* to describe reaching an intermediate endpoint on her path towards Obobulu.

(32) *Qe **lame** pa maka taba. Za **lame** va-lotu **gore***
3PL.R **come** IN.PRP one cliff 3SG.R **come** CAUS-fall **go.down**

pale=di ketakoi, ko qe lotu ari-kori pa taba ko
SOURCE=APPL.PL there so 3PL.R fall PROX.PL-two IN.PRP cliff so

*qe **gore***
3PL.R **go.down**
'They came to a cliff. He (the deer) came (and) made them fall down from there, and the two of them fell from the cliff and they went down' (fs002EM_040)

(33) *beto qa jola=ni na pie, qa **lame** pa=na guguzu lavata*
and 1SG.R pass=APPL.SG DET river 1SG.R **come** IN.PRP=DET village big
'and I passed the river, I came to the big village.' (a029MP_003)

[8] 'Come' does not necessarily have a presentative function in these examples; rather, it seems to be used for entities that cross some sort of boundary into the domain inhabited by the speaker or deictic centre.

[9] Rain, curiously, 'goes down' when it falls, although it 'comes' when storm clouds are approaching. I have no explanation for why this is the case, except perhaps that rain is indiscriminate in where it falls; it does not restrict itself to falling on a specific person or group of people, but falls over a wide area.

Only once does the deictic centre seem to be based on the narrator's viewpoint, rather than on some other deictic centre within the story. In (34), the speaker is describing a scene in the book where the boy and the dog are walking through a wood. The house from which they have travelled is visible in the background, and they have followed a path of motion that has brought them into the foreground of the picture and thus nearer to the narrator. The scene is shown in Figure 6.3.

(34) *Qe* ***lame,*** ***lame*** ***lame***[10] *pa* *korapa* *zona* *nari* *za,* *za*
3PL.R **come** **come** **come** IN.PRP middle road DIST.SG PRO 3SG.R

bati=a *maka* *baongo.*
see.TR=3SG.OBJ one hole
'They came, came, came to the middle of the road there, he saw a hole.'
(fs002EM_023)

Figure 6.3: Scene from *Frog, where are you?* (Mayer 1969:8)

6.4.3 Grounds

As noted in §6.4.1.1, there is a higher frequency and diversity of PATHG verbs (both in MVCs and SVCs) in route descriptions than in frog stories. The motivation for this is that in order to describe a route to someone effectively, it is necessary to anchor the

[10] It should be noted that reduplications of motion verbs, such as *lame* in (34), are not serial verb constructions but have been counted as a single verb. There is no structural restriction on the number of times a verb can be reduplicated (my database contains one example where *lao* 'go' is reduplicated six times), and examples such as (34) would seriously skew the data if all instances of the reduplication were counted.

path to as many fixed and identifiable points as possible. These may include villages, rivers, bridges and the coastline, which are expressed by NP ground phrases. A particular ground phrase may identify a source (as in (35), with the SOURCE verb *taloi* 'depart from'), a goal (with the GOAL verb *kamu* 'arrive' in (35) and the PATHD verb *lame* 'come' in (33)), or a route (with the PATHG verbs *karovo* 'cross' in (36) and *jola* 'pass' in (33)).

		SOURCE			PATHD	GOAL	GROUND(GOAL)
(35)	*Muna*	***taloi***	*ketakoi*	*muna*	*zae*	***kamu=a***	***Pejapeja,***
	2.FUT	depart.from	there	2.FUT	go.up	arrive=3SG.OBJ	Pejapeja

'You will depart from there and go up and arrive at Pejapeja,' (a030IB_012)

	GROUND(ROUTE)				PATHG			PATHD
(36)	***Na***	***pie***	***aza***	*muna*	***karov-i=a***	*ko*	*muna*	*zae.*
	DET	river	3SG	2.FUT	cross-TR=3SG.OBJ	so	2.FUT	go.up

'You will cross that river and go up.' (a030IB_014)

In the route description text sample presented in §6.3.1, the speaker showed a tendency to use MVCs in describing motion events where a ground was specified by a noun phrase (e.g. 'exit the house,' 'come to the river', 'pass the village'), whereas in SVCs grounds tended not to be specified. Table 6.8 compares MVCs and SVCs in terms of whether or not a ground is overtly specified (either as a direct or applicative object NP or in a prepositional phrase). Clauses containing DO and MOTION verbs are excluded from the count; many of these verbs are transitive and their transitivity value may affect whether a ground is specified or not; also, objects of DO and MOTION verbs are often themes rather than grounds (e.g. 'carry the bottle down').

Table 6.8: Expression of grounds in MVCs and SVCs

	route descriptions	**frog stories**	**total**
MVC with ground	52 (75%)	18 (39%)	70 (61%)
MVC without ground	17 (25%)	28 (61%)	45 (39%)
total MVCs	**69**	**46**	**115**
SVC with ground	27 (57%)	35 (80%)	62 (68%)
SVC without ground	20 (43%)	9 (20%)	29 (32%)
total SVCs	**47**	**44**	**91**
total clauses with ground	79 (68%)	53 (59%)	132 (64%)
total clauses without ground	37 (32%)	37 (41%)	74 (36%)
total clauses	**116**	**90**	**206**

The results reveal that in all motion event clauses a ground is more likely to be expressed than not. Grounds are also more likely to be expressed in route descriptions than in frog stories. In the route descriptions, 75% of MVCs specify a ground

(compared with 68% of route description SVCs); in the frog stories, however, a ground is less likely to be specified in a MVC (39% of MVCs) and more likely in a SVC (59%). Overall, slightly more MVCs contain grounds than do SVCs.

The prevalence of specified grounds in route descriptions is a logical outcome of the need to anchor a path in a landscape. Specified grounds are less important in frog stories, perhaps because the narrative is not located in a known landscape, and because the focus of attention is on what the participants do rather than where they go; grounds are therefore mentioned only where they are relevant to the story.

The question remains, however, of why in route descriptions grounds tend to be specified more often with MVCs than with SVCs. One reason may be processing: motion event SVCs already contain information about path, manner and other facets of the motion event without adding nominal information about ground to the clause as well. A further reason may be the nature of the paths described and the discourse patterns that they promote. SVCs in route descriptions tend to be used for motion along paths between previously identified landmarks, while MVCs express departure from source and arrival at goal, without any information about the motion itself. A rhetorical pattern that occurs a number of times in the route description texts is illustrated in (37) and (38). In one clause, a SVC describes motion along a path (with source and goal unspecified); the following clause contains a MVC describing arrival at or motion with regard to a ground (often a goal, but sometimes a landmark that the figure has to pass (ROUTE)). *Jola=ni ketakoi* 'pass there', *gore pa poanana* 'go down to the beach', *karov-i=a na pie* 'cross the river' (37) and *lagere pa Bariki* 'come down to Bariki' (38) are MVCs with grounds. *Rerege lame* 'walk come', *rerege poana zale* 'walk up along the beach' (37) and *oqavotu gore* 'go down seaward' (38) are SVCs describing motion along paths between the grounds.

(37)

		PATHG	GROUND(ROUTE)	MANNER	PATHD	PATHD	
:Beto,	*gami*	*jola=ni*	*ketakoi*	*rerege*	*:lame,*	*gore*	*pa*
then	1PL.EX.R	pass=APPL.SG	there	walk	come	go.down	IN.PRP

GROUND	MANNER	PATHG	PATHD	PATHG
poana=na,	*rerege*	*poana*	*zale,*	*karov-i=a*
travel.along.beach=NMLZ	walk	travel.along.beach	come.up	cross-TR=3SG.OBJ

GROUND(ROUTE)	
na	*pie*
DET	river

'Then we passed there (and) walked (and) came, went down to the beach, walked up along the beach, crossed the river,' (a029MP_009-11)

(38)

PATHG	PATHD				PATHD				PATHD
Oqavotu	*gore*	*ao*	*za*	*qu*	*lagere*	*vei*	*ko*	*qu*	*lagere*
go.seaward	go.down	2SG	PRO	2SG.R	come.down	be.like	so	2SG.R	come.down

	GROUND(GOAL)
pa	*Bariki.*
IN.PRP	Bariki

'Go down seaward (and) you come down that way and you come down to Bariki.' (a030IB_032)

The same pattern can be seen in (39), which comes from the traditional narrative described in §6.5.

(39)

.MANNER	PATHD			PATHD		GROUND(GOAL)		PATHD	GOAL
Voze	*keni,*	*ko*	*za*	*lao*	*pa*	*dia*	*guguzu,*	*lao*	*paro,*
paddle	go.away	so	3SG.R	go	IN.PRP	3PL.POS	village	go	go.ashore

GOAL							PATHD	
paro,	*za*	*pogoz-i=a*	*na*	*bateu,*	*ko*	*qari*	*zae*	*pa=na*
go.ashore	3SG.R	carry-TR=3SG.OBJ	DET	breadfruit	so	3PL.R	go.up	IN.PRP=DET

GROUND(GOAL)	
dia	*ruma,*
3PL.POS	house

'He paddled away, and he went to their village, he went ashore, he carried the breadfruit, and he went up to their house,' a038JW_052-4

In §3.4.1 I suggested that if a ground (source or goal) is expressed with the boundary-crossing verbs *luge* 'enter' and *votu* 'exit', a PATHD verb (usually *lao* 'go' or *lame* 'come') will also be present. This seems in conflict with the claim made here, that grounds are more likely to be expressed in mono-verbal clauses. I am not suggesting, however, that grounds are expressed in all mono-verbal clauses, nor that they cannot be expressed in SVCs. The way in which a speaker expresses a motion event is an outcome of conflicting pressures – to communicate the relevant details of a path, including important landmarks; to package this information economically and in manageable chunks; to include deictic information with boundary-crossing verbs

where a ground is expressed (see §6.4.4 below);[11] and no doubt other factors that we have not taken into consideration here. Slobin notes that *'when a path is segmented, the narrator has the choice of mentioning the ground associated with each segment'* (Slobin 2004:244). This choice may be partly determined by the amount and complexity of information already provided about that particular segment of the path.

6.4.4 Boundary-crossing verbs and motion event typology

As shown in Table 6.6, the most frequently occurring PATHG verbs in SVCs are the boundary-crossing verbs *votu* 'exit' and *luge* 'enter'. The packaging of motion event information in boundary-crossing events is of particular interest with regard to Talmy's typological distinction between verb-framed languages (where the core schema of a motion event, the path, is lexicalised in the verb) and satellite-framed languages (where a co-event such as manner is lexicalised in the verb, and path occurs in a satellite such as an affix or preposition) (Talmy 1985, Talmy 2000, Talmy 2008).

Various studies (Ameka and Essegbey in press, Schultze-Berndt 2006, 2007, Slobin 2004, Slobin and Hoiting 1994, Zlatev and David 2004, Zlatev and Yangklang 2003) have demonstrated that not all languages fit neatly into this binary typology, either because neither path nor manner is expressed in the verb (for instance, co-verb languages such as the Australian language Jaminjung, in which path and manner are expressed by subordinate elements (Schultze-Berndt 2006, 2007)), or because both path and manner are expressed as verbs (verb-serialising languages). Serial verb languages such as Thai *'are problematic for Talmy's binary typology since with their manner verbs they resemble S-languages and with their path verbs they resemble V-languages'* (Zlatev and David 2004:122). This problem leads Slobin (2004) to propose an intermediate position, equipollent framing, in which path and manner are expressed by grammatical forms of equivalent syntactic status.

As already noted, path is an obligatory component of a motion event, whether it is expressed in a verb or a satellite. Languages vary considerably, however, in the degree to which they specify manner. Satellite-framed languages, which are able to describe complex paths in an accumulation of path satellites to the verb (Berman and Slobin 1994:118-9), are much more likely to specify manner in the verb, than verb-

[11] Note, however, that the only boundary-crossing verb in a route description occurs in a mono-verbal clause with a ground in a prepositional phrase – see example (1), line b. This is an exception to the general pattern in the corpus.

framed languages, which use the verb to attend to the path and tend to omit manner information. Slobin demonstrates this with a comparison of the ways in which various languages describe the emergence of the owl in the frog story. Verb-framed languages such as Italian and Turkish almost always use a single verb 'exit' (40), whereas satellite-framed languages such as English and German use a manner verb with a path satellite (41) (data from Slobin 2004:224):

(40) a. *Da quest'albero **esce** un gufo.* 'From that tree exits an owl.' (Italian)
b. *Oradan bir baykus **çikiyor**.* 'From there an owl exits.' (Turkish)

(41) a. *An owl **popped out.*** (English)
b. *...weil da eine Eule plötzlich **raus-flattert.*** '...because there an owl suddenly out-flaps.' (German)

Although Italian and Turkish have, and use, verbs expressing manner of motion, one of the characteristics of V-languages is a restriction on the use of manner verbs where the clause describes a path across a boundary; it is possible, in a V-language, to say the equivalent of 'The owl flew to the tree', but not 'The owl flew out of the hole'. Slobin and Hoiting (1994) and Slobin (2004) identify the following "boundary-crossing constraint": *'V-languages only license the use of a manner verb as a main verb in a path expression if no boundary-crossing is predicated'* (Slobin 2004:225).

The boundary-crossing constraint applies to the V-languages in (40); in S-languages, and in verb-serialising languages such as Kubokota, it does not apply. The emergence of the owl in the three Kubokota frog stories covers almost the full range of combinations possible in a Kubokota motion event clause: in (42), the path is described with the boundary-crossing PATHG verb *votu* 'exit' in a MVC, as is the case for the V-languages in (40); in (43), *votu* is serialised with the PATHD verb *lame* 'come',[12] describing a more complex path but not providing any manner information; and (44) is a full serialisation containing both the two path verbs, the MANNER verb *tatava* 'fly', and a prepositional phrase expressing a ground (source).

[12] It is worth noting that where deictic information is present in the English translations of (43) and (44), this information is expressed in the verb and manner is moved to a satellite. The issue of deictic path verbs and manner satellites in English has not, to my knowledge, been explored in the literature on verb- and satellite-framing, nor has deixis been the focus of much attention at all in studies of motion event typology.

PATHG
(42) *ko za* ***votu*** *tu na duduru qokolo,*
so 3SG.R exit FOC DET owl boy
'and an owl exited, boy,' (fs002EM_031)

PATHG PATHD
(43) ***votu*** ***lame*** *na orodo ba zava=e?*
exit come DET bird.SP or what=E
'out came an *orodo* or what is it?' (fs003GJ_034)

MANNER PATHG PATHD
(44) ***tatava*** ***votu*** ***lame*** *maka manugu pa leo baongo.*
fly exit come one bird IN.PRP inside hole
'a bird came flying out from inside the hole.' (fs001LP_050)

If Kubokota is a verb-framed language, (44) is problematic because it breaks the boundary-crossing constraint. Kubokota does not, however, match the characteristics of a satellite-framed language, because path is always expressed as a verb. As Slobin (2004 and others) demonstrates, this pattern is not unusual for verb-serialising languages such as Mandarin, Thai and Austronesian languages. It occurs on several other occasions in both the Kubokota frog story data, and in the route descriptions. In (45), MANNER + PATHG and PATHG + PATHD combine, whereas (46) and (47) contain three-verb SVCs consisting of MANNER + PATHG + PATHD.

MANNER PATHG PATHG PATHD
(45) *ko za* ***gavere*** ***votu*** *na bakarau ani ko votu kenana.*
so 3SG.R crawl exit DET frog PROX.SG so exit go.away.3SG.POS
'and the frog crawled out and went out away.' (fs002EM_009)

MANNER
(46) *kepore na bakarau pa leo botolo, za tori* ***soqolo***
not.exist DET frog IN.PRP inside bottle 3SG.R already jump

PATHG PATHD
votu ***kenana*** *tu.*
exit go.away.3SG.POS FOC
'the frog wasn't in the bottle, he had already jumped out and gone.'
(fs001LP_016)

MANNER PATHG PATHD
(47) ***Rerege*** ***karovo*** ***zale,*** *lame kamu=a mule maka na pie.*
walk cross come.up come arrive=3SG.OBJ again one DET river
'We walked up across (the hill), came and arrived at another river.'
(a029MP_016)

Slobin proposes that languages should be ranked on a cline of manner salience rather than assigned to distinct typological categories (2004:220), and argues that a range of morpho-syntactic features account for the degree to which manner is

expressed, rather than just a simple verb- versus satellite-framed dichotomy (2004:227). Verb-framed languages tend not to express manner because adding manner information requires a subordinate construction of some sort (equivalent to 'exit flying'), which is "heavy" in terms of processing. Satellite-framed languages, however, vary considerably in the extent to which they express manner, depending on morphosyntax and whether satellites can be stacked.[13]

In Kubokota, verb serialisation is a common and highly productive process. Like the so-called "stacking" of English path prepositional phrases, motion verbs of all categories can be stacked or serialised to express both complex paths and manner of motion. As already shown, there is a strong tendency to include deictic path information (i.e. PATHD verbs) in Kubokota motion events, but it is also possible to add a manner verb to a boundary-crossing path (with or without deictic information) with apparently little cost in terms of processing for production or comprehension.[14] This is consistent not only with Slobin's proposal of equipollent framing for verb-serialising languages, but also with my claims in §5.5 about the equal syntactic status of all verbs in Kubokota motion event serialisations.

Talmy (2008) rejects Slobin's proposal, examining (and disputing) Mandarin as a verb-serialising candidate for equipollent framing. Mandarin is very similar to Kubokota in that V1 in the motion event SVC represents manner or cause, V2 expresses the "conformation component" of path (i.e. PATHG) and V3 the "deixis component" of path (i.e. PATHD). Talmy argues that, although V1 and V2 can both be the main verb in a MVC (he does not discuss the status of V3), V1 is a larger class and occurs more often as a main verb than V2 does, and should therefore be regarded as the head. He supports this claim on the basis of judgements about headedness from one native-speaking linguistics student.

[13] In English, for instance, a whole series of satellite prepositions expressing path can occur, e.g. *'He fell down off the cliff into the river'*, and manner is expressed in approximately 32% of motion clauses. In Russian, however, both boundary-crossing and deixis are expressed as prefixes on the verb, which cannot be stacked; the speaker has to choose between expressing deixis (e.g. *pri-letet* 'come-fly') or focusing on the 'exit' of the owl (e.g. *vy-letet* 'out-fly'), but the verb expresses manner 100% of the time (Slobin 2004:227).

[14] There is probably some cost. Slobin (2004:227-8) notes that there is a developmental trend in Mandarin and Thai speakers' expression of manner, younger speakers tending to express only path, and path-manner combinations coming at a later age; it is beyond the scope of this study to investigate this issue in Kubokota.

Talmy's argument seems unsatisfactory to me on several levels. His claims are based on an argument about the headedness of the SVC, but as we have already seen in §5.5, headedness in SVCs is a problematic notion; Zlatev and David point out for Thai, and it is equally true for Kubokota and Mandarin, that *'there is no a priori reason to regard only one of these verbs as* main *and the others as (grammatically) subordinate, and even less so as "satellites"'* (Zlatev and David 2004:122). Native speaker judgements (even by linguistics students) are very subjective, and Talmy provides very little data, and no syntactic evidence, to support his case (as in Kubokota, there is no marking on the Mandarin verb to easily identify a head on syntactic grounds; the syntactic evidence that Kubokota motion event SVCs are co-headed is more subtle and complex (see §5.5)).

In support of his claim that the V1 manner verb is the head of the SVC, Talmy points out that V1 verbs occur more frequently in mono-verbal clauses than V2 verbs. In Kubokota, however, V1, V2 and V3 can all occur in both MVCs and SVCs (with a small number of V2/PATHG exceptions). Furthermore, although Kubokota PATHD verbs (Talmy's V3) are only a small category semantically, they have a higher frequency than any other verb in the language, not only as SVCs but also in mono-verbal clauses. I do not consider that the small size of this semantic class negates the fact that, syntactically, PATHD verbs (and most PATHG verbs) have full verbal status in Kubokota. Talmy fails to discuss V3 deictic verbs in Mandarin, and does not even include any in his data. These elements are, however, full lexical verbs in their own right, and can occur as a main verb in a mono-verbal clause:

(48) *Vivian chu Meiguo.*
Vivian go America.
'Vivian went to America.' (Mandarin, Vivian Yu, p.c.)

(49) *Vivian lai wo jia.*
Vivian come my house
'Vivian came to my house.' (Mandarin, Vivian Yu, p.c.)

Talmy also neglects to discuss the one example he accepts as being a good candidate for equipollent framing. This example is given in (50), and is equivalent to the example provided by Slobin (2004) in (51); both, it will be noted, are very similar to Kubokota motion event SVCs. Talmy ignores Slobin's point that in addition to the SVC given in (51), either 'exit' or 'exit come' can be used for the emergence of the owl in Mandarin; the manner verb 'fly', which Talmy assumes to be the head, is

optional. This point, however, is central to Slobin's argument that Mandarin cannot be treated as a satellite-framed language: path is expressed by verbs and manner can be omitted (Slobin 2004:228).

(50) *Ta1 zou3 jin4 le gong1 yuan2.*
she/he walk enter PERF park she/he
'She/he walked into the park.' (Mandarin, Talmy 2008)

(51) *fēi chū lái*
fly exit toward.speaker
'came flying out' (Mandarin, Slobin 2004:228)

Like Mandarin and other verb-serialising languages, the Kubokota data supports Slobin's proposal for a third category in motion event typology. As Ameka and Essegbey find for West African languages:

> *When the properties are tallied, we find that serialising languages share more properties with S-languages than with... V-languages... while still possessing a unique property. What this shows is that they cannot be said to belong to either type. Instead, they appear to belong to a class of their own.* (Ameka and Essegbey in press)

6.5 Comparison with a traditional text

To ascertain that the frog stories and route descriptions are not wildly atypical of Kubokota texts, I also investigated motion event clauses in a single traditional narrative, for comparison. The narrative is a story about a boy who goes by canoe to visit the village of a giant, steals fruit from the giant's breadfruit tree, and escapes from the giant by throwing a very ripe breadfruit in his face and blinding him. The story was told by JW, a middle-aged Pienuna man (the text is presented in full in Appendix Three, Text One).

Table 6.9 compares the number of motion events expressed by MVCs and SVCs across the three text types.

Table 6.9: Motion events expressed by MVCs and SVCs across text types

text type	text length (Toolbox records)	total motion event clauses	motion event MVCs	motion event SVCs	percentage SVCs
route descriptions	82	116	69	47	41%
frog stories	206	155	66	89	57%
traditional narrative	58	45	23	22	49%
overall total	**346**	**316**	**158**	**158**	**50%**

The traditional narrative falls midway between the frog stories and route descriptions in terms of the percentage of motion event clauses containing SVCs. It will be recalled from Foley's (2003) study of Watam, that in the Watam frog story, clause chaining was preferred over verb serialisation. In this, at least, the Kubokota frog stories do not show this effect, and are comparable to a traditional narrative in terms of verb serialisation. One difference, probably not significant, is that all SVCs in the traditional narrative contain only two verbs, whereas a small number of route descriptions and frog stories have three or more (see Table 6.2).

Table 6.10 compares the semantic categories of motion verbs that occur in MVCs and SVCs in the traditional narrative. The numbers in brackets are the corresponding percentages for frog stories and route descriptions combined (see Table 6.3).

Table 6.10: Motion verb categories in the traditional narrative

motion verb category	MVC	% of category occurring in MVCs (frog/route)	component of SVC	% of category occurring in SVCs (frog/route)	total
PATHD	15	42 (35)	21	58 (65)	36
PATHG	1	17 (33)	5	83 (67)	6
MANNER	7	54 (23)	6	46 (77)	13
GOAL	0	0 (18)	3	100 (82)	3
total	**23**	**40 (34)**	**35**	**60 (66)**	**58**

As the table shows, PATHD verbs are the most common verb types in both SVCs and MVCs across all the texts. In the traditional narrative, MANNER verbs are more common than PATHG verbs, whereas the reverse is true for the frog and route data. This is probably not a significant difference: as in the frog story, *keza* 'climb' is the most frequent MANNER verb in traditional narrative MVCs (5 out of 7 occurences); the other two instances involve the verb *voze* 'paddle'. Although I have classified both

keza and *voze* as MANNER rather than PATHG verbs, both actually imply a particular type of ground, as well as a method of locomotion.[15]

As in the frog stories and route descriptions, the goal verbs *paro* 'go ashore' and *kamu* 'arrive' usually occur in SVCs. The traditional story also contains two instances of *kamu* in a MVC, describing arrival at a time; this usage is highly conventionalised and is not counted as a motion event.

I will not list all possible verb serialisation types, but as in the route/frog data, the most frequently occurring combinations are MANNER + PATHD (4 instances) and PATHD + GOAL (3 instances). A type that is unattested in the route/frog data involves a PATHD verb as V1 and another path verb (either PATHD or PATHG) as V2, in a sequential, purposive relationship (4 instances). These are similar to the PATHD + MANNER SVCs discussed in §6.4.1.2.

			PATHD		PATHD	PATHG		
(52)	*ko*	*za*	*lao,*	*za*	*lao*	*livut-i=a*	*na*	*kelekele,*
	so	3SG.R	go	3SG.R	go	go.around-TR=3SG.OBJ	DET	point

'and he went, he went (and) went around the point,' (a038JW_011)

					PATHD	PATHD		
(53)	*teku=a*	*nana*	*bateu,*		*gore*	*zae*	*pa*	*mola,*
	take=3SG.OBJ	3SG.POS	breadfruit		go.down	go.up	IN.PRP	canoe

'he took his breadfruit, went down and boarded his canoe,' (lit. 'went up on his canoe') (a038JW_050)

Table 6.11 lists the PATHD verbs found in the texts.

Table 6.11: PATHD verb frequencies

	route descriptions	frog stories	traditional narrative
gore 'go down'	13	16	14
zae 'go up'	16	5	6
lagere 'come down'	2	1	5
zale 'come up'	29	2	1
lao 'go'	5	50	7
lame 'come'	14	11	-
keni 'go away'	-	8	3
total	**79**	**93**	**36**

[15] *Voze* implies not only that the subject is propelling himself with a paddle (instrument), but also that he is in a canoe (a means of transport) and that he is on the sea (ground). It could also be classified as an activity verb (see §3.6 for further discussion of MANNER verbs as activities).

In the traditional narrative, as in the route descriptions, the geocentric 'up' and 'down' verbs predominate over the more neutral terms *lao* 'go' and *lame* 'come' (which does not occur at all). The story takes place in two villages, between which the boy travels by canoe along the coast. Most traditional narratives are located in a typical Oceanic environment like this, even if that environment is not identified as any particular island or village. Unlike in the frog stories, the speaker and his audience share considerable socio-cultural knowledge about this landscape, which the Kubokota geocentric system is designed to express. Thus, the boy 'goes up' from the beach to the giant's village and the giant 'comes down' to the village from the bush (a place to which people habitually go, to garden, to find firewood, to gather nuts, etc.).

As we might expect, the majority of PATHD verbs in the traditional narrative are 'go' verbs. There are fewer 'come' verbs than in the route descriptions, although more than in the frog stories. This is because a traditional narrative is dislocated in time, if not place, from the here and now (we would expect a historical narrative, such as the story of how Obobulu was settled from Pienuna, to be more anchored in terms of deictic reference). *Zale* is used only in reported speech, when the boy tells the giant to look up at him in the tree (*enga zale* 'look.up come.up'). *Lagere*, however, is used several times for the descent of the giant from the bush. In (54), the narrator is talking about the main protagonist, the boy, and his activities in the giant's village, when the giant arrives, 'coming down' from the bush. Either the boy or the village might motivate the use of *lagere* here, the village being a prototypical deictic centre (see §3.3, footnote 6). A similar example, from another traditional narrative, is presented in (55). Here, the protagonists are in their garden looking down to the village. Until this point in the story, all the action has been taking place in the garden (inland), but in (55), the village on the coast is treated as the deictic centre.

(54) *Za* *korapa* *keza=i* *aza* *zana* *bateu* *zana* *za,* *za*
3SG.R PROG climb=3SG.OBJ 3SG MED.SG breadfruit MED.SG PRO 3SG.R

lagere *gazavotu* *na* *iliganigani,*
come.down go.seaward DET giant
'While he was climbing that breadfruit tree, the giant came down seaward,'
(a038JW_030)

(55) *dogoro* ***lagere*** *qe* *gua* *ari-kori* *pa=na* *dia* *guguzu*
look **come.down** 3PL.R say PROX.PL-two IN.PRP=DET 3PL.POS house

pa *dia* *ruma,*
IN.PRP 3PL.POS house
'the two of them looked down to their village to their house,' (a018LP_019)

Table 6.12 compares the distribution of MVCs and SVCs with and without grounds between the texts.

Table 6.12: Clause types containing NP grounds

	route descriptions (% of total clauses)	frog stories	traditional narrative	total
MVC without ground	17 (15%)	28 (31%)	13 (29%)	58 (23%)
MVC with ground	52 (45%)	18 (20%)	10 (22%)	80 (32%%)
SVC without ground	20 (17%)	9 (10%)	17 (17%)	46 (18%)
SVC with ground	27 (23%)	35 (39%)	5 (11%)	67 (27%)
total clauses without grounds	37 (32%)	37 (41%)	30 (67%)	104 (41%)
total clauses with grounds	79 (68%)	53 (59%)	15 (33%)	147 (59%)
total clauses	**116**	**90**	**45**	**251**

As in the route descriptions, NP grounds occur more frequently in MVCs than in SVCs in the traditional narrative (there are 10 MVCs with grounds and only 5 SVCs). The data also shows, however, that while the majority of motion event clauses in the route/frog data do contain grounds (68% in route descriptions, 59% in frog stories), the majority of motion event clauses in the traditional narrative do not (67%). This is consistent with Foley's findings in Watam, that frog story texts are characterised by much higher lexical density than traditional narratives, as is typical of literate texts (Foley 2003:94). In the case of the frog stories, this may be due to decontextualisation, as Foley suggests, and the need to create the fictional landscape. The even higher lexical density of route descriptions is a product of the genre to which they belong; route descriptions require the specification of lots of grounds. Topogeny, the recitation of place names to express the affiliation of a group to the land (often describing a sequence of places along the route of their migration), is a not uncommon genre among Austronesian peoples; for instance, Meto (West Timor) communities *'record the movements and journeys of their ancestors through a narrative tradition of oral history in which key places in the clans' expansion and segmentation are remembered and retold'* (McWilliam 1997:104). One can imagine

that, if we were to conduct a study like this on such a text, we would find an even higher lexical density and frequency of ground phrases. My point here is that lexical density is influenced by genre, and is not, in itself, indicative of the quality or "naturalness" of the text.

A brief analysis of a traditional text seems in general to validate the use of the frog story and route description data in this study. The split of motion event clauses between SVCs and MVCs is more or less similar between text types, as are the types of verb combinations that occur in serialisations. The most obvious differences between the text types are lexical density (in terms of the expression of grounds), and variation in the use of deictic reference (depending on the degree to which a text is anchored in real time and space). Neither of these factors invalidates a text as a useful source of data; in fact, comparing linguistic features across genres may provide us with valuable insights into the distribution of these features in the language. The differences illustrate, however, that genre is an issue to be aware of when analysing texts in the way that I have done in this chapter, and highlight the importance of basing the "thick description" of a language on as many genres as possible.

6.6 Summary

In this chapter I have examined how motion events tend to be expressed in three route description texts and three frog story narratives; bearing in mind the caveats about frog story data expressed by Foley (2003), I have compared the results with further data from a traditional narrative. The dataset is too small for a reliable quantitative analysis, but several strong tendencies are apparent:

- all motion event serialisations contain information about path, most commonly expressed by a PATHD verb, but also by a PATHG verb, or by both PATHG and PATHD;
- mono-verbal clauses also tend to express path, although occasionally they may contain a MANNER verb such as *keza* 'climb', in which the nature of the path is implicit;
- ground phrases are more likely to be expressed in mono-verbal clauses than in serial verb constructions;

- SOURCE verbs occur in mono-verbal clauses, whereas GOAL verbs occur as the final component of a motion event serialisation;

- boundary-crossing verbs such as *votu* 'exit' and *luge* 'enter', contrary to the predictions of Slobin's boundary-crossing constraint (Slobin 2004:225), tend to occur in serialisation with MANNER and PATHD verbs, suggesting that Kubokota is neither verb- or satellite-framed, but equipollently-framed.

There are various differences between the texts that can be explained in terms of their genre and the degree to which they are located in the time and place of the deictic centre or speaker:

- in familiar island environments (i.e. in the route descriptions and traditional narrative), geocentric 'up' and 'down' verbs may be used to describe paths of motion on the horizontal plane; in the frog stories, the environment is unfamiliar, and geocentrically neutral verbs such as *lao* 'go' predominate, 'up' and 'down' referring only to vertical motion;

- deictic 'come' verbs, which describe paths oriented towards the speaker or some other deictic centre, are most common in the route descriptions, where the speaker is embodied in the same time and place as the motion event; they also occur in the traditional narrative, where the village is a prototypical deictic centre; but in the frog stories, they are used only for the emergence of a figure from a contained space (i.e. a hole) into the outside world inhabited by the protagonist (and, by analogy, all people).

CHAPTER SEVEN

Geocentric directions: locating motion in the physical landscape

7.1 Introduction

In the discussion so far, I have repeatedly referred to the use of Kubokota motion verbs, the deictic (PATHD) verbs in particular, for expressing paths of motion oriented in physical (geocentric) directions. The Kubokota PATHD verbs are used to describe vectors that may be oriented inland, seaward, uphill, downhill, shoreward, out to sea and up and down along the coast. Geocentric directional systems are a common feature of Oceanic languages and I will begin this chapter with an overview of the literature on the topic. I will then present the Kubokota data and the four-scale system that operates in villages on the east coast of Ranongga. I will examine the ways in which the scales interact, considering factors that may motivate speakers' choices between one scale and another, including village terrain, whether or not the sea is visible, and the nature of the motion or orientation that is being described. The Kubokota system is complex, and making an adequate interpretation of the data is dependent on understanding both the environmental context and the sociocultural situation in which an utterance was produced.

The data presented in this study was collected in four east coast villages, two Kubokota-speaking (Obobulu and Pienuna) and two Luqa-speaking (Suava and Koqu); there appear to be no significant differences between the Kubokota and Luqa systems. In Obobulu and Suava I conducted detailed elicitation surveys and observations; Pienuna and Koqu I visited more briefly, but the observations I made there are sufficient to confirm the consistency of the system between the four locations (and the two language groups). I was unable to collect data in any west coast villages because the earthquake intervened and much of the west coast became inaccessible, even had it been appropriate to conduct linguistic surveys at a time when people were facing disaster. Certain assumptions may be made about the west coast, based on generalisations from the east coast and the testimony of east coast speakers, but any conclusions can only be tentative.

7.2 Geocentric direction in Oceanic languages

Ross (2003) identifies three geocentric (or geographic) dimensions for Proto-Oceanic. The terms of vertical direction, 'up' and 'down', are opposed to each other on one horizontal axis; on a second axis, transverse to this, the neutral term 'across' is used. The following verbs or directionals can be reconstructed (Ross 2003:259):

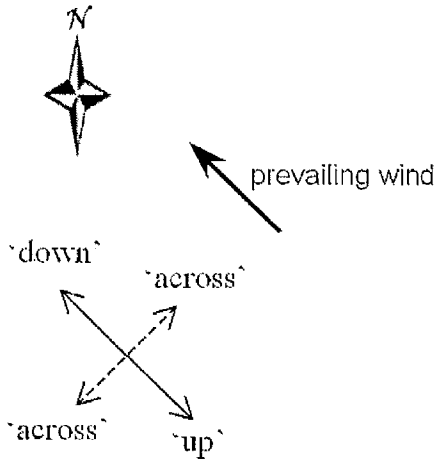
(1) **sipo* '(go) down'
**sake* '(go) up'
**pano* '(go) across'

Land-based usage of this system was typically based on a river valley, 'up' and 'down' corresponding to water flow and the neutral term being 'across the valley'; or, in coastal areas, on an inland ('up') / seaward ('down') axis, with the undifferentiated transverse axis lying along the coast. It should be noted that the orientation of this coastal axis is defined by its orthogonal relationship to the primary inland-seaward axis, not by its coincidental alignment with the coast. Some languages later developed specific 'inland' and 'seaward' terms, often derived from local nouns such as **longa* 'inland' or **qutan* 'bush' (for 'inland'), and **laur* 'sea, seawards' or **tasik* 'sea, salt water' (for 'seaward') (Ross 2003:229-30).

On a wider, navigational scale, various people have argued that directional usage in POc (Ross 1995) and in Oceanic languages such as Longgu (Hill 1997) and Saliba (Margetts 1999) was based on the path of the sun, i.e. on a cardinal axis with an east-west orientation, as in English (see also Palmer 2002a). While this may be the case for some Oceanic languages in synchronic usage, historically, François (2004) has demonstrated that the reflexes of POc **sipo* 'go down' and **sake* 'go up' were metaphorically extended to mean 'go northwest' (i.e. 'downwind') and 'go southeast' (i.e. 'upwind') in languages across the Oceanic region (see Figure 7.1). The prevailing southeast wind was a highly salient feature of the environment for POc navigators, and motivated a cardinal up-down axis running northwest-southeast (rarely east-west, except where this is motivated by coastline orientation) which can be found throughout the Pacific.[1] Some languages also adopted the terms for the northwest storm wind (**apaRat*) and the southeast trade wind (**raki*) as cardinal directions (Ross 2003:221-2).

[1] Ross, despite his "path of the sun" account of navigational scale directionals in an earlier paper (Ross 1995), concurs with François' proposal (Ross 2003:260).

Figure 7.1: POc navigational scale



For languages spoken in coastal areas (i.e. the majority of Oceanic languages), two scales were therefore available: a land-based system in which 'up' and 'down' referred to inland and seaward, and a sea-based system in which 'up' and 'down' referred to upwind and downwind. In many languages, the primary axis of this navigational scale has been adapted to an orientation southeast and northwest along the coast, forming an intermediate scale between the local and navigational scales and resolving the ambiguity inherent in an undifferentiated transverse axis. As François points out, this sometimes required the navigational scale axis to be rotated a certain extent in order to be parallel to the shoreline; he suggests that this is never more than 90° from its navigational value, and notes that this development is favoured by *'certain geographic situations, such as a long, outspread island characterized by a high number of small communities'* (François 2004:23). It also seems probable that the more closely a coastline converges with the northwest-southeast navigational scale primary axis (northwest-southeast coastlines being quite common along the southwest Pacific Rim), the more likely this axis is to be adapted to coastal use.

Speakers of languages with an intermediate up-down coastal axis are in an ambiguous situation in which 'up' and 'down' may refer either to the inland-seaward axis or to the coastal axis. François proposes that this ambiguity is resolved in some languages by relexifying the land-sea axis with alternative terms meaning 'bush' and 'sea' (often derived from local nouns such as reflexes of POc **qutan* 'bush', **loŋa* 'inland' and **tasik* 'sea', *laur* 'seaward' (Ross 2003:229-30)). According to François, these 'bushward' and 'seaward' terms may eventually displace 'up' and 'down' on the inland-seaward axis at a later stage in a language's evolution; likewise, the 'up' and

'down' intermediate scale terms will replace the undifferentiated transverse terms on the coastal axis. François proposes a four-stage evolutionary process, as follows:

I) A language has a primary ("cardinal") up-down axis and an undifferentiated transverse. 'Up' and 'down' refer to inland and seaward on the local scale, and to upwind and downwind on the navigational scale (e.g. Saliba (Margetts 1999)).

II) The navigational scale is adapted to the coastal axis, creating a new up-down intermediate axis along the coast, which coexists with the local and navigational scales. (e.g. New Caledonian languages such as Xârâcùù and Nemi (Ozanne-Rivierre 1997)).

III) The inland-seaward axis is relexified using bushward-seaward terms (e.g. Marquesan (Lavondès 1983)).

IV) The local and intermediate scales merge to form a single land scale (with 'up' and 'down' on the coastal axis, 'bushward' and 'seaward' on the inland-seaward axis). The undifferentiated transverse axis and the up-down inland-seaward axis are lost (e.g. Longgu (Hill 1997), Mwotlap (François 2003b)).

While François' account is a useful typology of the kinds of systems commonly attested in modern Oceanic languages, there are certain assumptions implicit in his claims that are problematic for a synchronic analysis. Particularly awkward is the notion that languages are moving, at varying speeds, along a unidirectional path that will eventually bring them to some idealised state where all possible ambiguities are resolved. There is no reason, however, why a given language may not sit at any point along this route in a relatively stable state, managing any ambiguities inherent in the system by a variety of alternative strategies, and therefore having no strong motivation for change (Saliba, if François' claims are accurate, has been a stable Stage I language for centuries).

There also seems to be no reason why a language should not retain multiple scales for use in different circumstances, handling ambiguities by other linguistic and extra-linguistic means. On the coastal axis, both undifferentiated and up-down terms may be available, while on the inland-seaward axis, both up-down and specific bushward-

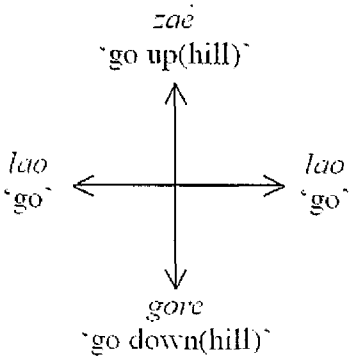
seaward terms may be used. This is the case in Kubokota, and a major focus of this chapter will be to explore the interaction between these scales, the contexts in which different scales are used, and how speakers differentiate between them. Kubokota speakers select directional terms on the basis of factors such as the distance and orientation of the path described. The choice and interpretation of a term is context-dependent, but can be made explicit by a range of strategies beyond the directional term itself. Some of these influences and strategies are explored in the case study in Chapter Eight. For now, however, we come to the actual Kubokota terms and their application to physical space in the Ranongga environment.

7.3 Geocentric direction in Kubokota

In Kubokota, the 'up' and 'down' PATHD verbs are used consistently to describe at least four geocentric directions (in addition to vertical 'up' and 'down', which may be regarded as the core meaning of these terms). 'Up' may indicate motion away from the coast towards the bush interior; in a southerly direction along the coast of the island (which is oriented approximately north-south); across the sea towards other islands anywhere in the south-eastern quadrant of space; and from the land onto the sea irrespective of cardinal direction. The terms *lao* 'go' and *lame* 'come' are directionally neutral terms wherever an undifferentiated axis transverse to one of these primary up-down axes is relevant (mainly at the local/domestic level and at sea); *lao* may also be used as a more general neutral motion term, as discussed in §7.3.3.

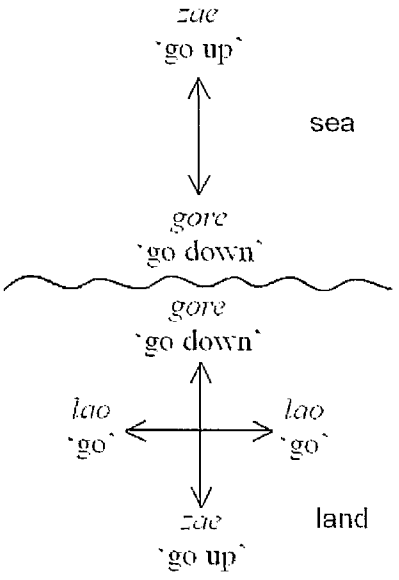
On the local scale, the 'up' and 'down' terms are used on the primary inland-seaward axis and the neutral 'come' and 'go' terms on the transverse, as shown in Figure 7.2. The transverse axis is undifferentiated geocentrically, but deictic information usually serves to identify the relevant direction. The local scale is used for motion at the domestic level and for short distances around the village.

Figure 7.2: Kubokota local scale[2]



The up-down axis of the local scale is bounded by the shoreline, i.e. as one approaches the shore on land, 'down' is used for descent only as far as the water's edge. As soon as one crosses the waterline, one goes 'up' onto the sea; conversely, when going shorewards on the sea, one goes 'down' to land. Small scale orientation in Kubokota therefore consists of two separate sets of axes, one land-based (the local scale) and one sea-based, reflected across the waterline, which I will call the land-sea boundary scale (Figure 7.3). This is also the case in Longgu (Hill 1997:116), Torau and Nauruan (Palmer p.c.); in the majority of Oceanic languages the inland-seaward axis extends out to sea.

Figure 7.3: Kubokota local and land-sea boundary scales[3]

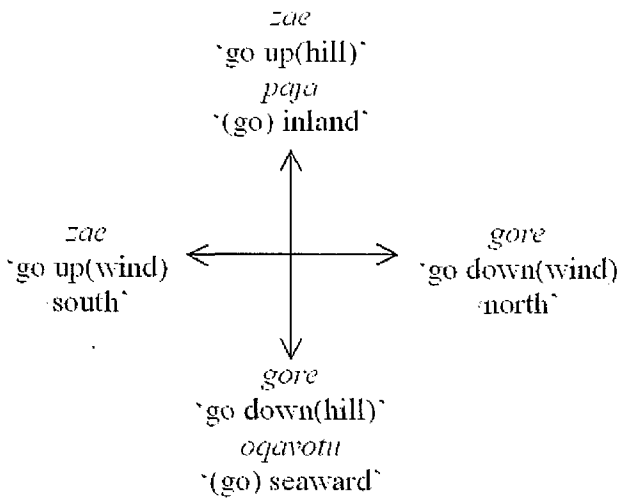


[2] Only the 'go' verbs are shown in Figure 7.2 and Figure 7.3; note that the corresponding 'come' verbs also occur.

[3] The transverse axis is unattested on the sea in the land-sea boundary scale.

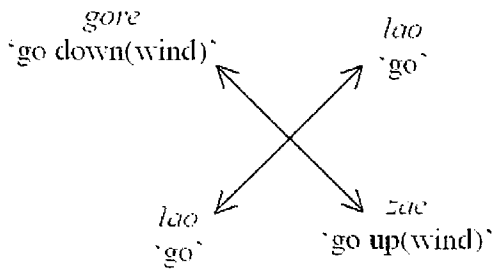
On the intermediate scale, which begins at a point only slightly larger than the local scale, 'up' and 'down' are applied to the north-south coastal axis. Transverse to this, *paja* '(go) inland' and *oqavotu* '(go) seaward' are used apparently interchangeably with the up-down terms for the inland-seaward axis (Figure 7.4). The intermediate scale applies between villages and for longer distances within a village; interactions between the local and intermediate scales are discussed in §7.3.1.3.

Figure 7.4: Kubokota intermediate scale



On the navigational scale, 'up' applies to any direction in the southeastern quadrant of space: Gizo Island, which is due east from Ranongga, is 'up', as is Honiara, which lies to the south. For Vella Lavella, which is approximately northeast, the transverse axis is used (Figure 7.5).

Figure 7.5: Kubokota navigational scale



The fact that I have identified four geocentric scales in Kubokota is not intended to imply that Kubokota speakers switch between four separate conceptual systems as they orient themselves in space on land and sea. The "scales" are convenient terms with which to describe the most salient features of a rich and complex system, but to say that a speaker is, at one moment, operating within the local scale, and at another

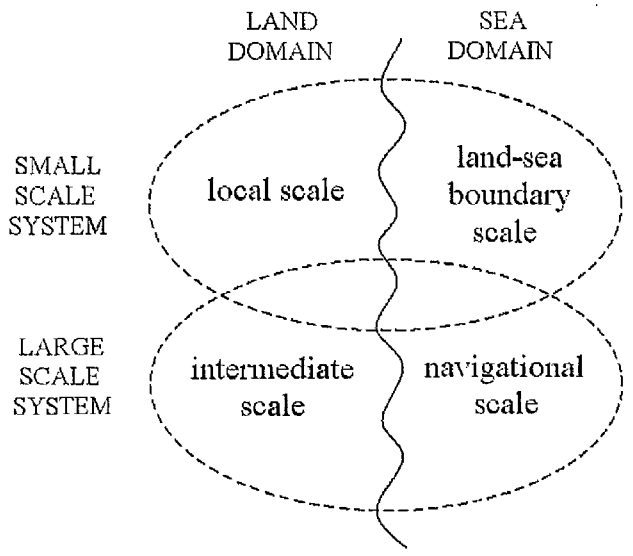
moment switches to the intermediate, is over-simplistic (the reality may be that in some contexts a speaker simply has more than one set of terms available for describing a path along a particular axis, and can choose between them). It might be more appropriate to conceptualise the scales as a two-part system that operates over two distinct domains, land and sea. The small scale system consists of one set of axes on land, and a second set, a mirror image of the first, which operates over comparable distances on sea. These two, the local and land-sea boundary scales, can be regarded as two complementary halves of the same small scale system.[4]

On both land and sea, beyond a certain distance, the large scale system takes over. This scale conflates the intermediate scale (on land) and the navigational scale (on sea), the north-south coastline of the island being consistent with an up-down orientation within the north-west/south-east quadrants of the navigational scale (i.e. there is no need to propose a realignment of this axis). Like the local and land-sea boundary scales, the intermediate and navigational scales can therefore be viewed as essentially the same scale applied to two different domains, land and sea.

Within these domains there is also an interaction between the large scale system and the small scale system: on the sea, motion within the local scale extends only to a certain point before the navigational scale is also available; likewise on land, as soon as one moves beyond domestic level movement one enters a transitional zone where both the local and intermediate scales are available. This is shown in Figure 7.6.

[4] There is no justification for proposing two separate scales here, anymore than one would suggest that more than one scale is in operation at the North Pole, where every direction is south; the shoreline, like the floor of a valley, is simply the lowest point on the island to which one can descend, and thence the only way to go is 'up'.

Figure 7.6: Interaction of scales[5]



In §7.3.1 and §7.3.2, the scales are presented in more detail. §7.3.3 presents data on geocentrically neutral motion involving the verb *lao* 'go', and §7.3.4 summarises the analysis and discusses the implications of the dominant local scale for our understanding of the Kubokota conceptualisation of space.

7.3.1 Land-based scales

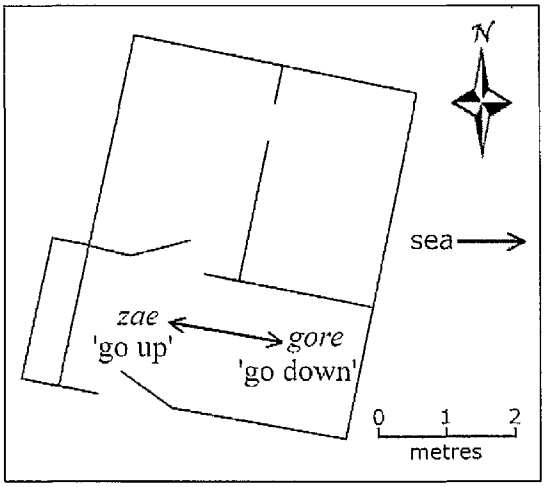
7.3.1.1 Local scale

At the local scale, the primary axis is the inland-seaward axis. The 'up' and 'down' terms are used for motion along this axis, with directionally neutral 'come' and 'go' on the transverse. This applies to small-scale motion at the domestic level, within and between houses and, in some cases, to slightly longer distances through the village.

Examples (2) to (4) are all utterances that occurred on the enclosed balcony of my house in Obobulu. The house faces approximately south and the balcony is long and narrow with the primary inland-seaward axis running east-west along it; the sea is not visible.

[5] I will retain the terms "local scale", "intermediate scale" etc., in order to be able to talk about each set of axes individually.

Map 7.1: Geocentric directions on my balcony



My host family tended to gather on this balcony to eat, and it was an excellent location in which to observe the use of geocentric directionals at the domestic level. Utterances such as (2), where the speaker is telling a child to 'come down' east and sit nearer to her, were common.

(2) ***Lagere*** ***pata-lagere=na*** *pani.*
come.down **side-come.down=3SG.POS** here
'Come down to this (seaward) side here.' (o0430)

(2) describes a motion path of a metre or two along the balcony. However, the geocentric terms can be used on an even smaller scale. In (3) I am sitting immediately next to (and inland from) the person to whom I must give the teapot. In (4), a child is spilling his food because he has to lean too far forward to reach his plate; he is told to move it 'down' closer to himself, i.e. from between his outstretched feet to between his knees. Even at this level, geocentric reference is stronger than other factors such as the location of the plate in relation to the child's own body.

(3) ***Va-gore*** *vani* *na* *teapot.*
CAUS-go.down BEN.APPL.SG DET teapot
'Give him the teapot.' (lit. 'make the teapot go down for him') (o0253)

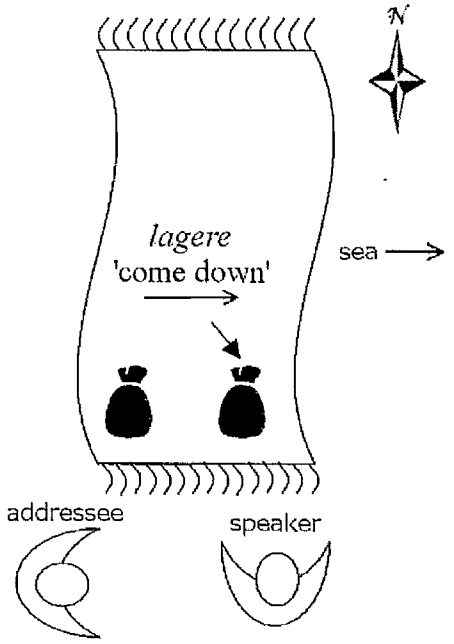
(4) *Katapa* ***va-gore=a.***
move.alongside **CAUS-go.down=3SG.OBJ**
'Move it down nearer.' (o0267)

The same very small-scale movement is not restricted to domestic space but can also be used outside. (5) was uttered at a picnic on the beach. There are two plastic bags side by side on a mat; the speaker asks the addressee to pass her the bag that is both 'down' seaward and nearer to herself. Note the contrast between (5) and (2): in

(2), *pata-lagere=na* is used to identify a location (or area) which is both nearer to the speaker and further 'down' seaward than the addressee's current location, i.e. the relevant factors are the relative locations of the speaker and the addressee along the seaward axis (a binary relationship). In (5), the speaker is also making a distinction between two located entities, both bags being located along the seaward axis, as is the speaker (a ternary relationship). As discussed in §3.8.1, the *pata-* terms indicate an area or location projected off a ground object in a geocentric direction. The ground is usually the speaker or deictic centre, but a further entity (such as the second bag in (5)) may also be relevant in identifying the referent.

(5) *Aza.* ***pata-lagere=na.***
3SG **side-come.down=3SG.POS**
'That one, this seaward side (i.e. the one that is seaward towards me).' (o0846)

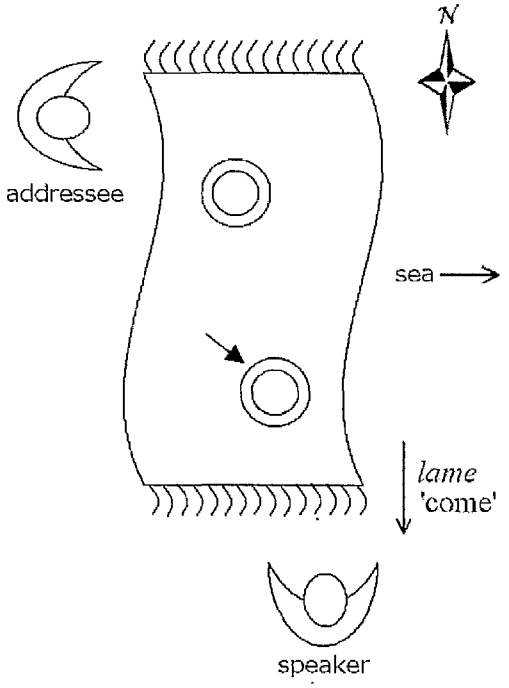
Figure 7.7: Scene described in (5): distinguishing objects on the seaward axis



(6), which occurred in the same location as (5), expresses a similar contrast between two objects on the across axis. In (5) the object is located in terms of both deixis (nearer to speaker) and direction (seaward). In (6), the two objects are more or less equidistant from the sea; they are located along the undifferentiated transverse axis, and are distinguished only in terms of their nearness to the speaker.

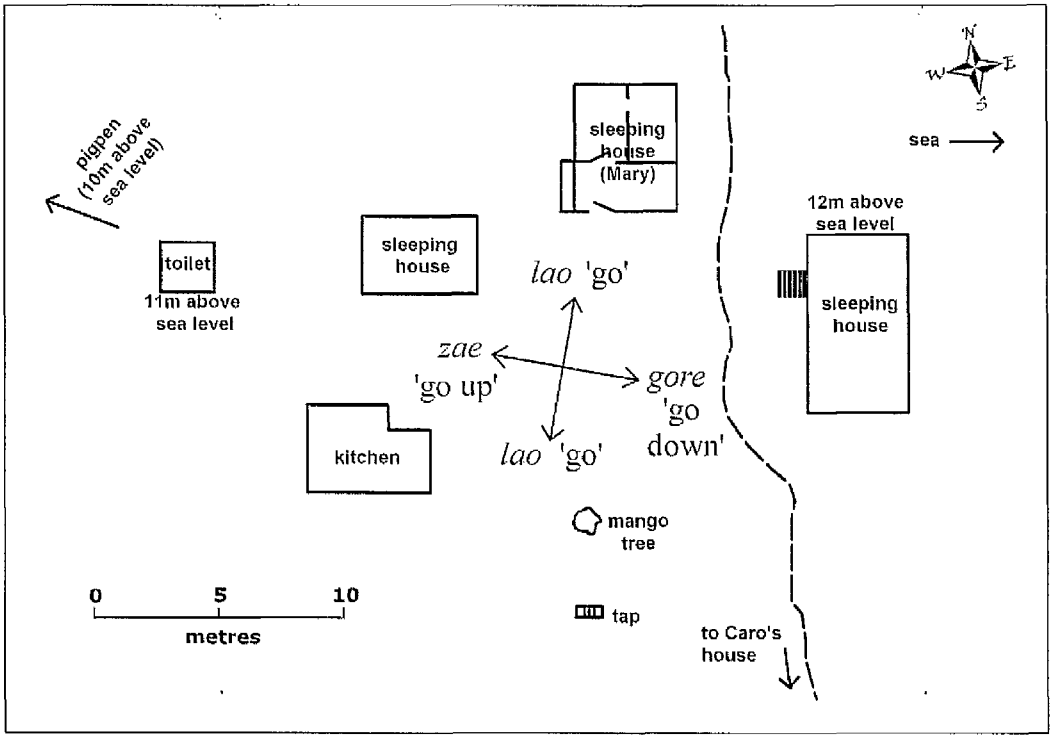
(6) *Ani* ***pata-lame=na.***
PROX.SG **side-come=3SG.POS**
'This one on this side.' (o0845)

Figure 7.8: Scene described in (6): distinguishing objects on the across axis



The local scale is also used for slightly larger scale motion between houses. Map 7.2 shows the housing area inhabited by my host family, comprising kitchen, three sleeping houses, a toilet, and a communal tap, which was shared with other families nearby. The local scale is used throughout this area and for some distance beyond.

Map 7.2: My host family's housing area, with local scale directions



(7) describes a path of motion between the kitchen and the *sape* ('floor', a term which can refer to any house, but in this case indicates my balcony, where the family sits to eat). The ground inclines slightly upward from the kitchen to the house, but *gore* 'go down' is used because motion is seaward.

(7) *Aria Mary.* ***Gore*** *pa sape,* ***gore*** *gani raisi.*
let's.go Mary **go.down** IN.PRP floor **go.down** eat rice
'Let's go, Mary. Let's go down to the floor, go down and eat rice.' (o0407)

Due west of my house and the kitchen, the land slopes down further into a shallow valley; at the bottom of this valley, some twelve metres beyond the toilet, and one metre lower in altitude, is a pigpen; in spite of the slope, this pen is described as 'up' from my house, as in (8).

(8) ***Zae*** *vani borogo na panakai.*
go.up give.APPL.SG pig DET potato
'Go up and give the pig the potatoes.' (o0146)

All the houses in this family's area, as shown in Map 7.2, are either landward or seaward of each other, and the 'up' and 'down' terms are consistently used between them (see §7.3.3 for discussion of *lao* 'go' as a neutral directional). The communal tap and the houses of the neighbouring area, however, are on the 'across' axis, neither

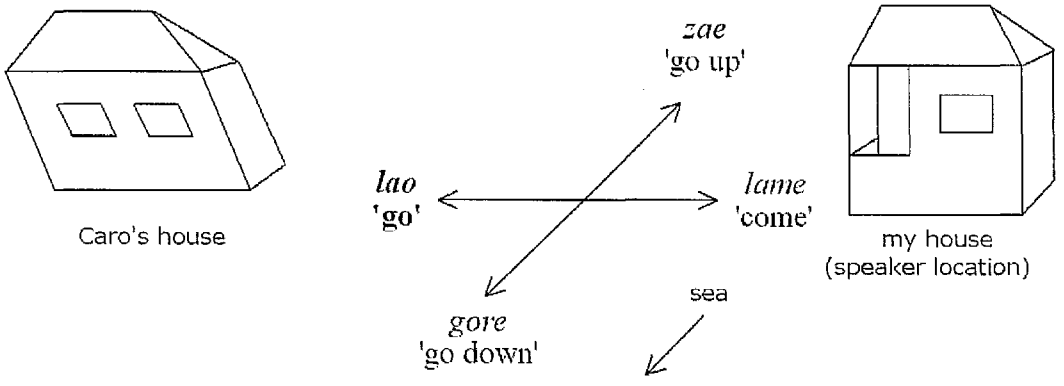
landward nor seaward, and only *lao* and *lame* can be used. In (9), the speaker comments on the approach of Caro, a neighbour's child, to the tap, and back to her own house; the speaker confirmed that the 'up' and 'down' terms cannot be used in this context.

(9) *Za* ***lame*** *i* *Caro.* *Za* *mule* ***lao.***
3SG.R **come** PERS Caro 3SG.R return **go**
'Caro is coming. (Now) she's going back.' (o0214)

The four sides of a house can be identified using the local scale geocentric terms; the south side of my host family's kitchen, for example, is referred to as *pata-lao* 'side-go' (see §3.8.1). After the earthquake, Caro's house leaned towards the south, i.e. on the across axis away from my house, as described by my consultant in (10). She later confirmed that if Caro's house had leaned west (inland), *zae* would be used, *gore* for the east (seaward), and *lame* 'come' if the house had leaned towards us where we sat in my house.

(10) *Za* *kedoro* ***lao*** *vei* *tu* *rari.*
3SG.R lean **go** be.like FOC DIST.PL
'It leans away in that direction.' (o0597)

Figure 7.9: Scene described in (10): house leaning on the transverse axis



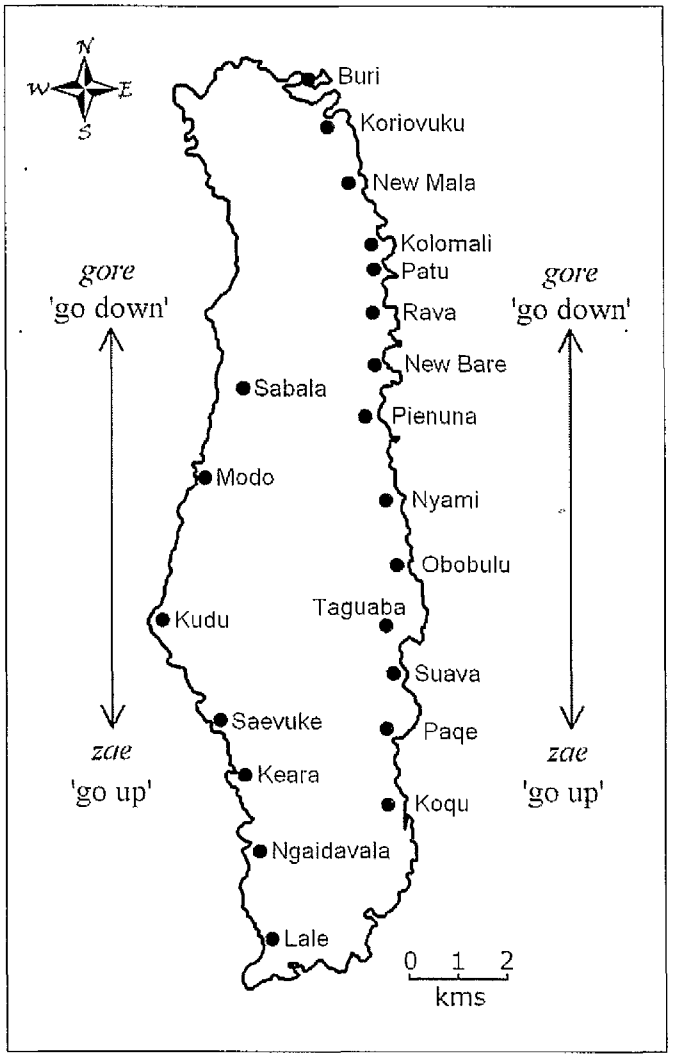
The local scale that I have described for this one family's housing area is used between houses and over similar short distances throughout the village. At longer distances, the 'up' and 'down' terms are used on the intermediate scale, i.e. 'up' is equivalent to south along the coast, rather than to west and inland. The intermediate scale is described in §7.3.1.2. The local and intermediate scales overlap at village level, and the choice of one or the other is influenced by a variety of factors, in

particular the distance over which a path extends, and the salience of the sea. Interaction between the local and intermediate scales is discussed in §7.3.1.3.

7.3.1.2 Intermediate scale

On the intermediate scale, the primary (northwest-southeast) axis of the navigational scale is applied to the Ranonggan coastline, which runs predominantly north-south: north, therefore, is 'down' and south is 'up'. From Obobulu, one goes down to Pienuna and the villages as far as Buri, and up to Suava and the villages as far as Lale. The same primary up-down axis applies along the west coast, i.e. Saevuke is up from Modo and Keara is down from Lale, as shown in Map 7.3.

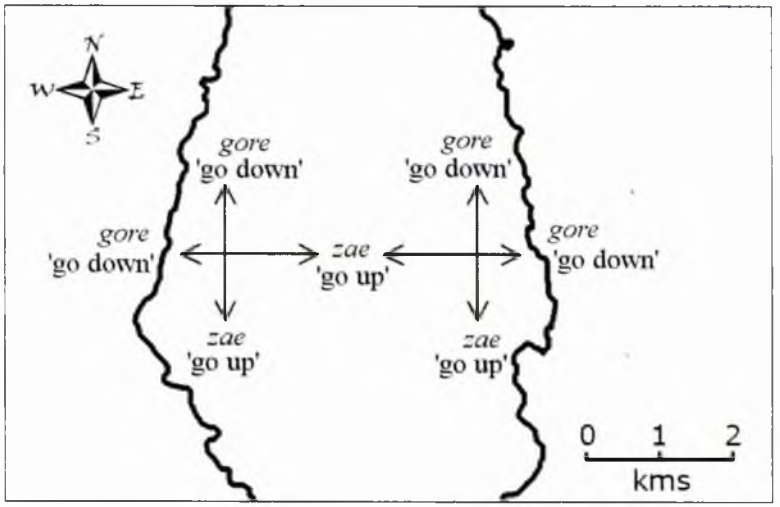
Map 7.3: Ranongga Island showing directions along coast on intermediate scale



It should be noted that the directions used along the west coast are reversed, in relation to the inland-seaward axis, from their configuration on the east coast. Several east coast speakers, of both Kubokota and Luqa, remarked to me that the directional

system used by their west coast neighbours was different, and that the orientation of the coastal axis changed on the other side of the island. If one stands on the east coast of Ranongga, facing the sea, 'up' is to the right along the coast, whereas if one stands on the west coast facing the sea, 'up' is to the left (see Map 7.4). East coast speakers visiting the west report finding this reversal of the axes confusing.[6] As I will discuss further in §7.3.4, it seems that the default primary axis in Kubokota (and probably also in Kokota) is the inland-seaward axis and not the intermediate or navigational scale axis, even though, to our western eyes, this is the axis that appears to be anchored to fixed, absolute, cardinal points.

Map 7.4: Local and intermediate scale 'up' and 'down' axes on Ranongga Island



For describing routes across the island, the inland and seaward terms on the local scale are used. The relevant vector seems to be the section of the route nearest to the deictic centre. Thus from Suava or Obobulu one 'goes up' to Modo, and on the return journey 'comes down', even though the route to Modo involves both ascent and descent through the bush and over the intervening mountain. Note that Modo is northwest of Obobulu, which would be 'down' on the navigational scale; the salience of the local terrain overrides this.[7]

In §7.2 I presented the evolutionary stages of Oceanic geocentric directionals proposed by François (2004). Leaving aside for the moment any reservations about

[6] Palmer (2002a:136) notes a similar situation in Kokota, another North West Solomonic language.
[7] This is reminiscent of Haugen's (1957) account of orientation in Icelandic: he distinguishes proximate and ultimate orientation, the former being based on true cardinal directions, the latter on quarters of the island designated with the cardinal terms. If one is going to the southern quarter, one is said to be going south, even if it is necessary to go west to get there.

the evolutionary model, and taking François' stages rather as a typology of Oceanic systems, Kubokota is more or less consistent with a Stage II type language, i.e. there are two primary up-down axes, one oriented inland-seaward and one along the coast. Kubokota also has a third up-down axis used for motion seaward from the shore, meaning that at a given point on the Ranongga coast, 'up' can be in any of three different directions (up inland, up to the south or up onto the sea). François' prediction is that the resulting potential for ambiguity will eventually lead to a relexification of the inland-seaward axis. Although no major relexification process has yet taken place, there are two innovative terms that co-exist with the 'up' and 'down' verbs for expressing intermediate-scale distances on the inland-seaward axis.

Oqavotu '(go) seaward' and *paja* '(go) inland' differ from the other verbs in the geocentric system in that they are PATHG verbs and contain no deictic information (see §3.4.3.1); they may, in fact, be serialised with the geocentric PATHD verbs, as in (11) and (12), although they more commonly occur on their own (13), (14).

(11) *beto* *gami* ***oqavotu*** ***gore*** *pa* *ruma* *lotu,*
then 1PL.EX.R **go.seaward** **go.down** IN.PRP house worship
'then we went out down to the church,' (a044BN_080)

(12) *Qu* *suvere* *ta=di* *Elosi* *Danny* *pa* *lolomo?* *Beto* *qu*
2SG.R stay AN.PRP=PL Elosi Danny IN.PRP valley then 2SG.R
paja ***zale?***
go.inland **come.up**
'You were with Elosi and Danny in the valley? And then you came up inland?' (o0603)

(13) ***Oqavotu*** *pa* *nole?*
go.seaward IN.PRP beach
'Are you going to the beach?' (o0468)

(14) *Pa* *nyoro* *Mary* *betoko* *ara* *gami* ***paja*** *pa* *inuma,*
IN.PRP yesterday Mary and 1SG 1PL.EX.R **go.inland** IN.PRP garden
'Yesterday Mary and I went inland to the garden,' (a006BN_001)

Aside from François' evolutionary proposal and the evidence of other languages, there are a number of reasons why *paja* and *oqavotu* can be regarded as representing the early stages of a relexification of the inland-seaward axis, and as innovative in comparison with the corresponding PATHD verbs.

Firstly, they occur with a far lower frequency than the PATHD verbs: in my database of narrative texts, *oqavotu* occurs 48 times, and *paja* 50 (as compared with a

frequency of 191 for *gore* and 143 for *zae*). Note however that this variation will be at least partially due to the broader semantic scope of *gore* and *zae*; *oqavotu* and *paja* are used along only one axis, whereas *gore* and *zae* are used for several, including the vertical (see §8.4.3.1 to compare the frequency of these terms on the inland-seaward axis alone).

Secondly, both verbs belong to a different sub-category of motion verbs than the other geocentric verbs. As described in §3.4.3.1, *oqavotu* is a compound consisting of the MANNER verb *oqa* 'jump' and the PATHG verb *votu* 'exit'.[8] *Paja* can often be glossed as 'climb up' and was probably originally a MANNER verb, but it has acquired the meaning 'climb/ascend in an inland direction'. In §3.4.3.1, I have treated both verbs as PATHG verbs: they are in an antonymic relationship with each other, and are found in concurrent serialisations with both MANNER and PATHD verbs, but not with other PATHG verbs.

The pressure to relexify the inland-seaward axis is evident from the fact that there are also at least two other verbs that are occasionally used to describe the inland-seaward axis. *Gazavotu* is a synonym of *oqavotu* (and also a compound containing *votu* 'exit'); *keza* is a MANNER verb meaning 'climb'. *Gazavotu*, however, has only a very low frequency compared to *oqavotu*. *Keza* is used predominantly for vertical climbing and can also apply to climbing a hill in any direction, not just inland; the fact that the subject must ascend a slope in (16) is probably more significant for the choice of the verb *keza* than the fact that she must go inland.

(15) *za* ***gazavotu*** *pa* *nole,* *pa=na* *dia* *va-va-paro* *mola,*
3SG.R **go.seaward** IN.PRP beach IN.PRP=DET 3PL.POS CAUS-CAUS-go.ashore canoe
'he went down to the shore, to their canoe landing place,' (a038JW_006)

(16) ***Keza*** ***zae*** *ko* *muna* *zae* *ko* *lao* *pa* *ruma* *ta=qu* *ara,*
climb **go.up** so 2.FUT go.up so go IN.PRP house AN.PRP=1SG.POS 1SG
'Climb up and you will go up and go to my house,' (a025SM_015)

Neither *oqavotu* nor *paja* is used for local scale or domestic level motion; they seem to be most commonly used for describing paths of motion over intermediate distances towards and away from the sea. In (17), *oqavotu* is used for motion from the

[8] Stubbs (n.d.) suggests that *'because the island is heavily forested a person entering a village clearing or a beach can appear quickly, being hidden and then appearing with a "jump"'*. While this may be the origin of the term, in actual language use *oqavotu* has been extended far beyond sudden appearance from the bush, and beyond a 'jumping' manner of motion.

Obobulu school field to the main village (not all the way to the sea); in (18), a child is forbidden to leave the main village and go to the sea.

(17) ***Oqavotu*** *mua.* *Uka* *mamina* ***oqavotu.***
go.seaward 2SG.POS tomorrow 1PL.EX.FUT **go.seaward**
'You go seaward (from the school area to the village). We will go seaward tomorrow.' (o0542)

(18) *Mune=ke* ***oqavotu.***
2.FUT=NEG **go.seaward**
'Don't go seaward (from the village to the sea).' (o0542)

Like the PATHD verbs, both *paja* and *oqavotu* can be used to describe the orientation of a person's gaze in an inland or seaward direction (19), serialised with the verb *bata* 'see'. Neither *keza* nor *gazavotu* occurs in this function; this suggests that *oqavotu* and *paja* have been successfully associated with the inland-seaward axis, whereas *keza* and *gazavotu* have not.

(19) *Qu* ***bata*** ***oqavotu*** *tu* *ao!* ***Bata*** ***paja!***
2SG.R **see** **go.seaward** FOC 2SG **see** **go.inland**
'You're facing seawards! Face inland!' (o0595)

Neither *paja* nor *oqavotu* can be used with the locative marker *pata-* 'side'; *pata-* only occurs with the PATHD verbs.

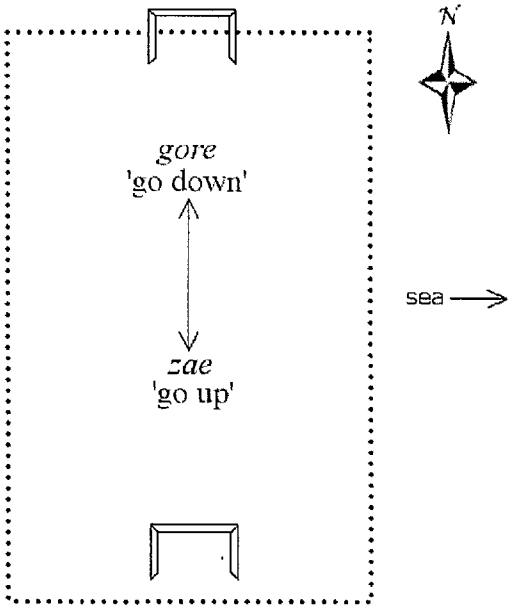
7.3.1.3 Interactions between the land-based scales

The intermediate scale is not restricted to movement along the coast between villages but also interacts with the local scale at village level, such that speakers commonly find themselves in a situation where they must choose whether 'up' and 'down' represent the local inland-seaward axis or the intermediate coastal axis. This potential ambiguity seems not to pose major problems for Kubokota speakers. On the basis of observed usage, various factors seem to motivate the choice of one scale or the other.

Two scenarios from the Obobulu school playing field serve to illustrate the overlap of scales. The playing field is oriented north-south, with a goal post at each end. In a soccer game, therefore, those shooting north are said to be going down, and those shooting south are going up; the 'up' and 'down' terms are used frequently by both players and onlookers throughout the game to describe the motion of the ball towards one goal post or the other. The choice of the intermediate scale in this case appears to be motivated by two factors. Firstly, the two goal posts are both located along the coastal axis, so only this one dimension is relevant in this situation; there is

rarely any need to refer to the inland-seaward axis (unless the ball goes out). Secondly, if the local scale were used in the soccer match, both goal posts would be located on the undifferentiated transverse axis; using the intermediate scale allows the players to differentiate this axis (the need to differentiate the transverse axis is, as François suggests, the motivation for creating an intermediate scale in the first place).

Figure 7.10: Intermediate scale directions on playing field during soccer game

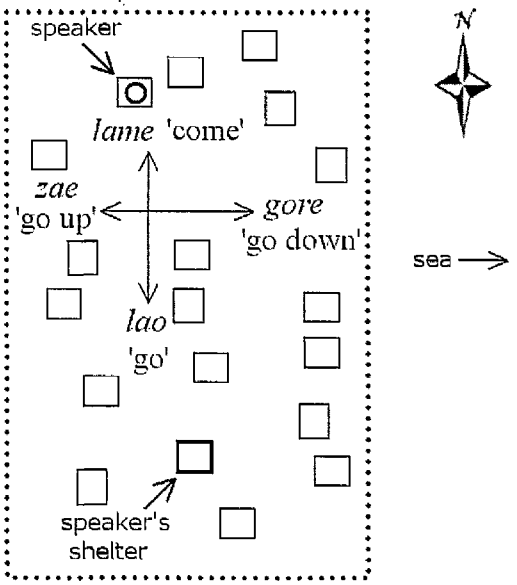


In the second scenario, after the earthquake, the entire village relocated to the playing field and built temporary shelters there. My shelter was at the northern end of the field. When a friend came to see me there, I asked where her shelter was. She pointed to the southern end of the field and replied:

(20) *Pa* *nari* *tu,* *pa* ***pata-lao=na.***
IN.PRP DIST.SG FOC IN.PRP **side-go=3SG.POS**
'Over there, on the go side.' (o0569)

In this case, the local scale applies. There are shelters all over the field, so all four quadrants are potentially relevant; unlike in the soccer game, where one dimension was sufficient, two dimensions are required. To use 'up' (on the intermediate scale) would be ambiguous, if not downright misleading, because 'up' refers to the inland quadrant. The use of the local scale in this scenario therefore allows greater disambiguation of more dimensions, and the ambiguity of the undifferentiated transverse is handled by means of deictic information (i.e. the distal demonstrative *nari* and the 'away from speaker' verb *lao* 'go').

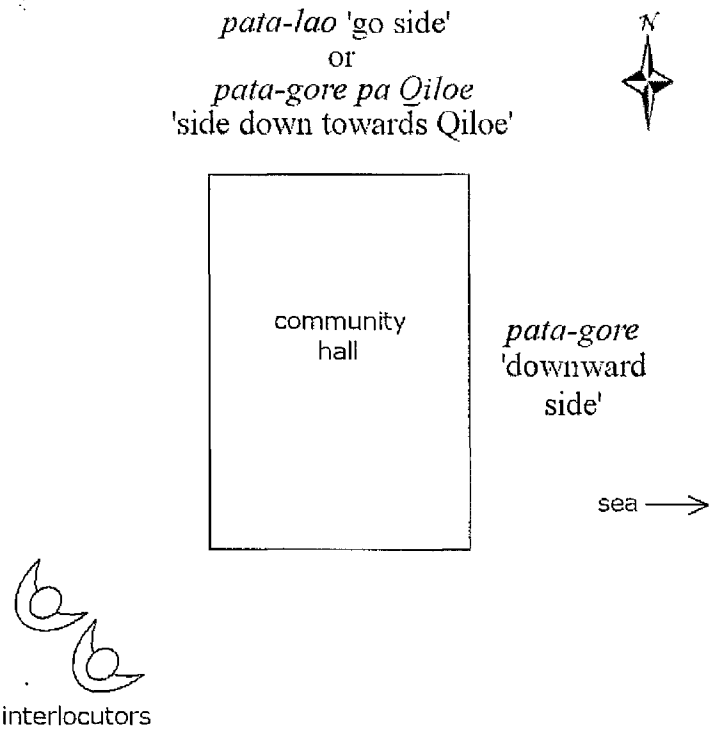
Figure 7.11: Local scale directionals in camp on playing field



Where the scales overlap, 'up' is potentially ambiguous, because it can be interpreted either as 'up (south) along the coast' or 'up inland'. Further observations demonstrate that where such ambiguities occur, i.e. where motion could be directed along either of the two axes, 'up inland' is the most likely interpretation. In another incident, one of the village leaders and I were talking about the plans for the new community hall. Like the playing field, the hall had its longest side along the coastal axis, so I assumed that the intermediate scale could be used. I created considerable confusion by referring to the northern end of the building as the 'down' end (*pata-gore* 'side-go.down'); he understood me to mean the east or seaward side. Although we were eventually able to clarify that I meant 'the side going down towards Qiloe',[9] a village along the coast to the north, my use of 'up' was wrong because the hall had four sides; I needed to differentiate two dimensions, not one, and the local scale was therefore required.

[9] The use of named locations to differentiate the local and intermediate scales is discussed further in §8.4.1.2.1.

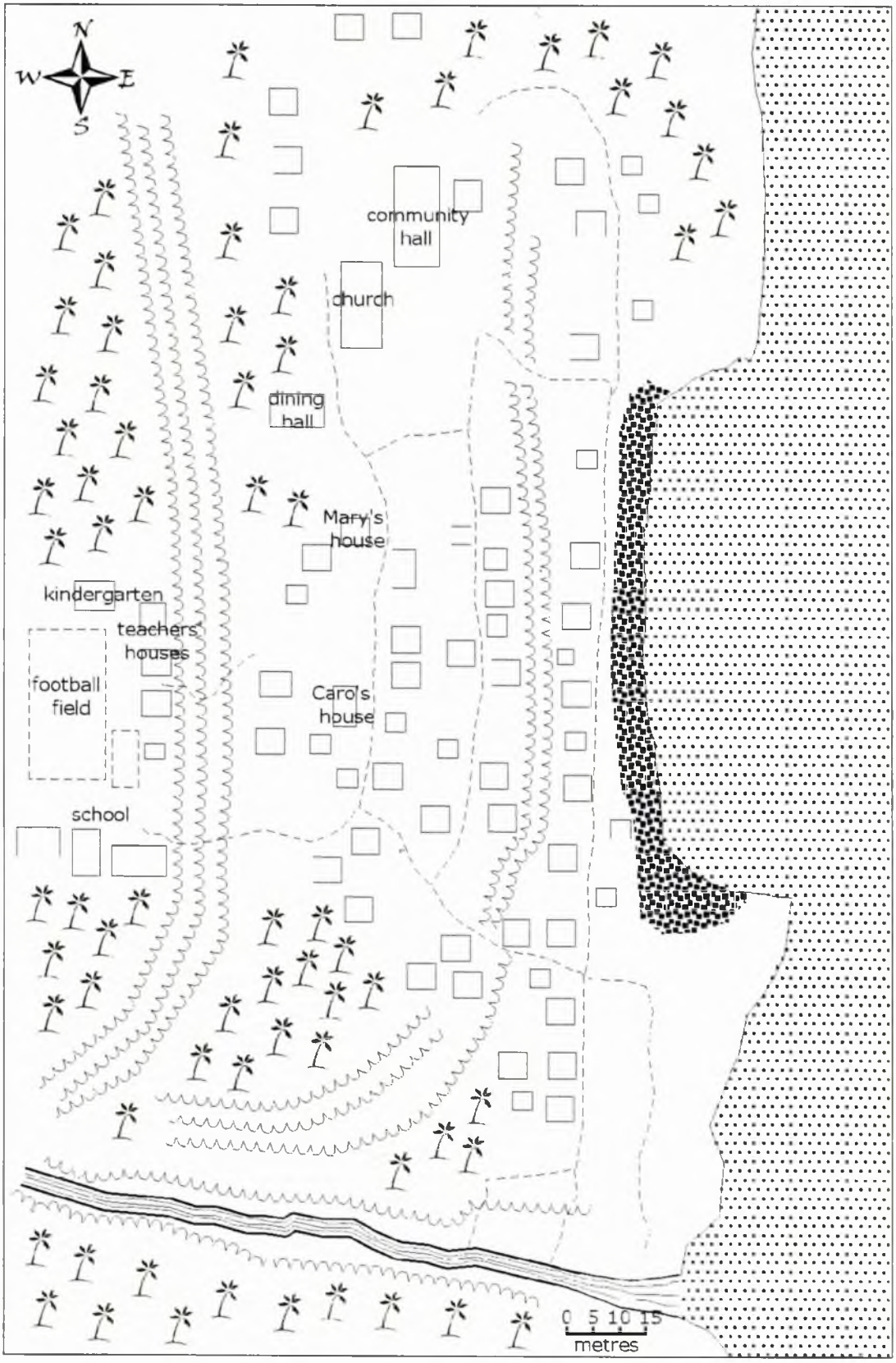
Figure 7.12: Distinguishing two dimensions of the community hall



Where two dimensions are possible, therefore, 'up' is interpreted as 'inland' on the local scale rather than 'south along the coast' on the intermediate scale. This suggests that the local scale is in some way dominant or more fundamental than the intermediate scale (which follows from its primary place in Francois' proposed evolutionary stages). The intermediate scale is best understood as a single axis used only for motion parallel to the coast (except where *paja* and *oqavotu* can be used). Inland-seaward motion may be expressed with the 'up' and 'down' terms both at a local level and over greater distances, therefore there is no need to posit two separate inland-seaward axes on two separate scales.

The salience of the sea is also a motivating factor in the choice of geocentric scales, and provides further evidence in support of this proposal. Essentially, where the sea is visible and coincides with other factors such as the alignment of houses along a path, the intermediate scale is more likely to be used for motion parallel to the coast, than where the sea is not visible or where other factors influence the choice of scale.

Map 7.5: Obobulu

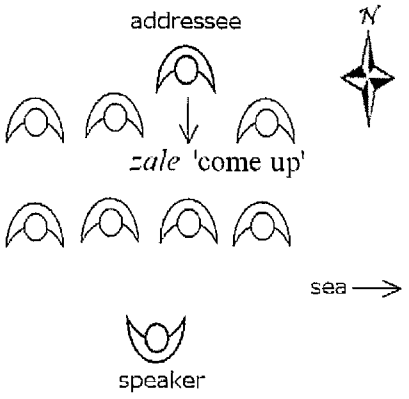


Obobulu, shown in Map 7.5, is built on a series of three plateaus. The plateaus are relatively flat, and where the land rises from one plateau to the next, the slope is consistent with the 'up' and 'down' of the inland-seaward axis. The lowest plateau, nearest the sea, has a single row of houses along it, facing the sea with a path in front of them. Walking from south to north along this path, each house is 'down' (north on the intermediate scale) from the next, with the exception of one small kitchen which is set slightly back from the path and is therefore 'up' inland.

From this level, the land rises sharply to another, much larger plateau, where the main village is located. Here the houses are staggered along a slightly winding road, such that one house is nearly always nearer to the sea than the next. The local scale is used between neighbouring houses, as described for my host family's housing area above, *zae* and *gore* (for 'inland' and 'seaward') being the most common terms. At longer distances north and south across the plateau, the 'up' and 'down' terms on the intermediate scale are also available.

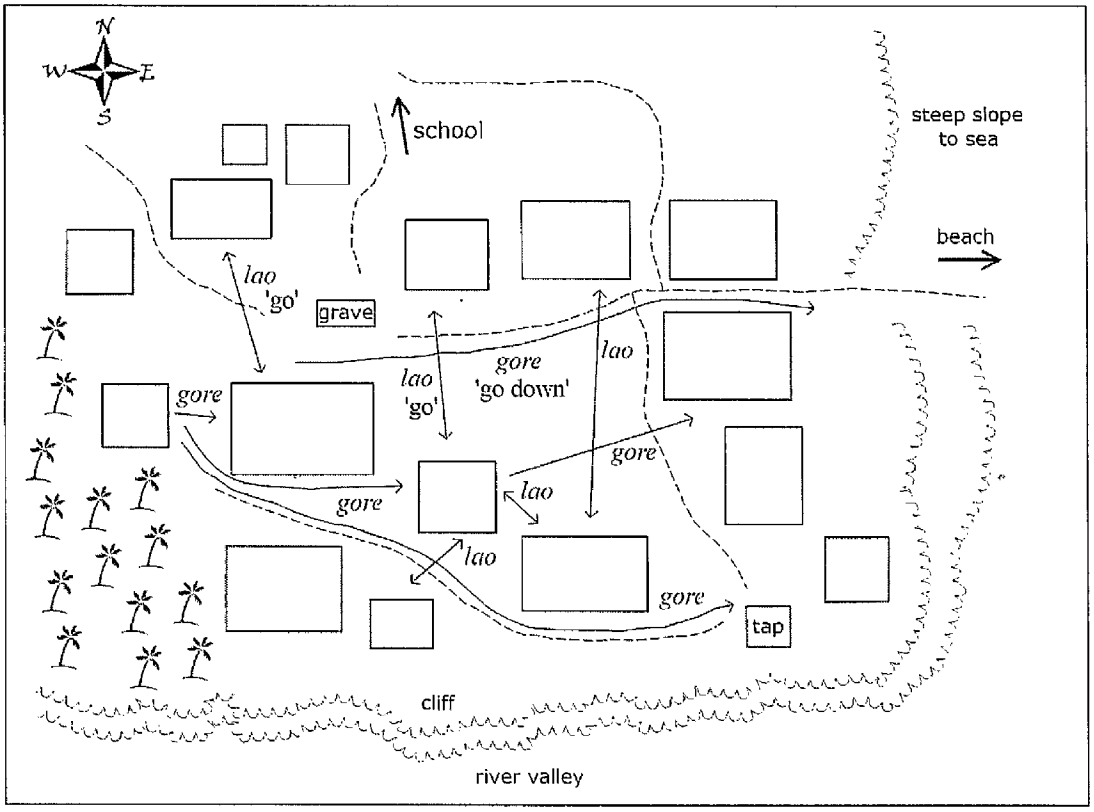
The third plateau is occupied by the school buildings and the playing field. The local and intermediate scales interact more or less as described for the central plateau and as exemplified in the two football field scenarios. It should be noted, however, that there is an excellent view of the sea from this height (on the central plateau the sea is hidden by trees), and there may therefore be a tendency to use the intermediate scale for shorter distances. A group of dancers was lining up on the playing field to give a performance. They were facing south, and one dancer was a little to the north (and behind) the others; she was instructed to *zale* 'come up', i.e. to move about a foot along the intermediate axis in order to be in line with the others.

Figure 7.13: Intermediate scale in dance performance



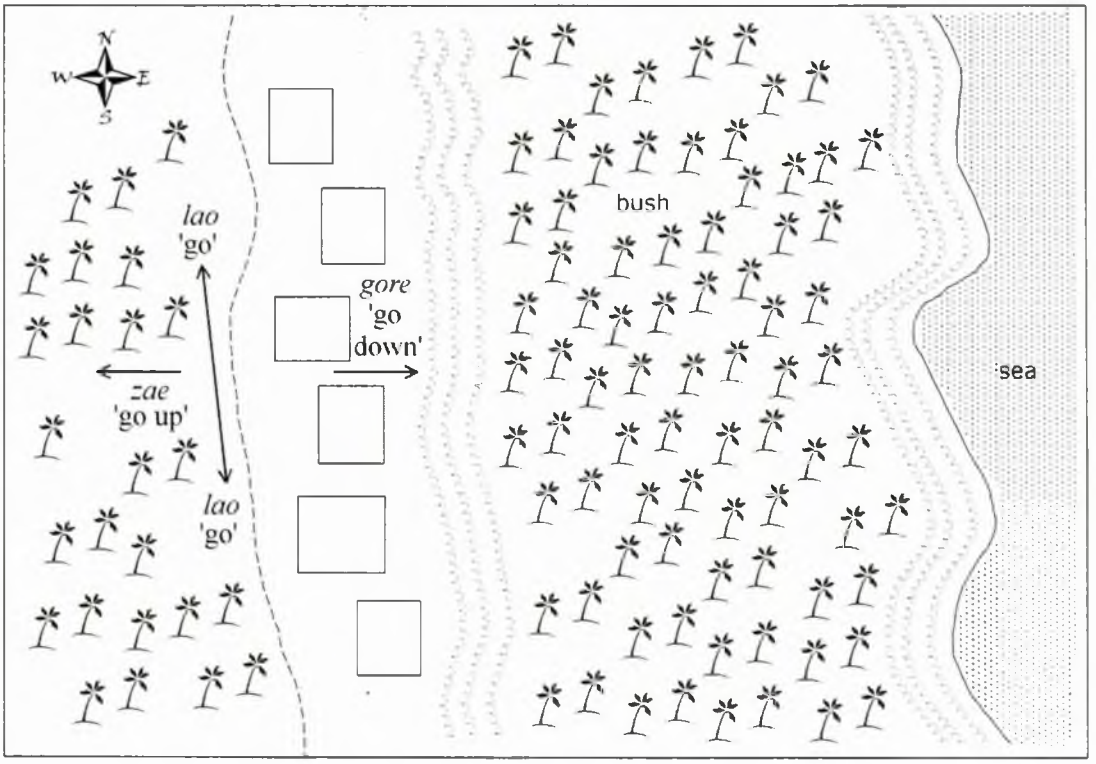
In the Luqa-speaking villages of Suava and Taguaba, the local scale predominates. In Suava, the land rises very sharply from the beach and a steep path climbs up the cliff to the village. There are one or two houses along this path; here, each house is 'up' (both inland and uphill) from the last. On reaching the main village area, which is comparatively flat, there are several houses scattered to either side of the path, and the sea is no longer visible. Only the local scale can be used here; the path itself, continuing to run inland, perhaps acts as an orienting feature, and the undifferentiated transverse is used for houses across it, even where one is slightly inland from another. Only where one house is a significant distance inland from another is the inland-seaward axis applied.

Map 7.6: Geocentric directions in Suava (Luqa) (not to scale)



Taguaba is a small hamlet north of Suava. It is some distance inland and is separated from the sea by coconut plantations; the sea is not visible and there is no path leading directly to the sea (one must first go either north or south). The houses are located in a straight line along a path that runs north-south (i.e. parallel to the coast); only the local scale is used between them, i.e. from house to house, the undifferentiated transverse is the relevant axis. The intermediate scale does not seem to apply over short distances this far inland.

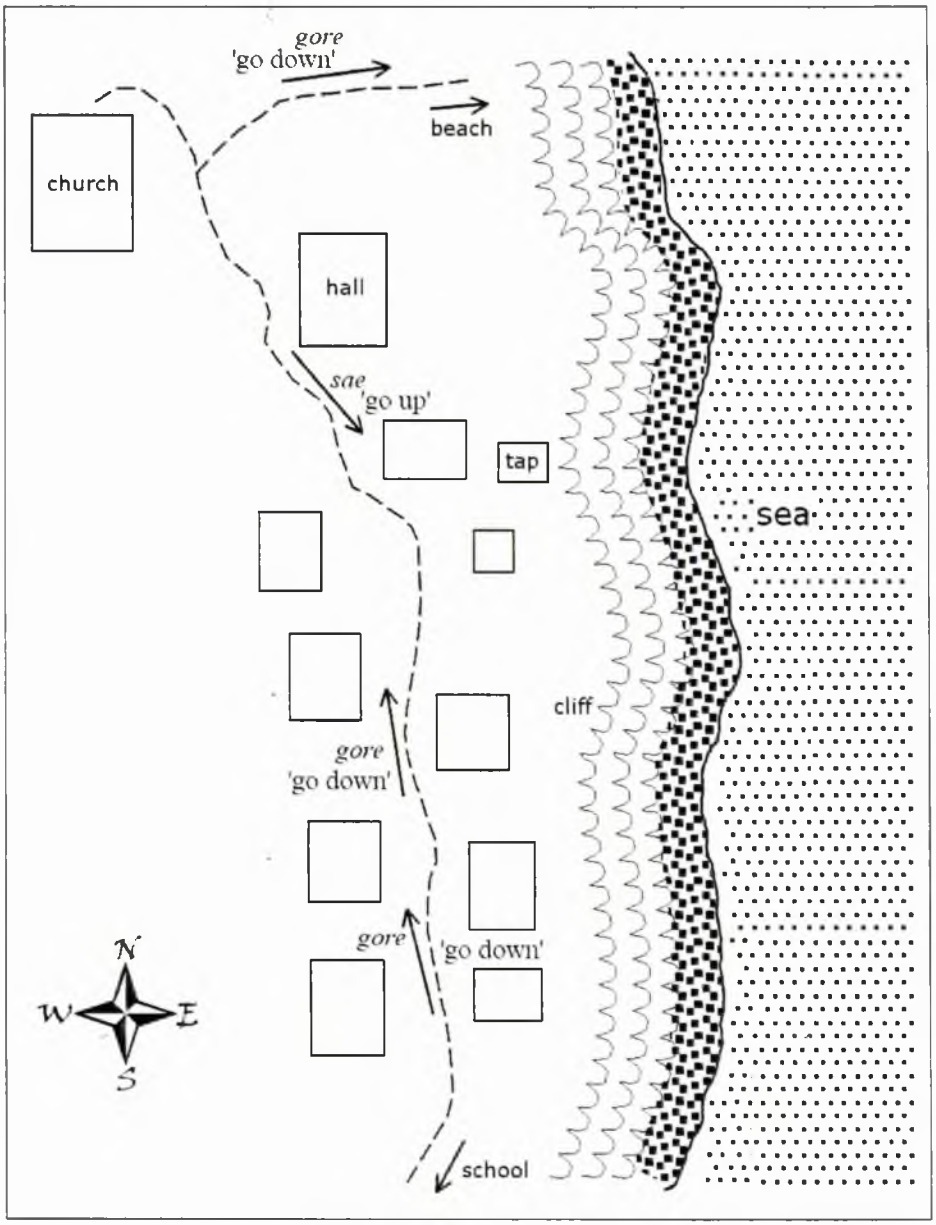
Map 7.7: Geocentric directions in Taguaba (Luqa) (not to scale)



Conversely, in the Luqa-speaking village of Koqu, many of the houses are located along a path that runs north-south along a cliff overlooking the sea. Between these houses, the intermediate scale terms may be used, as for the houses beside the sea in Obobulu. This is true even in (21), where the motion is described as 'up' (south along the coast) but is also directed slightly seaward; here, the intermediate axis overrides the local scale inland-seaward axis.

(21) ***Sae*** *ta=i* *Lodis* *pa* *ruma.*
go.up AN.PRP=PERS Lodis IN.PRP house
'Go up to Lodis at the house.' (Luqa, lo060)

Map 7.8: Geocentric directions in Koqu (Luqa) (not to scale)



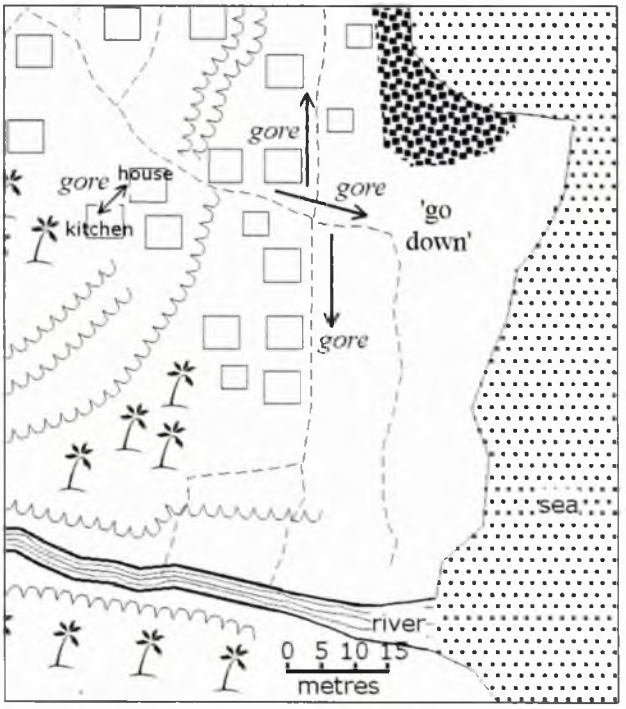
The choice between scales in different village locations depends, therefore, on a range of factors. These include, but are not necessarily restricted to, the distance over which a path extends (greater distances motivating the use of the intermediate scale along the coast), the salience of the sea, the number of relevant dimensions, and whether there are other features present that may suggest an axis, such as paths, goal posts and the coastline itself.

7.3.1.4 Local geographical features and the local and intermediate scales

Both the local and intermediate scales can be over-ridden by local geographical features, such as steep slopes and rivers, if these are more salient than whatever motivates the relevant scale. I have already mentioned that, in my host family's housing area, the slope from the house down to the pigpen was disregarded in favour of the more dominant 'inland' dimension (local scale). Only on one occasion did I hear this vector treated as a downward path.[10] Steeper slopes, however, do present a contradiction. At the southern end of Obobulu village, the land drops away steeply from the central plateau down towards the river (on the south side) and the sea (to the east). Several houses stand along a path that winds down this slope. In most cases, one house is both seaward and at a lower altitude than its neighbour, so contradictions between 'down' the slope and 'down' seaward do not arise. To the south, however, where the land slopes towards the river, a kitchen is located both steeply downhill and further inland from the main house. In this case, both *zae* 'go up' and *gore* 'go down' can be used to describe the vector between the house and the kitchen; both 'inland' and 'downhill' are highly salient. One might expect that speakers would resolve the situation by neutralising the contrast to *lao* 'go' but this tends not to be the case; as in other contexts around the village, my consultants showed a strong disinclination to select the geocentrically neutral term (see Map 7.9).

[10] The speaker on this occasion was someone with mental problems, whose language use is not necessarily representative of the speech community.

Map 7.9: Obobulu – path from central plateau to sea, and coastal path to river



The river also has a local impact on directional choice. As shown in Map 7.9, at the bottom of the slope described above, the downhill path joins the north-south coastal path described in §7.3.1.3. Following this path to the north, the intermediate coastal axis applies; motion from one house to the next in a northerly direction is described as 'down'. To the south, however, the path leads to the river. There are three houses along this path, located on flat ground. Southward motion between them is also described as 'down', the salience of the river overriding the intermediate scale. From the junction where the paths meet, therefore, 'down' lies in three different directions: down seaward (east), down along the intermediate coastal axis (north) or down to the river (south).

Further discussion of how local geographical features influence the choice of geocentric directionals (and deictic reference) can be found in the case study of route description texts in §6.4.2.1.

7.3.2 Sea-based scales

The local and intermediate scales are land-based; essentially, they express small and large scale orientation on land, whereas the land-sea boundary and navigational scales express small and large scale orientation on the sea.

7.3.2.1 Land-sea boundary scale

Ross (2003:263) notes that the POc verb **sake* 'go upward' was also used of boarding a canoe. This is also true in Kubokota: in (22), *zae mola* may be interpreted as either boarding or travelling by canoe, even though the direction of travel is 'down' to the south.[11]

(22) *Mami* *tuti* ***gore=ria*** *ari-kue* *mabuzu* *qari* ***zae***
1PL.EX.IRR follow **go.down=3PL.OBJ** PROX.PL-three grand.relation 3PL.R **go.up**

mola ***gore.***
canoe **go.down**
'We're following down the three grandrelations who went down (to Pienuna) in the canoe.' (lit. 'went up in the canoe to go down') (o0147)

In the majority of Oceanic languages examined by Ross, setting out over the sea by boat is described as going 'down', the inland-seaward axis being extended across the boundary between land and sea. In Kubokota this is not the case: the inland-seaward axis ends abruptly at the water's edge, and from that point on one goes 'up' onto the sea, whether one is boarding a canoe or swimming. This is illustrated in (23), where a group of men are launching a canoe. They push the canoe down the river (*gore*) and across a narrow sandbar at the river-mouth; from that point onward they are pushing the canoe 'up' (*zae*) onto the waves:

(23) *Juju* ***gore.*** *Juju* ***zae,*** ***zae!***
push **go.down** push **go.up** **go.up**
'Push (it) down. Push (it) up, up!' (o0435)

(24) is a similar example. Here, the canoe is already at sea but is trying to pick up passengers from another village; the waves carry it dangerously close to a line of upraised coral reef, and one of the passengers tells the steersman to take it back out to sea.

(24) *Va-mule* ***zae=gita!***
CAUS-return **go.up**=1PL.IN.OBJ
'Make us go back up!' (o0610)

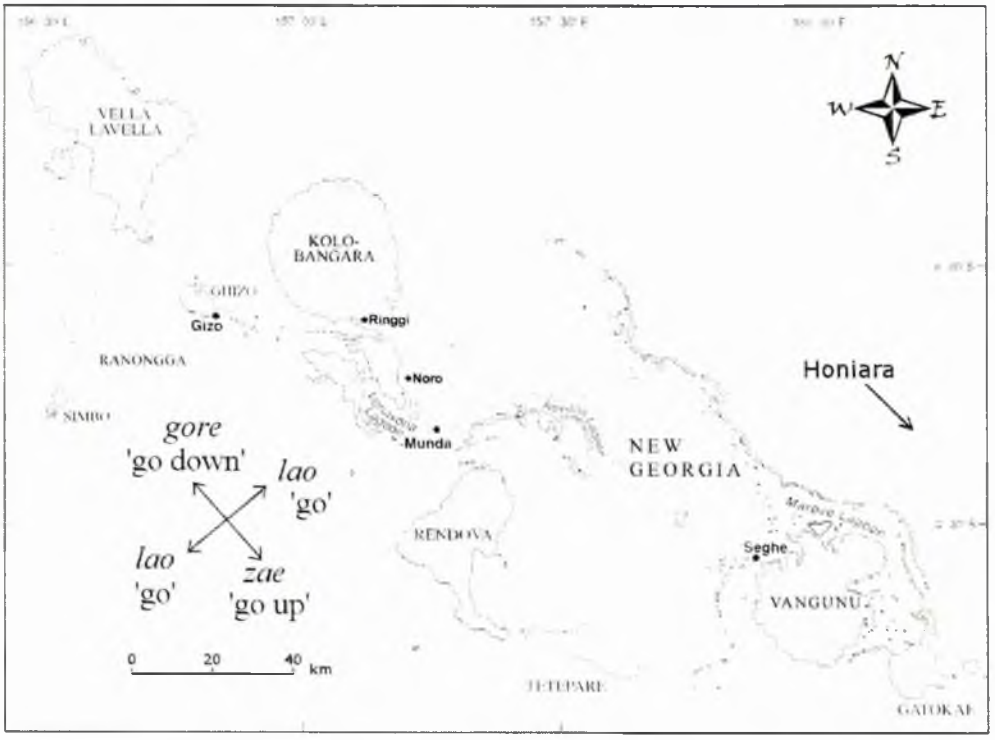
Conversely, approaching the shore is described as going down (in spite of the steep cliffs looming over the shore along most of the Ranonggan coast). In one incident, I observed a mother standing in the shallows close to the shore, calling to her children to come down (*lagere*) because they had swum too far out.

[11] Luqa has a specific verb *koi* 'board' for canoes; however, the land-sea boundary scale in Luqa operates in a similar way to the Kubokota system described here.

7.3.2.2 Navigational scale

The navigational scale is used for long distance movement over the sea and between islands; it is never used on land, the local and intermediate scales accounting for all land-based motion. As described above, 'up' is used for any direction within the southeast quadrant of space, 'down' for the northwest quadrant, and the neutral terms are used on the transverse. Map 7.10 shows the use of this system in the New Georgia area.

Map 7.10: Navigational scale in the New Georgia area



In (25), *zae* describes the path of the speaker in an easterly direction from Ranongga to Gizo, and *lagere* the path of her relatives northwest from Honiara to Gizo. (26) illustrates the use of the undifferentiated transverse axis for motion from Kolobangara to Gizo.

(25) ***zae*** *adono=ria* *ari-kori* *tamatina* *mari* ***lagere*** *pa*
go.up wait=3PL.OBJ PROX.PL-two mother.and.child 3PL.IRR **come.down** IN.PRP
Honiara.
Honiara
'(we) went up (from Ranongga to Gizo) to wait for those two (mother and child) to come down from Honiara.' (a019BN_002)

(26) *Maka* *guguzu* *pa* *Duke* *qari* ***lame*** *maketi* *pa* *Gijo.*
one village IN.PRP Kolobangara 3PL.R **come** market IN.PRP Gizo
'One village on Kolobangara came to market in Gizo.' (o0687)

As mentioned in §3.4.1, the PATHD verbs may (optionally) be serialised with the boundary-crossing verb *karovo* 'cross' for motion across a clearly defined body of water, such as the strait between Ranongga and Vella Lavella, or between Gizo and Kolobangara. In (28) we are 'coming up' to Honiara, and the ship is crossing Iron Bottom Sound between Savo Island and Honiara on the mainland.

(27) *Qa* ***karovo*** ***lao*** *pa* *Bilua.*
1SG.R **cross** **go** IN.PRP Vella.Lavella
'I went across to Vella Lavella.' (en032_001)

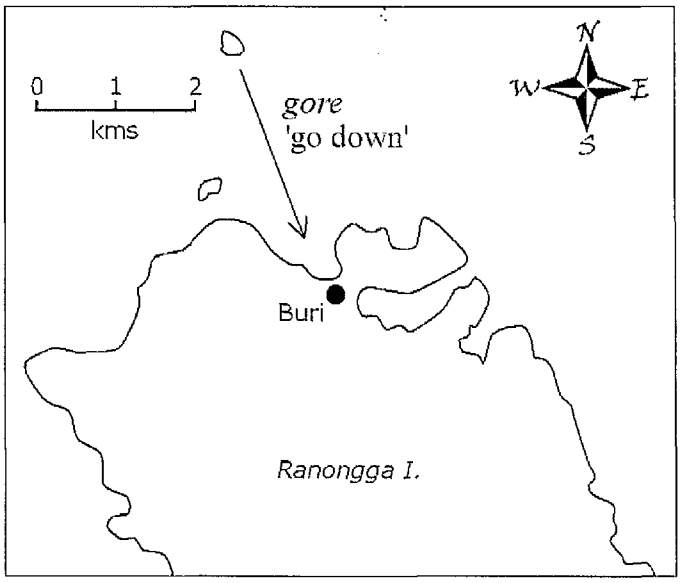
(28) *Taqe* ***karovo*** ***zale*** *koviria.*
1PL.IN.R **cross** **come.up** now
'We're coming up across now (from Savo to Honiara).' (o1029)

7.3.2.3 Interactions between the sea-based scales

The land-sea boundary scale examples in §7.3.2.1 all took place on the east coast of Ranongga, and the observant reader will note that on the navigational scale, eastward motion from Ranongga on the sea is also 'up'; it might be suggested, therefore, that the navigational scale applies as soon as one is at sea. However, in other contexts the land-sea boundary scale conflicts with the navigational scale. In (29), we are in a canoe near Jingono Island, about two miles north of Gizo Island; one of the passengers proposes to 'go down' (south-east) to land at the village of Saeraghi. On the navigational scale, south-east is 'up', but here, going ashore can only be 'down'. The same applies in the village of Buri, on the northernmost point of Ranongga: north of Buri there is a small island, and from this island, one must go 'down' to the village on the mainland (Map 7.11).

(29) *Ta* ***gore*** *mae* *paro* *pa* *Saeraghi.*
1PL.IN.IRR **go.down** PUNC go.ashore IN.PRP Saeraghi
'Let's go down for a bit and land at Saeraghi.' (o0532)

Map 7.11: Shoreward motion to Buri



(30) is an account of a journey by boat from Saeraghi in the north of Ghizo Island, east through the Sepo Channel, and all the way south along the coast to Gizo Town.. The navigational scale is used for the majority of the journey, *lame* 'come' being used for the transverse axis as the boat heads east towards the channel, and *zae* 'go up' for the route southward through the channel. When the boat comes within sight of Gizo, its occupants 'look go' (*dogoro lao*) which I have translated 'look ahead'. This is probably a deictic use of *lao* 'go', (rather than 'go' on the navigational scale, looking west to Gizo): the harbour is full of debris and it is necessary for the people in the boat to keep a sharp lookout immediately ahead of the boat, whichever direction the boat happens to be travelling. Finally, the boat goes down (*gore*) on the land-sea boundary scale, to arrive at its destination in Gizo (see Map 7.12).

(30) *Gami* ***lame,*** ***lame*** ***olapa*** *pa* *olapa=na* *pa* *Sepo.* *Gami*
1PL.EX.R **come** **come** **channel** IN.PRP channel=3SG.POS IN.PRP Sepo 1PL.EX.R

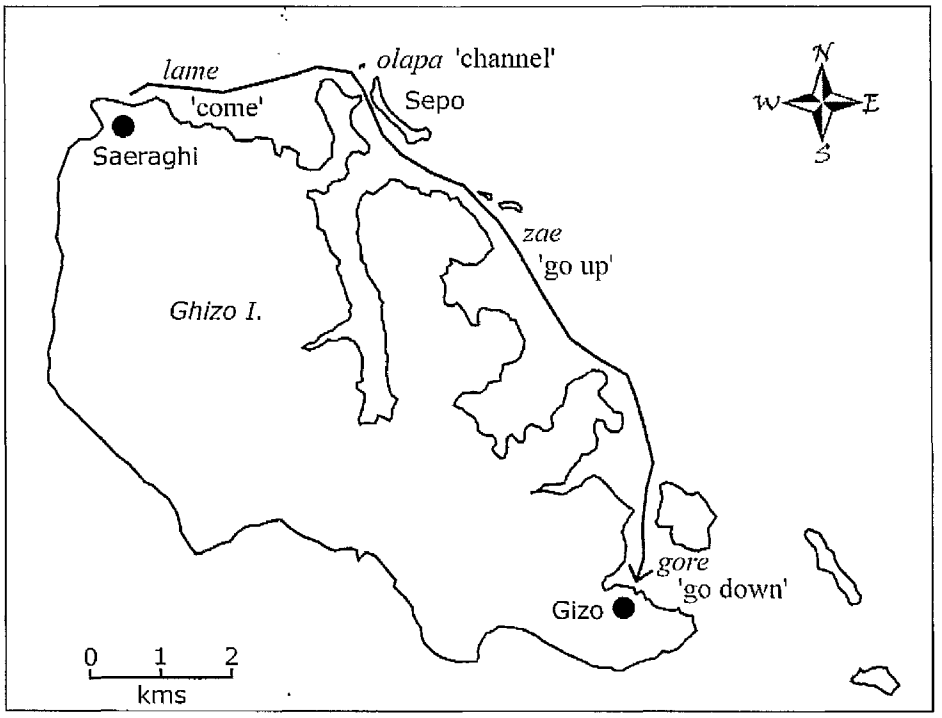
toka ***zae,*** *gami* *dogor-i=a,* *qe* *ta-piara* *na* *vuapu* *pa*
set.out **go.up** 1PL.EX.R look-TR=3SG.OBJ 3PL.R PASS-smash DET wharf IN.PRP

Gijo, *qari* *ta-piara* *na* *fibro* *qari* *ole,* *ko* *gami* ***dogoro*** ***lao,***
Gizo 3PL.R PASS-smash DET dinghy 3PL.R drift so 1PL.EX.R **look** **go**

gami *peki-peki* ***gore*** *pa* *Gijo,* *gami* ***gore*** ***kamu*** *ketakoi.*
1PL.EX.R REDUP-little **go.down** IN.PRP Gizo 1PL.EX.R **go.down** **arrive** there

'We came, came (and) entered the channel of Sepo. We set out up, we saw it, the wharves at Gizo were smashed, the dinghies were smashed and drifting, and we looked ahead, we went down slowly to Gizo, we went down and arrived there,' (a064LP_087-91)

Map 7.12: Ghizo Island, showing route from Saeraghi to Gizo Town (30)



The distinction between the land-sea boundary and navigational scales is perhaps less to do with the distances involved (which certainly play a part in the choice of scale on land) than with the context within which the motion takes place, or what the speaker thinks of the motion in relation to. If the motion event can be said to be "about" an interaction with the land-sea boundary, i.e. with going ashore or putting to sea, the land-sea boundary scale will be used. If the purpose of the motion event is to cross larger sections of sea in the course of a voyage – for instance, the whole or a significant part of the journey from Obobulu to Gizo, not just the departure or landing – the navigational scale is more likely.

7.3.3 Directionally neutral motion

In spite of the importance of geocentric directions when describing motion paths in Kubokota, it should be noted that *lao* 'go' and *lame* 'come' are not restricted to the transverse axes but can also be used as directionally neutral terms. This is particularly likely in purposive clauses, i.e. where a motion event precedes a non-motion purpose (expressed either as a SVC or conjoined clauses (see §5.4.1). Thus, in (31), Tabura is told to 'go down' (seaward on the local scale, from my balcony to the neighbouring house, which, incidentally, is on much higher stilts than my house but is still 'down'). He is then instructed to 'go (in order to) go sleep'. *Lao* here describes purposive

motion; the first *lao* is followed by the purposive conjunction *ko*, and the second is V1 in a purposive SVC. The direction is less important than the purpose of the motion, and is not expressed.

(31) *Tabura,* ***gore!*** ***Lao*** *ko* *mu* ***lao*** *puta!*
Tabura **go.down** **go** so 2.IRR **go** sleep
'Tabura, go down! Go (in order to) go sleep!' (o0245)

Having said this, *lao* may also be used for non-purposive motion paths. Typically, one 'goes up' to Honiara, as described in §7.3.2.2, but in (32), *lao* is used:[12]

(32) *Na* *vaka* *za* *muna* *tuti=a* *muna* ***lao*** *pa* *Honiara?*
DET ship PRO 2.FUT follow=3SG.OBJ 2.FUT **go** IN.PRP Honiara
'Which ship is the one you will take to go to Honiara?' (a012LP_019)

Conversely, there are plentiful examples of geocentric motion verbs in purposive clauses:

(33) ***Zale*** *loi=a* *na* *ijini.*
come.up leave=3SG.OBJ DET engine
'He came up (from Pienuna to Obobulu) to leave the engine.' (o0477)

(34) *ko* *gami* ***gore*** *vai* *keki* *ketakoi,*
so 1PL.EX.R **go.down** buy cake there
'and we went down and bought cakes there,' (a019BN_051)

It is not possible to draw any strong conclusions about the use of neutral terms in purposive clauses. The choice seems to depend on stylistic and discourse factors, and on how important it is to locate the motion path geographically. In (33), the geocentric term is used because attention is on the subject's journey (the speaker is explaining why the subject 'came up'), whereas in (32) the speaker is more concerned with the means of travel and making sure that his son catches the right ship.

7.3.4 The dominant axis: which way is up?

Not long after my arrival on Ranongga, a friend and I stood outside my house, watching the full moon rise out of the sea. 'Which way does the full moon go in your place?' asked my friend. 'That way' – gesturing from east to west – 'or that way?' –

[12] McDougall (2004:186) suggests that 'going up' on the navigational scale has social and political connotations: the regional hubs of Honiara and Gizo are 'up', whereas the Shortland Islands and Bougainville, traditionally regarded as the home of the dead, are 'down'. It must be borne in mind, however, that both Gizo and Honiara are located in the southeastern quadrant of space, which presumably was 'up' from Ranongga long before either town was built; if there is a social metaphor involved, it merely reflects the fact that 'up' on the navigational scale happens to coincide with the direction of the towns.

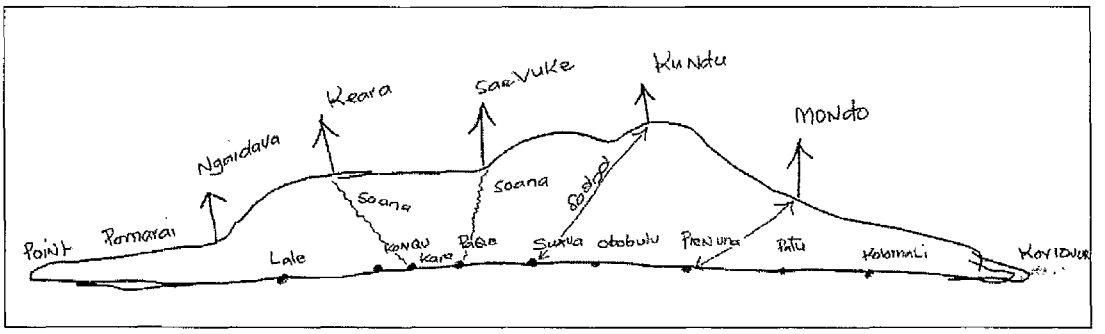
gesturing from west to east. At the time, I was confused by the question; it was only much later that I understood that the full moon (and the sun) in Obobulu does not rise in the east and set in the west; it rises from the sea and sets behind Mount Kela.[13] On the other side of the island, the reverse is true, a situation that east coast dwellers find exotic and strange, just as they find the reversal of the intermediate scale coastal axis confusing. Although, as François proposes, the intermediate scale may have originated from the direction of the prevailing wind, none of the people that I interviewed about geocentric directions suggested that this was the case (although most were able to name the three main winds and identify the seasons with which they were associated and the directions from which they blew). As illustrated by this incident and by other data that I have presented in this chapter, for Ranonggans, the dominant axis is the inland-seaward axis on the local scale, even though the orientation of this axis in cardinal terms appears to vary according to local conditions. Space is thus understood in relation to the geography of the Ranonggan landmass, rather than to the navigational scale primary axis, which to western eyes might seem more fixed and absolute.

This predominance of the local scale and its interaction with the intermediate (and/or navigational) scale is reflected in the results of a map-drawing task which I carried out with a number of speakers from east coast villages. Participants were asked to draw a map of Ranongga. With the exception of one speaker, all participants drew a profile of the island as it would be viewed when approaching from the east, with the villages along the bottom and the peak of Mount Kela above them. Map 7.13 is a typical example; the artist (a Luqa speaker from Suava) used arrows to indicate the approximate location of the west coast villages, and *soana* 'road' indicates the routes to them. In Map 7.14, the artist (a Kubokota speaker from Obobulu) locates

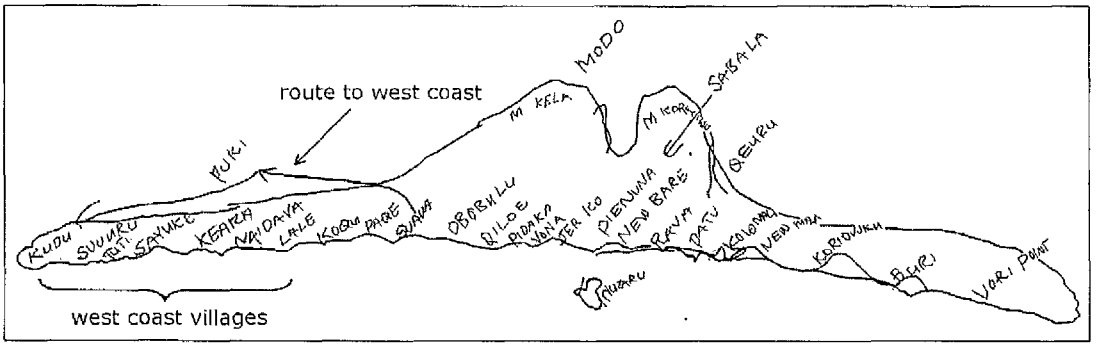
[13] In the Solomons, close to the equator, the location of the moonrise is more or less due east, and the moon sets in the west. At the latitude of the UK there is considerably more variation, the moon rising at due east only at the spring and autumn equinoxes. My friend was therefore quite right in anticipating that the moon would behave differently in my place. The behaviour of the moon with respect to Mount Kela also appears to vary as it goes through its cycle: the full moon rises in the early evening in the east, but the new moon, at the same time of day, can be viewed setting in the west. There is, therefore, nothing illogical in the view that the moon's path also varies from one side of the island to the other (my thanks to Paul Raymond and Donald Chambers for explaining this to me).

most of the west coast villages at the extreme left of the map; a long arrow marks the route east-west across the island from Suava to Kudu.[14]

Map 7.13: Map of Ranongga by a Luqa-speaking consultant (Suava)



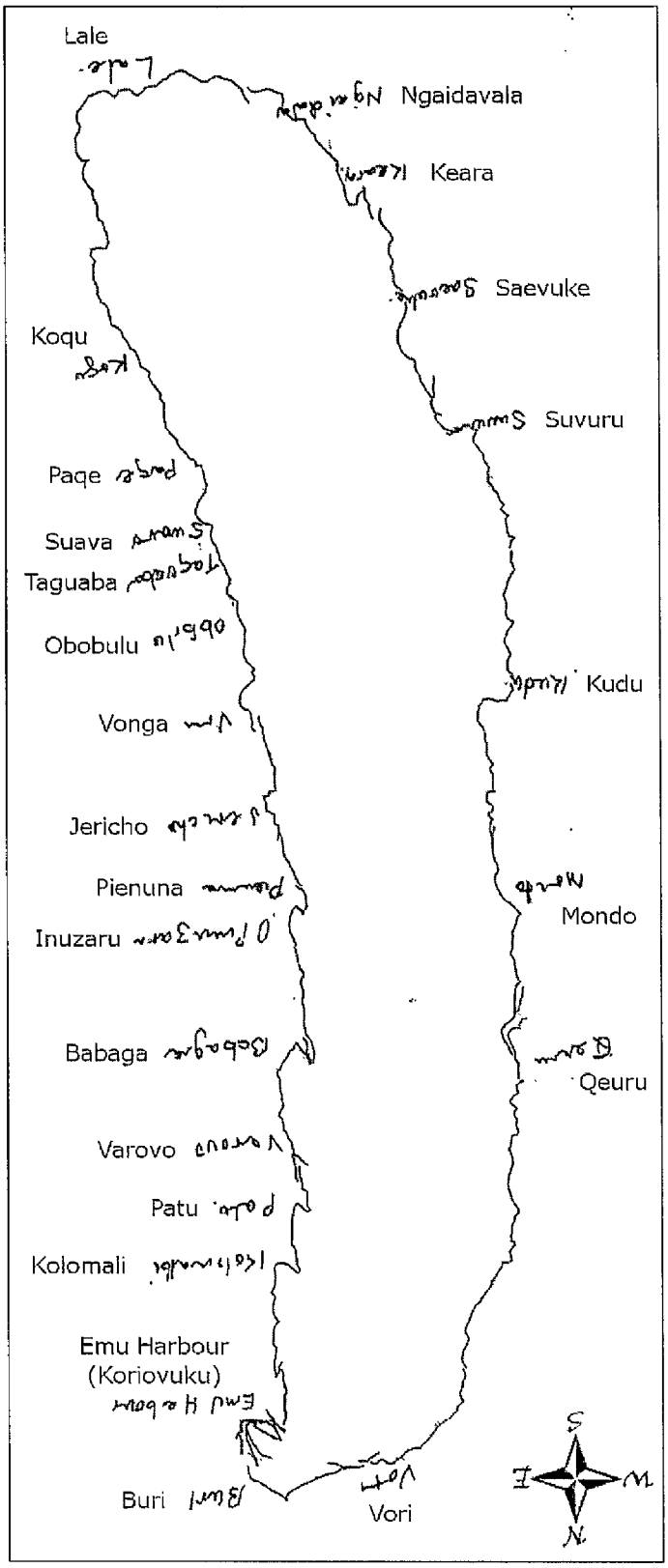
Map 7.14: Map of Ranongga by a Kubokota-speaking consultant (Obobulu)



The only exception to this type of map was produced by a retired schoolteacher who drew, in precise detail, a western-style, bird's eye view of the island with north at the top. When he had finished, however, he turned the sheet of paper around and presented it to me upside-down, explaining that south was really at the top, and that I should look at it that way. Here is his map (with his orientation):

[14] Map 7.13 and Map 7.14 may be regarded as two-dimensional projections of island space not dissimilar to the projections cartographers use to represent the whole globe in two dimensions. Map 7.13 is more true to the shape of the area it represents, whereas Map 7.14, like a Gall-Peters projection of the world, distorts shape in order to show all the villages in the right relationship to each other along the coast.

Map 7.15: Map of Ranongga with south-north orientation



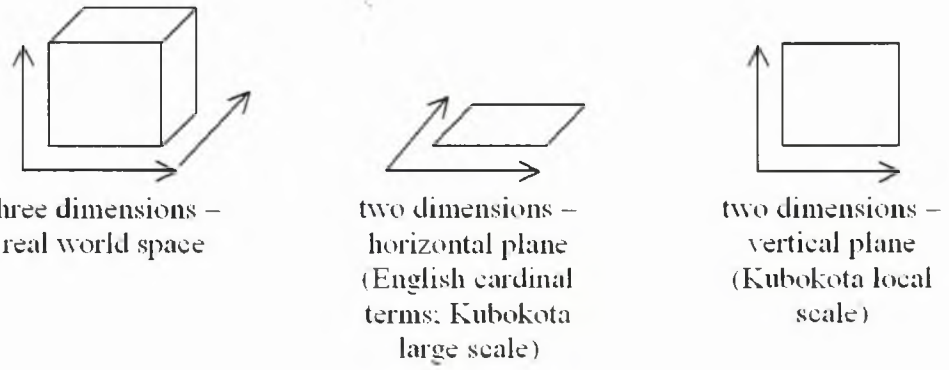
The semanticist, Alfred Korzybski, famously observed that *'the map is not the territory'* (Korzybski 1933). Those who create maps pay attention to different features

of the landscape, depending on whether they give more importance to altitude, geology, vegetation or population. Korzybski was making a point about the relationship between symbol and object (Saussure's *signifié* and *signifiant*), specifically that languages vary in what features of a situation they pay attention to. However, his comment is also relevant in a more literal sense here. A map, as we generally think of it, is a two-dimensional means of representing three-dimensional space. In western cartographic convention, the two dimensions usually represented are latitude and longitude; altitude is ignored, unless it is indicated by contour lines or some other means. For Ranonggans, however, altitude is a more fundamental dimension, and logically so, since a slope is far closer to the vertical plane than any other dimension to which the 'up' metaphor has been extended. Furthermore, altitude is bounded, in that the upward (inland) plane ends in the middle of the island at the watershed.[15] The most logical way for an east coast Ranonggan to draw a map of the island, therefore, is to draw the vertical profile of the eastern watershed (a west coast inhabitant, presumably, would draw the western watershed), i.e. to represent altitude with just one of the two horizontal dimensions, and to ignore the other. This is what has happened in Map 7.14. The schoolteacher, however, is aware of the western convention, and represents the island on a two-dimensional horizontal plane with north at the top. Having north at the top, however, is at odds with his view of the island when he comes to explain it. The local scale is not available to him (being inconsistent on a map based on these two dimensions), therefore he turns to the intermediate scale and reorients the map with south at the top.

Figure 7.14 shows a three-dimensional object, a cube, and two alternative ways to reduce three-dimensional space to a two-dimensional plane, as is required when we draw a map of a landscape. The Kubokota local scale is reducible to a two-dimensional vertical plane. The large scale system (intermediate and navigational scales) allows the expression of a second dimension on the horizontal plane, but ignores the vertical.

[15] In western maps, north and south are bounded (having reached the North Pole, one can go no further north) but east and west are not, which is presumably one reason why we no longer orient our maps to the east. In Kubokota, the inland-seaward dimension is bounded but the navigational scale is not.

Figure 7.14: Reducing three-dimensional space to a two-dimensional plane



The important point here is that there is an internal consistency to the Kubokota system. Levinson (2003b:90) comments that geocentric systems *'do not have the same abstract properties as notions like "north"'*; in his view, an Austronesian wind-based axis remains constant while an inland-seaward axis rotates as one moves around the island. Terrill and Burenhult point out, however:

> *the "mountain"-"sea" axis only moves if one is thinking in terms of compass points. The axis is not a line traveling along the island with one point fixed in the middle and one swinging around the beach. Rather, the axis can be thought of as an infinite number of lines radiating out from the center of an island, in the same way that a compass direction can be thought of as an infinite number of parallel lines. It is misleading to think of such an axis as "moving", as opposed to "fixed" axes like those created by cardinal directions. Thus it is not clear how, if at all, an axis of this sort differs in terms of abstract geometrical properties from cardinal axes. In this sense, there is no a priori reason why an inland-seawards axis cannot be a real absolute axis (see also Palmer 2002b on this point).* (Terrill and Burenhult 2008:123)

Further to this, I suggest that one need not even posit an infinite number of lines radiating from a central point (how does one find the centre of a long narrow island with at least two mountain peaks on it?); if one thinks in terms of a vertical rather than a horizontal two-dimensional plane, the inland-seaward axis can be conceived of as a primary vertical axis just as fixed (and almost as abstract) as our north and south.

7.3.5 Putting the person back into space: geocentric directions and deixis

In this chapter I have presented a series of schematic representations of space within a cognitive linguistic framework. I have explicitly tried to avoid the implication that speakers switch between the various scales or schemas as if they were discrete

systems; the two alternative representations of space suggested in Figure 7.14 above are not intended to imply that Kubokota speakers have two separate conceptualisations of the world, but are an abstraction away from both the Kubokota and English systems, devised by me in an attempt to explain some of their differences and to hypothesise about possible ways of mapping or conceptualising the world.

Another implication of the analysis so far is that the proposed schemas function independently of the person, the speaker, and their location and orientation within the environment. Spatiotemporal orientation, according to Hallowell (1955:92), is *'an acquired schema that involves the conscious use of culturally constituted reference points and awareness of one's position in space.'* Likewise, Hanks (1990:296) distinguishes "schematic" versus "local" knowledge, and conventional semantic structure versus the pragmatics of discourse production. Here we have focused on schematic, semantic knowledge; but as Bubandt argues for Buli, orientational schemas similar to those presented in this chapter are *'not a general representation of abstract space, but a depiction of how space would unfold from a particular position (somewhere in the centre of the village)'* (Bubandt 1997:139). Hanks suggests that such schemas represent *'a prefabricated frame of reference that transcends immediate experience (Hallowell 1955:93, 186)'*, whereas awareness of one's position in space *'is anchored in the emergent visual and experiential present of a self-aware actor. The former may be centered or noncentered, whereas the latter is inherently centered'* (Hanks 1990:296).

In Chapter Six I examined some of the ways in which deixis affected the choice of PATHD verbs in route description texts, depending on how the path was oriented with regard to both environmental features and to the location of the speaker at utterance time. I compared this with the use of PATHD verbs in frog stories, which are largely uncentred, the scene of the story being dislocated in both time and place from the location of the speaker; and in a traditional narrative, where there is a temporal dislocation but the environment is a familiar one, such that verbs like *lagere* 'come down' may, for instance, be used for orientation of a path from the bush to the village, regardless of the location of the speaker or of participants in the narrative.

The current chapter has focused primarily on the 'go' verbs, and on understanding the semantics of the geocentric system in order to posit a schematic analysis of how

Kubokota motion verbs are applied to real world space. I have for the most part disregarded the 'come' verbs, working on an assumption that they are merely a mirror image of the 'go' verb schemas, with an additional component 'towards deictic centre'. This assumption is convenient as far as constructing the scales is concerned (as Hanks notes, *'In order to motivate the communicative choices speakers make in deictic reference, one must first understand the encompassing frame space to which their choices respond'* (Hanks 1990:296)). However, it disregards the fact that, at the semantic level, 'come' and 'go' are not in a straightforward binary opposition (see the discussion of Wilkins and Hill (1995) in §3.3). It also pays insufficient attention to the embodiment of the person in space, a pragmatic factor that seems likely to be particularly relevant with regard to the interaction of scales (§7.3.1.3 and §7.3.2.3). Chapter Eight will go some way towards addressing this issue.

7.4 Summary

In this chapter I have examined the use of Kubokota motion verbs in terms of their application to paths of motion and orientation in the lived space of the Kubokota environment. The PATHD verbs are the primary means of describing geocentric motion, with some contribution from the non-deictic PATHG verbs *'oqavotu* '(go) seaward' and *paja* '(go) inland'.

- Four geocentric scales can be identified in Kubokota: the local and intermediate scales in the land domain, and the navigational and land-sea boundary scales in the sea domain.

- Each of these scales uses the terms *zae* 'go up' and *gore* 'go down' (and the corresponding 'come' terms) on their primary axis, such that, from a given point on the Ranongga coastline, three or four different directions can potentially be described as 'up'.

- François (2004) suggests that the ambiguities inherent in such a system will result in pressure for change, and a move towards a simpler system in which different axes are lexified with different terms. Although there is some evidence of relexification of the inland-seaward axis (with the terms *oqavotu* '(go) seaward' and *paja* '(go) inland'), the existence of multiple up-down axes does not seem to create problems for Kubokota speakers; apparent

ambiguities can be resolved on the basis of contextual information and sociocultural knowledge.

- Within the land and sea domains there is considerable interaction between scales (i.e. between the local and intermediate scales on land, and the navigational and land-sea boundary scales on sea), and variation in the ways that they are applied. The choice of scale, and its interpretation, depends on the terrain of the village, the salience of the sea, the nature of the activity being described, and a variety of other sociocultural and contextual factors.

- The chapter has presented an account of the geocentric schemas that constitute the Kubokota system. The account is based on observed and elicited data which is highly context-dependent; I suggest that without an understanding of the pragmatic context in which a geocentric system operates, it is impossible to provide an adequate account of the semantics of the system. The Kubokota geocentric system can only be understood in the pragmatic context in which utterances are produced, and with reference to the sociocultural and environmental space occupied by the Kubokota people.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Motion verbs and physical orientation: a men-and-tree case study

8.1 Introduction

In Chapter Seven I described the four geocentric scales that operate in Kubokota and discussed some of the ways in which they interact, based primarily on observed data, with some elicitation. In this chapter, I explore the scales more systematically, using a set of structured stimuli, the men-and-tree photo-photo matching game.

At the point in my fieldwork where I was beginning to come to an awareness of the variation in the use of the land-based scales in different villages, and the different environmental contexts in which one scale or another may be chosen, the earthquake occurred and disrupted further research. I had intended to visit as many villages as possible, and to conduct detailed surveys concerning the influence of village environment on inhabitants' choices of scale. The earthquake precluded these visits and, as discussed in §1.2, further investigation was restricted to Obobulu, where I decided to use the men-and-tree game as an alternative approach to exploring the interaction between scales.

The men-and-tree methodology has all the attendant shortcomings of a staged communication task (as do linguistic surveys of a dozen villages), in particular the artificial nature of the task and its apparent focus on cognitive issues rather than cultural aspects of spatial representation. The results of the experiment, however, actually highlight the importance of how the person is embodied in space, more than they are able to add much to our understanding of an abstract cognitive representation of the Kubokota environment. The crucial point that arises from the Kubokota men-and-tree data is that choices about linguistic representation of space are affected far more by the location and orientation of the speaker, than by anything about the space or spatial array that the speaker is describing. The data tells us more about the pragmatics of spatial reference in Kubokota than about the conceptual structures that the experiment is designed to access.

The men-and-tree game was developed by members of the Cognitive Anthropology Research Group (CARG, now the Department of Language and

Cognition at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics), to examine certain spatial oppositions and to enable cross-linguistic comparisons of spatial systems. The game was not originally intended for the investigation of motion verbs; however, because Kubokota speakers use motion verbs (predominantly PATHD verbs) to describe the directionality of looking, the majority of men-and-tree descriptions contain utterances such as (1), where the verb *gore* 'go down' describes the orientation of an intrinsic facet of the figure, the man's face, along a particular path. The men-and-tree game is therefore a useful tool for examining the spatial characteristics of Kubokota motion verbs.

(1) *Za* ***bata*** ***gore*** *vei* *pa* *nole.*
3SG.R **see** **go.down** be.like IN.PRP beach
'He faces down towards the beach.' (e018RG2_018; coastal[1])

It will be recalled from Chapter Seven that the dominant scale in Kubokota is the local scale, which consists of two axes: an inland-seaward axis lexicalised as '(come/go) up' and '(come/go) down', and a transverse axis (along the coast). The transverse axis is undifferentiated in terms of absolute geographical features, but the deictic terms *lame* 'come' and *lao* 'go' may be used to differentiate directions of motion and orientation along it. In this chapter I will propose that, although I have described these two axes as constituent parts of a geocentric system, they are not equally geocentric: the 'up' and 'down' terms (both on the local and intermediate primary axes) are geocentric and belong to the absolute frame of reference, often being used without reference to the deictic centre; but the neutral 'come' and 'go' terms have geocentric meaning only in that they are orthogonal to the primary axes. Being under-defined in geocentric terms, they depend instead on deictic, egocentric information for their interpretation. Thus, on the local scale, speakers seem to operate within an absolute frame of reference on one axis, and an intrinsic-deictic frame of reference on the other.[2] This chapter will explore how speakers handle this contrast when they need to specify the orientation of a figure that could be facing in any of the four possible directions along the two axes.

[1] For all examples drawn from the men-and-tree data, the word "coastal" or "inland" after the reference number indicates the condition in which the speaker participated, i.e. whether the speaker was facing along the coast (south) or inland (west).

[2] Such systems are by no means unique cross-linguistically. As discussed in §7.2, undifferentiated transverse axes are common in Oceanic languages. See Brown and Levinson (1993) for a study of the effects of rotation on Tzeltal speakers' performance in non-linguistic tasks.

In §7.3.1.3 I discussed the interaction between the local scale, where 'up' and 'down' refer to motion and orientation along an inland-seaward axis, and the intermediate scale, where 'up' and 'down' refer to the coastal axis, 'up' being south and 'down' north. When one is located close to the shore, 'up' may also be used on the land-sea boundary scale, meaning 'up' onto the sea. A further aim of this chapter will be to examine how speakers deal with the ambiguity of as many as three available up-down axes[3] in a task that requires them to determine the orientation of a figure without much of the contextual information that is normally available. In §7.3.1.3 I suggested that the local scale is dominant and is likely to be used wherever two dimensions need to be distinguished, but here I will investigate more systematically whether this is really the case, and what other cues influence the choice of scale.

It is hypothesised that (a) how speakers choose a scale and (b) how they handle the contrast between absolute frame of reference on one axis and intrinsic-deictic frame of reference on another, will be affected by how speakers are oriented in relation to the various axes, and specifically, whether they are oriented to face inland or along the coast.

8.2 Frames of reference

A frame of reference is defined as *'the internally consistent system of projecting regions of space onto a figure-ground relationship in order to enable specification of location'* (Pederson et al. 1998:571); or, in more basic terms, the way in which a language expresses the relationship between a figure, a ground and the external world (i.e. either the viewer/speech act participant or some other reference point). In the typology proposed by Levinson (1992, 1996a, 2003a and others), all spatial reference operates within one of three frames: intrinsic, relative or absolute.

Intrinsic frame of reference locates a figure with reference to an intrinsic facet of the ground. Such facets are often metaphorical extensions of human body parts (Levinson 1992:12-13); if, in English, we state that *Rowan is in front of the house*, we assume that the house inherently has a 'front' and that it is on that side of the house that Rowan is to be found. Intrinsic frame of reference is a binary relationship between figure and ground; no external information (such as the location of the

[3] The navigational scale is not relevant for this land-based task.

speaker or viewer) is involved. If the statement *Rowan is in front of the house* is true, it is true regardless of the location of the speech act participants.

People and houses are asymmetrical and have facets such as fronts, backs and sides. Other objects, such as trees, balls and hills, are unfaceted; they do not have an inherent front or back. In the English sentence, *Paul is behind the tree*, the tree only has a 'behind' in relation to the location from which it is viewed. In the relative frame of reference, there is a ternary relationship between a figure (Paul), a ground (the tree) and a viewpoint (usually the location of the speaker or addressee). While English makes frequent use of relative frame of reference, other languages, such as Kubokota, tend not to: in Kubokota, terms equivalent to 'front' and 'back' are restricted to faceted objects;[4] where unfaceted objects are concerned, it is more natural to say that Paul is on the 'other side' (*pa makalena*) of the tree, to use an absolute locative term such as *ketakota* ('on the seaward side'), or, as we will see, to adopt a different strategy entirely.

It should be noted that whether a situation involves intrinsic or relative frame of reference is ambiguous in some languages. In the English sentence, *The cat is to the left of Donald*, 'left' can be interpreted either as intrinsic to Donald, (i.e. at Donald's left hand as he faces forward, as in Figure 8.1) or as relative to the viewpoint (i.e. to the left of Donald as seen by a third party, as in Figure 8.2). In other languages, such as Balinese, terms such as 'left' and 'right' tend to be limited to body parts or to items touching the body (Wassmann and Dasen 1998:700), i.e. they are unambiguously intrinsic and cannot be used relatively to locate one object with regard to another. The same is true for most Austronesian languages (Hyslop 1999:29).

[4] Although, in languages like Kubokota, it is not possible to use the intrinsic system to refer to non-faceted objects on the horizontal plane (i.e. it is not possible to refer to the front or back of a tree or a mountain), the intrinsic system can be used on the vertical plane. In Kubokota the term *batu* 'head', for instance, can be used for the top of a tree, a mountain, or even the upper surface of a stone or ball. Conversely, even for faceted entities such as people, the term *makalena* 'other side' may be used instead of an intrinsic term on the horizontal plane; for instance, a child who was standing at his mother's back was described as being *pa makalena Mama* 'on the other side of Mama' because he was on the other side in relation to the speaker's location in front of Mama.

Figure 8.1: Intrinsic reference: *The cat is to the left of Donald* (Donald's left)

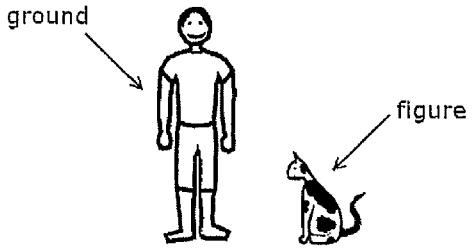
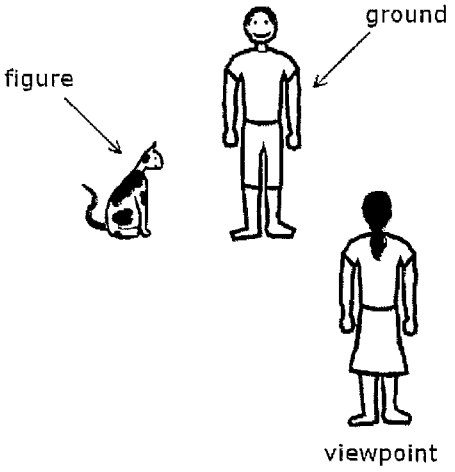


Figure 8.2: Relative reference: *The cat is to the left of Donald* (viewer's left)



Absolute frame of reference involves describing the relationship between figure and ground in terms of absolute fixed point(s) in the surrounding environment. Languages may employ cardinal point systems (such as English compass points, e.g. *The car is north of the house*); Australian languages such as Guugu Yimithirr (Levinson 1997) make extensive use of cardinal edges, where terms such as 'north' refer to quadrants rather than vectors. Other absolute systems involve reference to salient features of the environment, such as 'uphill' and 'downhill', 'landwards' and 'seawards'; the geocentric systems found in Oceanic languages are of this type.

Absolute frame of reference is claimed, like intrinsic frame of reference, to be a binary system, a relationship between figure and ground (Levinson 1996a, 2003b). This notion is criticised by Palmer (2003a, 2004), who argues that like relative frame of reference, absolute reference also involves reference to some characteristic of the external world beyond the "referent-relatum" (figure-ground) dyad, and is therefore ternary. For relative frame of reference the third point of reference is the viewpoint; for absolute frame of reference it is whatever fixed reference point is relevant to the

language in question; as Pederson et al. observe, absolute frame of reference *'uses information external to both the speech participants and the figure-ground scene'* (1998:572), and therefore cannot be seen as a relationship exclusively between figure and ground. With regard to Oceanic geocentric systems, Ross remarks:

> *If we wanted to be particular, incidentally, we could label a number of geographic expressions "deictic-geographic". To say that something is seawards, for example, is to place it in relation to the speaker. If the speaker were closer to the sea, the same referent might be "inland".* (Ross 2003:222)

This point is particularly important for understanding frames of reference in Kubokota, where, as we have seen in Chapters Three and Seven, the most frequent geocentric terms are PATHD verbs, which co-lexicalise both deictic and geocentric (absolute) information within a single lexical item (although, as I will demonstrate, deictic information is variably relevant).

Speakers of different languages vary in their preferences for one frame of reference or another. The majority of languages seem to have more than one strategy available, but differ in the extent to which strategies can be combined. As noted by Pederson et al. (1998) in a men-and-tree study of thirteen languages from diverse language families, both relative and absolute frames of reference are combined in some languages, while others use just one or the other:

> *That is, in some language communities, speakers playing the men-and-tree game regularly provide external information that is always about a speech PARTICIPANT and never about the geography surrounding the players or about fixed bearings (GEO-CARDINAL)... In other communities, speakers provide external information which is always geo-cardinal and never about a speech participant...* (Pederson et al. 1998:572)

Other languages, such as Mopan Maya and the Austronesian language Kilivila, use predominantly intrinsic information to locate a figure with regard to a ground (Pederson et al. 1998, Senft 2001), although Senft notes that, for describing the orientation of a figure, an absolute (geocentric) frame of reference is used in Kilivila (Senft 2001:521).

As far as orientation (or location) of a figure with respect to a speech act participant as a ground is concerned, Levinson (2003b) emphasises:

> *deixis itself does not constitute a frame of reference. That is because deictic specifications of location merely use the deictic centre as a special kind of ground, and they do not themselves contribute to angular specifications of the kind that constitute coordinate systems.* (Levinson 2003b:71)[5]

Levinson stresses the distinction between a coordinate system (which may be based on bodily coordinates or fixed bearings) and the "origin" of the system, which may be (but is not necessarily) a participant in the current speech event. Propositions based on the absolute, relative and intrinsic frames of reference may all contain deictic information, or utilise the deictic centre as an origin or ground: I might say *Donald is west of me* (absolute), *Sophie is facing me* (intrinsic) or *Rowan is behind the tree (from where I'm standing)* (relative).[6] Terrill and Burenhult (2008:120) suggest that in propositions such as *The man is facing me*, there is a binary relationship between ego and the man (rather than, as in relative reference, a ternary relationship between ego, the man and another ground), and the frame of reference is therefore intrinsic. In the discussion that follows I will refer to this type of spatial reference as intrinsic-deictic, as it is quite distinct from intrinsic frame of reference based on non-deictic ground objects.

Other deictic motion events, involving ternary reference to a figure, a ground and a deictic centre, are more problematic. A proposition such as *Rowan came seaward* combines deictic information with an absolute frame of reference, while the proposition *Rowan came out of the house* expresses a ternary relationship between Rowan (the figure), an intrinsic facet (the outside) of the house (the ground), and the deictic centre. *Rowan came out of the house* can be understood as intrinsic (identifying the outside of the house does not depend on the location of the viewpoint), but also makes reference to a third point, the deictic centre.

Even the English data, therefore, begins to suggest that the interaction between deixis and frames of reference is rather complex. Spatial propositions (particularly motion event propositions) that involve deixis may behave differently from propositions that do not; this may be true regardless of which frame of reference they utilise, but the presence of deictic information may also affect which frames of

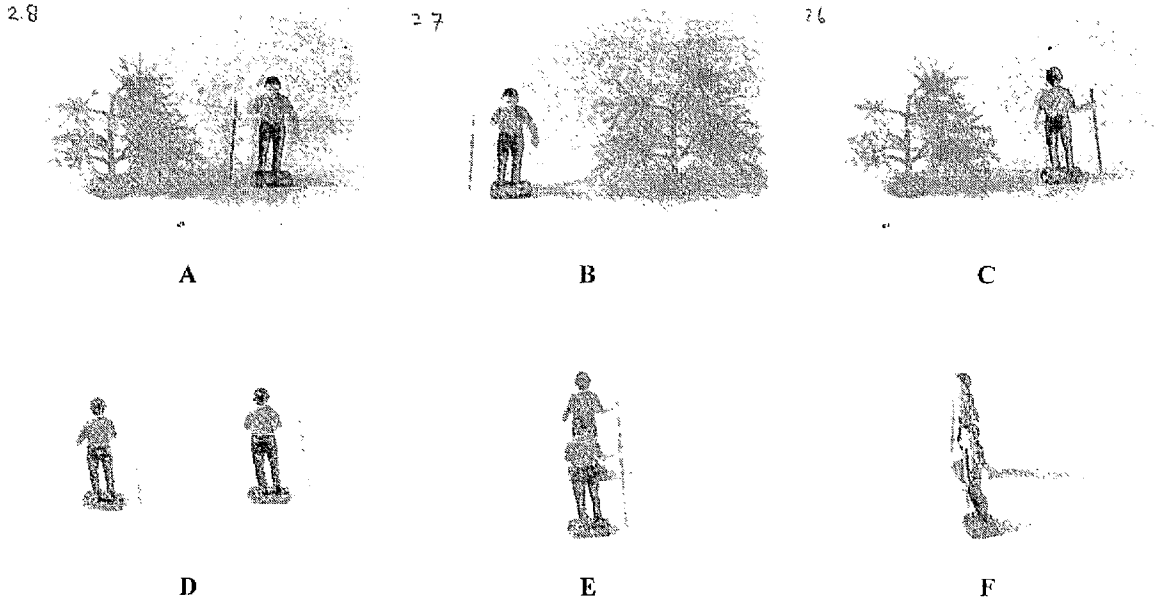
[5] In Kubokota, the *pata-* locational nouns are a classic example of the combination of deictic and absolute frame of reference (e.g. *pata-lagere* 'side-come.down', i.e. located in an area down towards me; see §3.8.1 for discussion of this).
[6] See also Danziger's (1999) notion of Self-as-Ground.

reference are available and how they are used. In this chapter I will argue that Kubokota speakers' usage of orientational and motion verbs cannot be described without reference to both deixis and frames of reference, and that a typology of frames of reference is inadequate if it does not incorporate an account of how deixis and frames of reference relate to each other.

8.3 The men-and-tree game

The men-and-tree photo-photo matching game (Hill 1993) was developed to explore how languages use frames of reference to express contrasts on the horizontal plane. It requires the players to describe spatial relationships between faceted objects (men) and non-faceted objects (trees). Figure 8.3 presents sample photographs: A and B differ in the location of the objects along the axis lateral to the viewer(s), B and C in the orientation of the man. D and E differ in the axis along which the men are located (sagittal vs. lateral); F differs from E in the orientation of the men, and from D in both axis and orientation.

Figure 8.3: Sample photographs from the men-and-tree game (Games 2 and 4)



Most previous men-and-tree studies have been primarily concerned with transverse spatial relations (i.e. whether the man is located to the left or the right of the tree on the axis lateral to the players). Because the main aim of the present study is to explore the interaction of scales consisting of two axes, and of the location of the players along those axes, I refer to both sagittal and lateral distinctions where relevant in my analysis.

8.3.1 Methodology

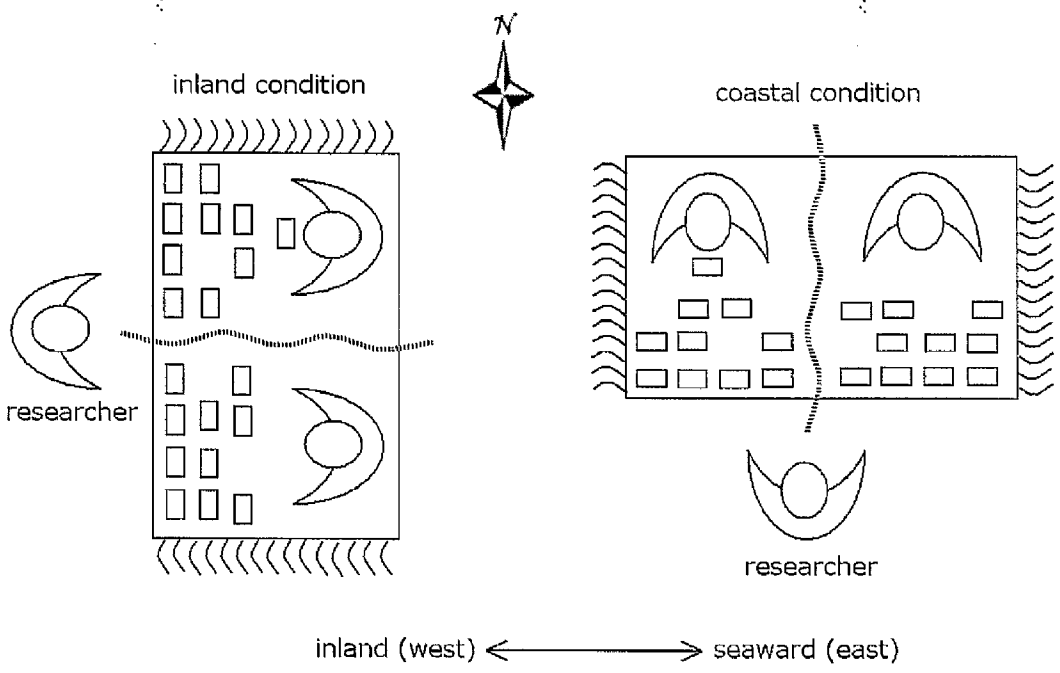
The men-and-tree methodology requires two participants to sit side-by-side, facing in the same direction and separated by a screen (so that gestures and other extra-linguistic cues cannot be used to identify the correct picture). There are four games, each consisting of twelve photos: the first is a training game with photos of a range of objects; in Game 2 the photos are of a man and a tree, varying in orientation (of the man) and in location along the lateral axis; in Games 3 and 4 the photos are of two men, oriented either in the same direction or in opposite directions, and located along either the sagittal or lateral axis. Games 2, 3 and 4 also include distractor photos in which there are no men or trees; the distractor photos include photos of two balls (i.e. unfaceted objects), a bunch of bananas, and a man with some pigs (I will mention descriptions of these photos in passing but will not analyse them in depth). For each game, the photos are laid out in front of each player in random order; the players take turns to choose a picture and describe it to the other person, who has to pick the appropriate picture from their own set.

In the Kubokota study there were sixteen participants or eight pairs, i.e. each game was played eight times. Six participants were male and ten were female; the distribution of participants by gender across the two conditions was random.[7] Four pairs played the game facing west, or inland; the other four faced south along the coast. The first three games in the inland condition were played on the balcony of my house (where, as already described in §7.3.1.1, the local scale tends to operate). The four coastal games took place in the space under the neighbouring house, which happened to be adjacent to a path running north-south. The final inland game was also played here, in order to check that the differences I was beginning to observe between the two conditions were not merely due to the different location and the proximity of the path.[8] Figure 8.4 shows the set-up of the two conditions, Map 8.1 the location of the games in the housing area, and Figure 8.5 photographs of three pairs of participants playing the game.

[7] Some pairs were husband-and-wife couples, others were friends who knew each other well. The pairs were self-selecting; I played the game with any two people who volunteered to participate, over a period of weeks.

[8] The reason for the change of location was that the first three games were played before the earthquake. After the earthquake, the children's beds were made up on my balcony and it was no longer possible to play there, so we played under the house instead. On the evidence of the fourth inland game, the move does not appear to have had a significant impact on the results.

Figure 8.4: Men-and-tree set-up, on inland and coastal axis



Map 8.1: Men-and-tree locations

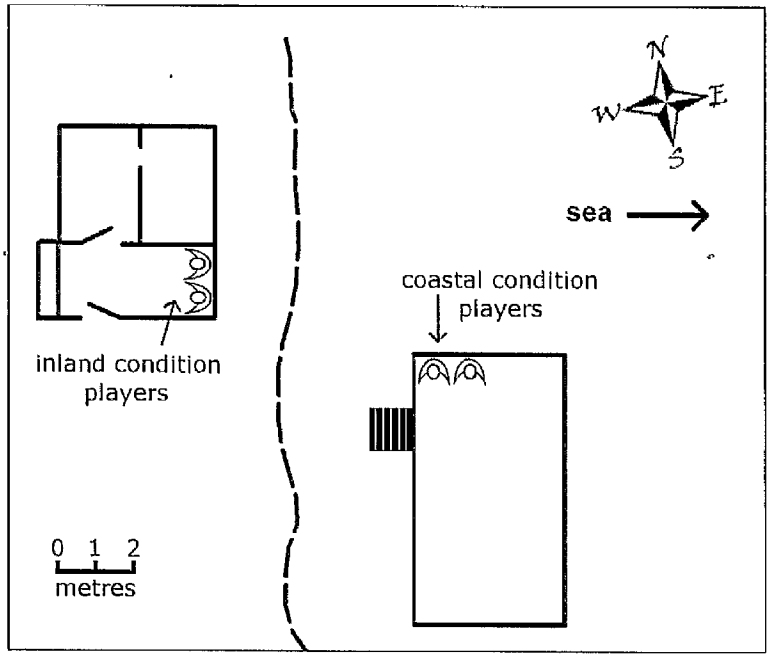


Figure 8.5: Playing the men-and-tree game

inland condition (on balcony)

inland condition (under house)

coastal condition (under house)

In the Kubokota men-and-tree games, participants were allowed to see mismatched pairs of photos, and thus to learn from their mistakes. Mismatched photos were returned to the sets in front of the players to be matched again; correctly matched photos were removed by the researcher. This meant that, as each game progressed, the number of available choices decreased as each pair of correctly matched photos was removed from the array. A rigorous statistical analysis of the data would take such factors into account; however, because of the small number of participants and the exploratory nature of this experiment, I have not attempted to control either for learning or reduced choice effects. The data presented in §8.4 shows such dramatic contrasts between the two conditions that a more fine-grained statistical analysis would be unlikely to present any challenge to the results.

8.3.2 Orientation and frames of reference

As far as transverse spatial relations are concerned, most of the languages investigated in Pederson et al.'s (1998) study have equivalents of 'The man is east/left/seaward of

the tree', i.e. they use either an absolute or relative strategy to locate the man with respect to the tree along the lateral axis (as in Photos A and B in Figure 8.3). For Mopan Maya and Kilivila, however, there was no functional equivalent of this:

> *For distinguishing among these photographs, Mopan and Kilivila players used no information about transverse relations other than that which was actually about features of the figure and ground (e.g. 'at the foot', 'at the side', 'at the edge'). While all of the other languages also used such strategies, they additionally used strategies that relied on information beyond features of the figure and ground (see Danziger 1997). For example, Mopan Maya speakers playing the Men-and-tree game described the photographs in such a way as to locate the tree with respect to some part of the man's body (his front, face, back, and so forth).* (Pederson et al. 1998:569)

Recently, Terrill and Burenhult (2008) have proposed that, rather than adopting a particular frame of reference, speakers of languages may conventionalise either orientation or location as their major strategy of spatial reference. An orientational strategy is essentially a means of combining intrinsic information about a faceted entity (either figure or ground) with relative or absolute information that orients a facet of that entity to a cue. Cues may be picture-internal, e.g. *The man is facing the tree*, or picture-external, e.g. *The man is facing east* (absolute) or *The man is facing left* (relative). A facet may be referred to either implicitly (*The man is facing the tree*) or explicitly (*The man has his back to the tree*). Orientation contrasts with location, which disregards the intrinsic facets of both objects, and uses either absolute or relative terms to locate a figure with regard to a ground, e.g. *The man is east of the tree* (absolute) or *The man is left of the tree* (relative).

An orientational strategy accounts for the Mopan and Kilivila data, and also encompasses a number of other languages that appear to combine intrinsic information with other frames of reference, including Lavukaleve, Jahai, Yéli Dnye and Jaminjung. In Lavukaleve, a Papuan language of the Solomon Islands, a typical approach to the men-and-tree task is to relate a facet of the man to a picture-external cue (e.g. *The man is looking out to sea*), and then to locate the tree with respect to the same or another facet of the man (*The tree is in his face*) (Terrill and Burenhult 2008:115, 117). Likewise, in Jahai, distinguishing propositions are invariably orientational, coordinating facets of the man with the picture-internal tree and a

picture-external cue, *'the objects in the photos being related to the surrounding environment as if they were concrete parts of it'* (Terrill and Burenhult 2008:111).

The use of an orientational strategy in Kubokota is already evident in (1) above, where *bata* 'see' implies a facet of the man, *gore* 'go down' denotes an absolute direction (I will come to the deictic content of *gore* later) and *nole* 'beach' a picture-external landmark. It is exemplified further in (2), where, not unlike Lavukaleve (although the information is in the reverse order), a facet of the man is first oriented to the tree (picture-internal), then he is oriented with regard to the external world. In (2), the speaker and addressee are both facing inland (west), and *lao* refers to the undifferentiated transverse axis on the local scale; the man (who, as in Jahai, is treated as a concrete part of the real world environment) is facing north along the coast.

(2) *Mu* *vani=ziu* *na* *piksa* *na* *tinoni* *za* *aru=a*
2.IRR give.APPL.SG=1SG.OBJ DET picture DET person 3SG.R hold=3SG.OBJ

kolu, *za* ***bata*** ***tari=a*** ***na*** ***suvege.*** *Za* ***bata*** ***lao.***
stick 3SG.R **see** **GOAL=3SG.OBJ** **DET** **tree** 3SG.R **see** **go**
'Give me the picture of the person holding the stick, he's looking at the tree. He faces across.' (e019HN2_029-30; inland)

It should be noted that speakers do not always provide both pieces of information; either the picture-internal or picture-external description may be omitted, a tendency which contributes to a high number of matching errors (see §8.4.3.3).

In the analysis that follows I will adopt the modified frames of reference typology emerging from Terrill and Burenhult's work. In §8.4.1 I explore some of the strategies used by Kubokota speakers to distinguish men-and-tree scenes, and propose that, like Jahai and Lavukaleve, Kubokota also uses a predominantly orientational strategy. Orientational information is shown to interact with the various frames of reference available to speakers, the choice of one strategy over another being affected by factors such as the nature of figure and ground and whether one or both possesses asymmetrical facets (such as face, back and sides) by which they can be oriented. In §8.4.2, picture-external orientation is discussed in more detail, and it is proposed that the choice of absolute versus intrinsic-deictic terms is affected not only by the location and orientation of the figure and ground, but also of the speakers themselves. In §8.4.3 I come to the geocentric scales speakers use to describe the orientation of the

men; I explore factors that influence the choice of scale and discuss the linguistic strategies used to identify which scale is being used.

8.4 Results and discussion

8.4.1 Strategies of spatial reference

Strategies of spatial reference used in the Kubokota men-and-tree games can be divided into two major categories, picture-internal and picture-external. Successful descriptions of the arrays tend to depend on combining these categories, as shown in (2); however, the choice of a particular strategy is also affected by the nature of the stimulus and whether one or both objects are faceted.

8.4.1.1 Picture-internal strategies

8.4.1.1.1 Facets

Major picture-internal strategies tend to involve reference, explicit or implicit, to a facet of an asymmetrical object. A facet may be implied by a verb such as *bata* 'see' (as in (1) and (2)), or may be explicitly named, usually by verbalised body part terms such as *pokoto* 'back' (3) and *kiju* 'back of head' (4).

(3) *za* ***pokoto*** *tari=a* *na* *suvege.*
3SG.R **back** GOAL=3SG.OBJ DET tree
'he has his back to the tree.' (e019HN2_035; inland)

(4) *na* *tinoni* *aza* *za* ***kiju*** *tari=ria* *na* *suvege.*
DET person 3SG 3SG.R **back.of.head** GOAL=3PL.OBJ DET tree
'the person has the back of his head to the trees.' (e010SM2_088; inland)

The verb *bata* may also be used to orient facets of an asymmetrical inanimate object, such as a banana. In (5), *batu* 'head' identifies the facet of the bananas that faces upwards (*bata zae*).

(5) *Kori* *vudi* *qari* ***bata*** ***zae*** *vei* *tu* *rari* *na...* *ketakoi* *na*
two banana 3PL.R **see** **go.up** be.like FOC DIST.PL DET LOC DET
batu=di.
head=3PL.POS
'Two bananas face up that way… where their heads are.' (e010SM3_066-7; inland)

More abstract planes of the (human) body are referred to with local nouns, e.g. *ligu* 'behind' (6), *moe* or *momoe* 'front, before' (7). Such terms tend to occur in locational rather than orientational descriptions, and are comparatively rare.

(6) *kole* *nana* *maka* *suvege* *pa* ***ligu=na,***
be.LOC 3SG.POS one tree IN.PRP **behind=3SG.POS**
'there is a tree behind him,' (e009BN2_077; inland)

(7) *Maka* *suvege* *turu* *pa* ***moe=na.***
one tree stand IN.PRP **front=3SG.POS**
'A tree stands in front of him.' (e009BN2_047; inland)

The local noun *keketai* 'side, beside' (8) generally denotes a location along an angle extended from the side of an object, while *kale (matua/meri)* '(right/left) side' (9), (10) tends to indicate the side of the object itself, or an object that the figure is touching. In the men-and-tree data *kale* is typically used to locate the men's walking sticks (9). Only very rarely can *kale matua/meri* denote an angle extended beyond the figure itself; (10) is one of the few examples in the dataset.

(8) *maka* *suvege* *za* *turu* *pa* ***keketai=na*** *na* *koburu,*
one tree 3SG.R stand IN.PRP **side=3SG.POS** DET child
'a tree stands at the child's side,' (e009BN2_063; inland)

(9) *qe* *aru=ria* *na* *dia* *kolu* *pa* ***kale*** ***matua.***
3PL.R hold=3PL.OBJ DET 3PL.POS walking.stick IN.PRP **side** **right**
'they hold their walking sticks on the right side.' (e019HN4b_037; inland)

(10) *kuta* *suvege* *peki* *avoro* *za* *kole* *pa* ***kale*** ***meri=na.***
base tree small flower 3SG.R be.at IN.PRP **side** **left=3SG.POS**
'small flowering tree stump is at his left side.' (e016HM2_071; inland)

While *kale matua* and *kale meri* usually refer to the intrinsic right and left sides of the figure (9), (10), a small number of participants used these terms relatively (11).[9]

(11) *Maka,* *nana* *kolu* *za* *aru=a* *pa* ***kale*** ***matua=na.***
one 3SG.POS walking.stick 3SG.R hold=3SG.POS IN.PRP **side** **right=3SG.POS**

Maka *za* *aru=a* *pa* ***kale*** ***meri=na.***
one 3SG.POS hold=3SG.POS IN.PRP **side** **left=3SG.POS**
'One, he holds his stick on his right side. One holds it on his left side.'
(e016HM3_020-21; inland)

For non-faceted objects, other topological terms such as the local nouns *are* 'above' and *kauru* 'below' may occur; these are mainly restricted to the vertical dimension or to the viewer's perspective (see §8.4.1.1.4 below).

[9] All the men in the men-and-tree games are based on two identical plastic men, who hold sticks in their right hands. The relative use of 'left side' and 'right side' only ever referred to the sticks, and did not seem to have a significant impact on responses; further distinguishing information was usually provided.

(12) *Mu* *vani=ziu* *na* *piksa,* *kue* *vudi* *mumu,* *kori* *pa*
2.IRR give.APPL.SG=1SG.OBJ DET picture three banana ripe two IN.PRP

kauru=na *maka* *pa* ***are=na.***
underneath=3SG.POS one IN.PRP **top=3SG.POS**
'Give me the picture, three ripe bananas, two underneath, one on top.'
(e019HN3_001; inland)

8.4.1.1.2 Orienting a facet

Once a facet has been identified, it is oriented to a ground. Facets of two similar objects are often oriented with respect to each other, or a picture-external ground or direction may be used (see §8.4.1.2 below).

A faceted figure may be oriented to a ground by extending an angle from an intrinsic facet of the figure, usually the front or back; this is exemplified in (6) and (7) above, where the picture-internal ground is located to the front (*moe*) or back (*ligu*) of the figure. A ground may also be located to the side (*kale* or *keketai*) of a figure, but this is less common and tends to be less successful in disambiguating a pair of photos, Kubokota speakers tending not to specify which side they are referring to.

These, however, are locational strategies, and it is more usual in Kubokota to describe spatial arrays in terms of orientation. The verb *bata* 'see' (and verbalised body part terms such as *pokoto* 'back', *kiju* 'back of head') are the main means of orienting a facet of the figure, either to a ground (which may be a picture-internal object or the deictic centre), or in a geocentric direction.

For orientation to a picture-internal ground, the ground object is usually licensed by the prepositional verb *tari* 'GOAL', as in (3) and (4) above. Occasionally, *bata* may also be serialised with the PATHD verb *lao* 'go', for geocentrically neutral orientation towards the ground, as in (13) (note that both *bata* and the intrinsic local noun *moe* 'front' identify the facet of the man in relation to which the tree is located).

(13) *za* ***bata*** ***lao*** ***pa*** ***suvege*** *pa* *moe=na,*
3SG.R **see** **go** **IN.PRP** **tree** IN.PRP front=3SG.POS
'he looks towards the tree in front of him,' (e016HM2_018; inland)

8.4.1.1.3 Reciprocal orientation

Where the picture contains two faceted figures (i.e. two men), they tend to be oriented reciprocally with regard to each other; the verb that describes their orientation (usually *bata* or *pokoto*) is marked with the reciprocal prefix *vari-*. The prepositional

verb *tari* 'GOAL' indicates that the facets identified by the main verb are oriented towards each other (faces in (14), backs in (15)).

(14) *qari* ***vari-bata*** ***tari.***
3PL.R **RECIP-see** **GOAL**
'they face each other.' (e018RG4_023; coastal)

(15) *Kole dia* *kori* *tinoni* *qari* ***vari-pokoto*** ***tari.***
exist 3PL.POS two person 3PL.R **RECIP-back** **GOAL**
'There are two people with their backs to each other.' (e010SM3_053; inland)

Alternatively, *bata* may be serialised with the verb *sela* 'be wrong', meaning 'to face in opposite directions', for facets that are oriented away from each other. *Vari-* may be prefixed to either *sela* (16) or *bata* (17), or *sela* may be preceded by the causative adverbial prefix *va-* (18).[10]

(16) *Qari* ***bata*** ***vari-sela.***
3PL.R **see** **RECIP-wrong**
'They face in opposite directions.' (e010SM4_045; inland)

(17) *qe* ***vari-bata*** ***sela*** *ari-kori.*
3PL.R **RECIP-see** **wrong** PROX.PL-two
'the two of them face in different directions.' (e010SM4_114; inland)

(18) *Ko qari* ***vari-bata*** ***va-sela*** *ari-kori* *ari.*
so 3PL.R RECIP-see CAUS-wrong PROX.PL-two PROX.PL
'And they face in opposite directions, these two.' (e016HM3_045; inland)

As well as orientation, the configuration of the two men with regard to each other may be described using verbs such as *laini* 'line', *bara* 'fence' and *tuti* 'follow'. *Laini* and *bara* both mean 'to stand in a line' (*laini* being an English borrowing and *bara* a verbalisation of the noun *bara* 'fence') and can describe either one man behind the other, or the two standing side by side; usually they both face the same direction. *Tuti* is used only where one figure is behind the other. The reciprocal relationship is typically indicated either by the reciprocal prefix *vari-* or the adverb *makarai* 'together'.

(19) *ba qari* ***vari-laini,*** *ko qe* *makarai* *rerege.*
but 3PL.R **RECIP-line** so 3PL.R together walk
'and they line up and they walk together.' (e022JP2_051; coastal)

[10] Full lexical verbs such as *sela* are co-ranking with *bata* in the SVC and can carry prefixes such as *vari-* and *va-*. The prepositional verb *tari* is a defective verb and is unable to take prefixes; it acts as a modifier to the main verb. The syntactic structure of SVCs is discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

(20) *qari* ***makarai*** ***laini*** *kori* *tinoni* *ria,* *qari* *bata* *lao* *beto* *pa*
3PL.R **together** **line** two person 3PL 3PL.R see go finish IN.PRP

mo-moe.
REDUP-front
'they line together those two people, they both face to the front.'
(e021DZ4_006; coastal)

(21) *Qari* ***vari-bara*** *kori* *tinoni.*
3PL.R **RECIP-fence** two person
'The two people stand in a line.' (e010SM4_066; inland)

(22) *beto* *kori* *borogo* *qari...* *pa* *korapa* *suvege,* ***qari*** ***vari-tuti.***
and two pig 3PL.R IN.PRP middle tree **3PL.R** **RECIP-follow**
'and two pigs who... between the trees, they follow each other.' (e019HN2_007; inland)

Information about the configuration of the two men with regard to each other is usually accompanied by information about their orientation to the external world, there being no other picture-internal landmark (i.e. no tree) with regard to which they can be oriented. (23) is a typical example.

(23) *Kori* *tinoni* *qari* *vari-pokoto* *tari.* *Maka* *bata* *gore* *pa*
two person 3PL.R RECIP-back GOAL one see go.down IN.PRP

suvu *tapo,* *maka* *bata* *zae* *pa* *zagere* *tapo.*
dive sun one see go.up IN.PRP ascend sun
'Two men stand back to back. One faces down to the sunset, one faces up to the sunrise.' (e010SM3_039; inland)

8.4.1.1.4 Non-faceted objects

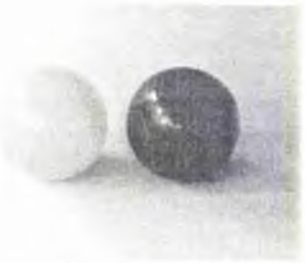
Descriptions of faceted objects, as shown above, almost invariably involve the orientation of a facet either to a ground object or, reciprocally, to the identical facet of a second faceted figure. For non-faceted objects, a different strategy is required. A common approach is to describe a relationship between two objects in terms of their two-dimensional appearance from the angle from which they have been photographed. For instance, objects on the sagittal axis often appear to be close to each other, whereas objects on the lateral axis appear further apart. (24) describes two balls on the lateral axis as 'apart', while (25) describes two balls on the sagittal axis as

'touching' (see Figure 8.6). The same strategy can also be used for differentiating two men on the lateral versus sagittal axis.[11]

(24) *qe* *kole* ***vari-zou*** *ia peki.*
3PL.R lie **RECIP-far** a.little.bit
'they lie a little bit apart from each other.' (e022JP3_009; coastal)

(25) *ba* *qe* ***vari-uli.***
but 3PL.R **RECIP-touch**
'but they are touching each other.' (e010SM3_139; inland)

Figure 8.6: Two-dimensional appearance of non-faceted objects



'apart' (lateral axis (24))

'touching' (sagittal axis (25))

Such relationships are usually reciprocal, but an alternative on the sagittal axis is to describe one object as 'below' the other (26), and one as 'on top' (27) or 'on the head' (28) (i.e. the two-dimensional photo lying flat on the ground is treated as if it were two-dimensional and vertical; see also the discussion of maps in §7.3.4).[12] The nearer object may also be described as larger, and the other as smaller (further away) (27).

(26) *Ba* *pa* ***kauru=na,*** *na* *bolo* *jemere.*
but IN.PRP **under=3SG.POS** DET ball red
'But underneath (is) the red ball.' (e018RG3_024; coastal)

(27) *maka* *na* *jemere* *ba* *za* *peki,* *na* *peki=na* *za* *kole* *pa*
one DET red but 3SG.R small DET small=NMLZ 3SG.R lie IN.PRP

are=na.
top=3SG.POS
'one is red but it's small, the small one is above.' (e016HM3_038; inland)

(28) *Na* *jemere* *za* *kole* *vei* *pa* ***batu=na,***
DET red 3SG.R lie be.like IN.PRP **head=3SG.POS**
'The red one lies towards the head.' (e020EI3_015; coastal)

[11] This strategy never occurs where a man is pictured with a tree, only where both entities are either faceted (two men) or unfaceted (two balls); two entities must be of equal status (in terms of animacy and/or facetedness) in order to be in a reciprocal relationship.
[12] This does not seem to occur with pictures of men, only with unfaceted inanimate objects.

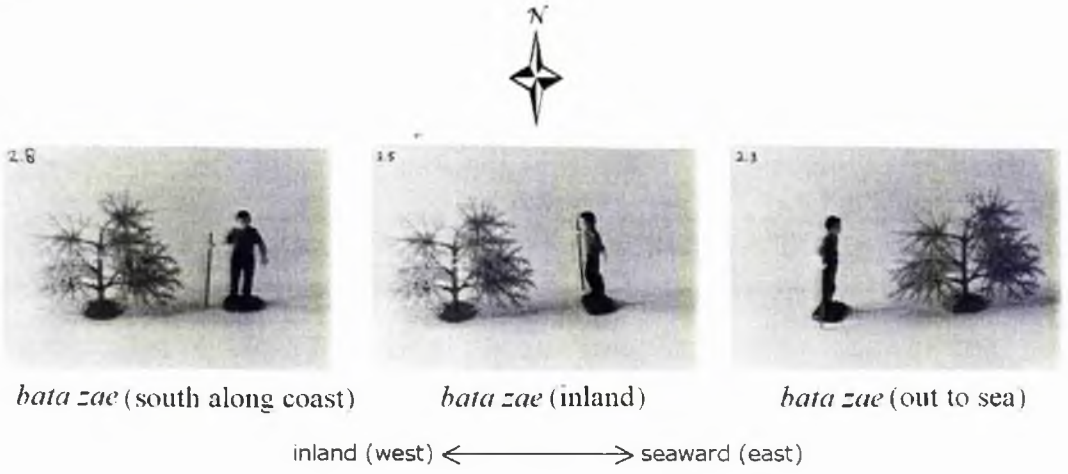
8.4.1.2 Picture-external strategies

Picture-external strategies can be divided into two main categories: those that orient a figure (or figures) with regard to geocentric directions or fixed geographical landmarks (§8.4.1.2.1), and those that orient a figure with regard to the deictic centre or use participants of the speech act scene as landmarks (§8.4.1.2.2). Minor strategies include using relative frame of reference terms to orient or locate the figure or ground with regard to the deictic centre (§8.4.1.2.3), and locating a figure or ground with regard to geocentric reference points (§8.4.1.2.4).

8.4.1.2.1 Absolute (geocentric) orientation

Absolute orientation of a figure in a geocentric direction requires the verb *bata* 'see' or *dogoro* 'look', serialised with any of the geocentric directional verbs (i.e. any PATHD verb or the PATHG verbs *oqavotu* '(go) seaward' and *paja* '(go) inland'). Men-and-tree game figures may be oriented on the local scale (where 'up' = inland/west), the intermediate scale (where 'up' = south along coast) or the land-sea boundary scale (where 'up' = out to sea/east); this is shown in Figure 8.7. The navigational scale is not relevant here, except in that it roughly coincides with the intermediate scale.

Figure 8.7: 'Up' in three directions[13]



The means by which speakers choose and distinguish between these scales are discussed in §8.4.3. One mechanism, however, is to further specify the orientation of the figure by adding a landmark. For orientation to the east or west, this is often the

[13] It should be borne in mind that the orientation of the photos themselves changes depending on the orientation of the viewer: in the inland condition, the top of the photo is oriented west, in the coastal condition, it is oriented south, and here, for purposes of illustration, it is oriented to the top of the page which I have arbitrarily designated as 'north' (the only direction which in Kubokota is never 'up', unless there happens to be a hill).

sunrise (*zagere tapo* 'ascend sun' or *zale tapo* 'come.up sun') or the sunset (*suvu tapo* 'dive sun'); it may also be a more local geographical feature such as *nole* 'beach', *ivere* 'sea' or *tokutoku* 'forest'.

(29) *qe* *bata* *zae* *pa* ***zagere*** ***tapo.***
3PL.R see go.up IN.PRP **ascend** **sun**
'they face up to the sunrise.' (e009BN4a_003; inland)

(30) *qari* *bata* *zae* *vei* *pa* ***kale*** ***suvu*** ***tapo*** *beto.*
3PL.R see go.up be.like IN.PRP **side** **dive** **sun** finish
'they face up towards the setting sun.' (e010SM4_022; inland)

(31) *maka* *za* *bata* *zae* *vei...* *bata* *gore* *vei* *pa* ***ivere.***
one 3SG.R see go.up be.like see go.down be.like IN.PRP **sea**
'one faces up towards... faces down towards the sea.' (e018RG3_061; coastal)

For orientation to the north or south, the names of the nearby villages of Suava (south) and Pienuna (north) are occasionally used. *Kale Luqa* and *kale Kubokota* are also used to differentiate the Luqa- and Kubokota-speaking areas of the island (south and north respectively).

(32) *qari* *makarai* *bata* *zae* *vei* *pa...* *bata* *zae* *vei* *pa* ***Suava.***
3PL.R together see go.up be.like IN.PRP see go.up be.like IN.PRP **Suava**
'they both face up towards... face up towards Suava.' (e016HM4_063-64; inland)

(33) *Maka* *za* *bata* *zae* *vei* *pa* ***kale*** ***Luqa*** *tu,* *maka* *za*
one 3SG.R see go.up be.like IN.PRP **side** **Luqa** FOC one 3SG.R

gore *vei* *pa* ***Kubokota.***
go.down be.like IN.PRP **Kubokota**
'One faces up towards the Luqa side, one goes down towards Kubokota.'
(e018RG4_104; coastal)

Three speakers also used the borrowed English cardinal directions 'north' and 'south' ('west' was used once erroneously, and 'east' did not occur at all).

(34) *Qari* *bata* *gore* *vei* *pa* ***kale*** ***north,***
3PL.R see go.down be.like IN.PRP **side** **north**
'They face down towards the north,' (e010SM4_033; inland)

It is possible to orient the figure to a landmark without using any path verb, as in (35). Note that the verb *vei* 'be like' is obligatory in (35), where the path verb is absent; as can be seen in examples (29) to (34), *vei* is optional in *bata* + PATH constructions, often being glossed as 'towards' (see §3.3.1 for further discussion of *vei*).

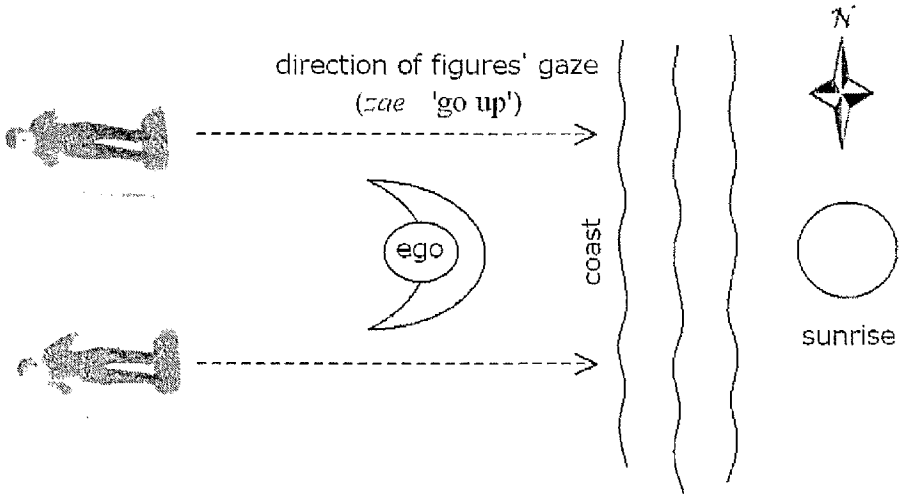
(35) *maka* *za* ***bata*** ***vei*** *pa* *kale* *suvu* *tapo.*
one 3SG.R **see** **be.like** IN.PRP side dive sun
'one faces towards the sunset.' (e009BN4a_015; inland)

As mentioned in §8.4.1.1.1, the local noun *kale* 'side' is used for the left and right sides of the body. In the above examples it may also denote a landmark or area: in (30) and (35) *kale suvu tapo* 'sunset side' indicates the direction in which the sun sets, while *kale Luqa* (33) refers to the Luqa-speaking side (half) of the island, and *kale north* (34) to the northern side. *Kale* is also used in locational descriptions (see §8.4.1.2.4.

8.4.1.2.2 Intrinsic-deictic (egocentric) orientation

All the orientational propositions containing PATHD verbs so far have involved the geocentric 'go' verbs *zae* 'go up' and *gore* 'go down'. These verbs describe the orientation of the figures with no reference to the location of the speech act participants. In (29), for instance, the figures are described as facing 'up' to the sunrise. The speech act participants (i.e. the two players) are facing inland (west) and the figures in the photo are in front of them and therefore facing (east) towards them, but the verb *zae* 'go up' is used, i.e. the speech act participants are ignored as a potential deictic centre (see Figure 8.8). A possible reason for this is that, as described in §3.3, 'come' verbs are only used for motion paths that have their goal at or on a path towards the speaker/deictic centre, whereas 'go' verbs are often deictically neutral. In (29), the directionality of looking is perceived as a path of motion that goes beyond the speaker's location to the sunrise (out at sea), therefore a 'go' verb is used.

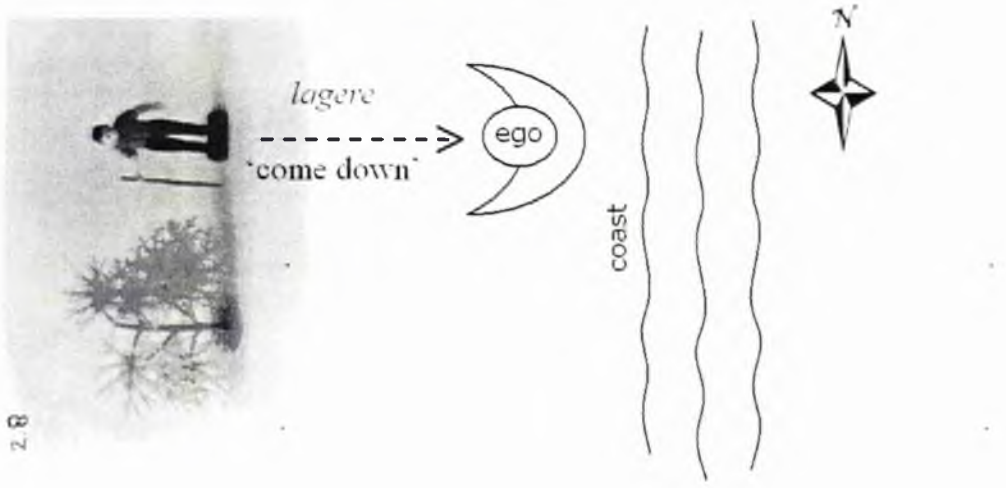
Figure 8.8: Non-deictic orientation – looking 'up' (past ego) to the sunrise (29)



Some orientational propositions do contain 'come' verbs, however. In examples such as (36), *lagere* 'come down' orients the figure both in a geocentric direction (down seaward on the local scale) and with regard to an external deictic centre (see Figure 8.9).

(36) *Mu* *lame=a* *na* *piksa* *na* *tinoni* *za* ***bata*** ***lagere***.
2.IRR come=3SG.OBJ DET picture DET person 3SG.R **see** **come.down**
'Give me the picture of the person who looks down (towards us).'
(e019HN2_027; inland)

Figure 8.9: Deictic orientation – looking 'down' to ego (36)



If a 'come' verb is followed by a landmark, this landmark is always the deictic centre and never a geographical landmark; this is consistent with my claim above that 'go' verbs describe paths that go past (or disregard) the deictic centre, whereas 'come' verbs treat the deictic centre as the endpoint of the path (see also §3.3 and §4.4 on the configuration of 'come' and 'go' paths). In (37), the landmark is the speaker (referenced by the proform *ta=qu* 'to me'); in (38), it is both speech act participants (*tini=da* 'our (INCL) bodies').

(37) *maka* *za* *bata* *zae*, *maka* *za* ***bata*** ***lagere*** ***ta=qu***.
one 3SG.R see go.up one 3SG.R **see** **come.down** **AN.PRP=1SG.POS**
'one faces up, one faces down to me.' (e022JP4_008; coastal)

(38) *Qe* ***bata*** ***lame*** *vei* *pa* ***tini=da*** ***gita=kori***, *tinoni*.
3PL.R **see** **come** be.like IN.PRP **body=1PL.IN.POS** **1PL.IN=two** person
'They face towards the bodies of us two, the people.' (e020EI4_031; coastal)

The researcher, who sits facing the players throughout the games, may also be used as a landmark, usually in opposition to the location of the speaker (note that *lao* here, unlike *zae* in (29), does have a deictic 'away from speaker' interpretation).

(39) *maka* *za* *bata* *lame* ***ta=qu,*** *maka* *za* *bata* *lao*
one 3SG.R see come **AN.PRP=1SG.POS** one 3SG.R see go
ti ***Mary,***
AN.PRP.PERS **Mary**
'one faces me, one faces Mary,' (e022JP4_050; coastal)

A figure can be oriented towards the deictic centre with no specification of direction ((40), cf. (35) above).

(40) *qari* ***bata*** ***tari=gita*** *gita=kori.*
3PL.R **see** **GOAL=1PL.IN.OBJ** 1PL.IN=two
'They face towards us two.' (e020EI4_ 036; coastal)

In (41), *lao* is used in contrast with *lame* 'come' to orient one of the figures directly away from the deictic centre, and the other towards. *Lao* is usually only used in this way where there are two figures facing in opposite directions. *Bata va-zou* 'see CAUS-far' (i.e. 'face away') can be used for the same purpose, either in contrast with *lame* (42) or alone (43).

(41) *kori* *tio,* *maka* *za* ***bata*** ***lame,*** *maka* *za* ***bata*** ***lao,***
two person one 3SG.R **see** **come** one 3SG.R **see** **go**
'two people, one looks towards (us), one looks away,' (e020EI4_040; coastal)

(42) ***Bata*** ***va-zou*** *maka,* *maka* *za* ***bata*** ***lame,***
see **CAUS-far** one one 3SG.R **see** **come**
'One looks far away, one looks this way,' (e021DZ4_043; coastal)

(43) *Qe* *makarai* ***bata*** ***va-zou,***
3PL.R together **see** **CAUS-far**
'They both face away,' (e021DZ4_027; coastal)

In the examples in this section, *bata* implies a facet of the man (his gaze) which is oriented along a particular angle. The geocentric bearing of this angle ('up' or 'down') may or may not be specified, but the ground to which it is anchored is the deictic centre (a speech act participant). As discussed in §8.2, deictic orientation is claimed to be an intrinsic binary relationship between the figure and the deictic centre (or self-as-ground). Kubokota PATHD verbs co-lexicalise both geocentric and deictic information, but the two information types are salient to varying degrees depending on the verb and the context. A deictically defined point of reference (i.e. a speech act

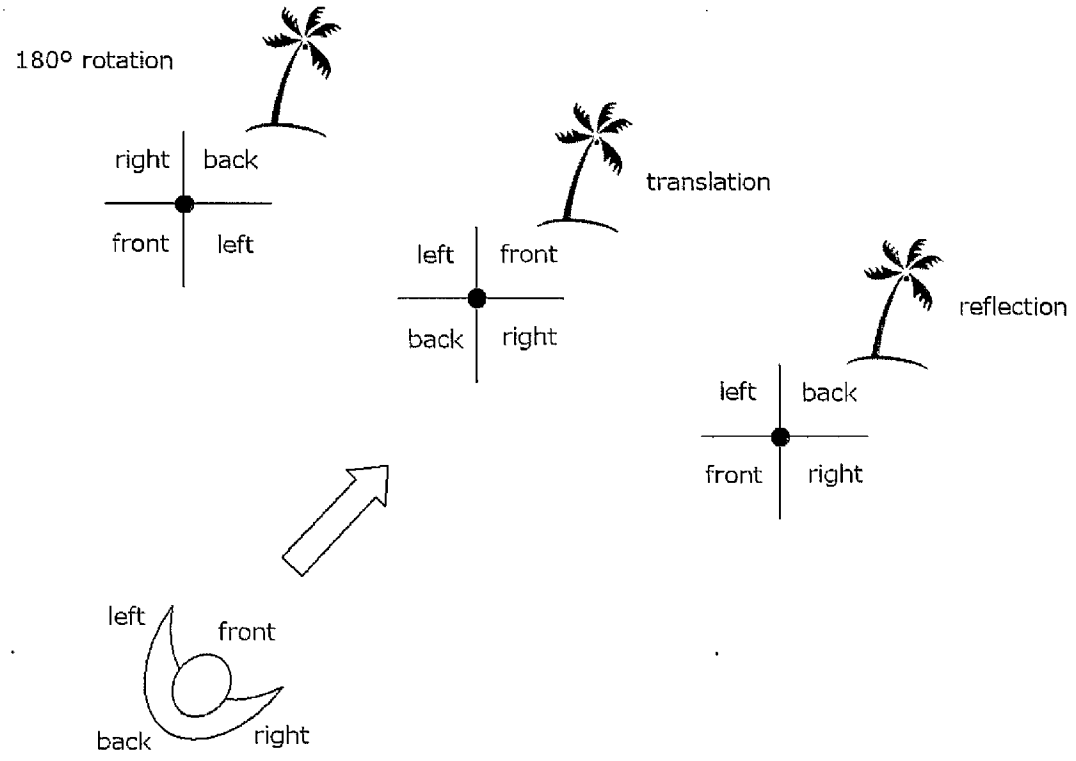
participant) is mandatory for 'come' verbs, whereas 'go' verbs only optionally make reference to a speech act participant as a ground. Meanwhile, verbs that lexicalise 'up' and 'down' paths are more likely to be used geocentrically than the neutral 'come' and 'go' verbs. The interplay between geocentric (absolute) and egocentric (intrinsic-deictic) information is complex and intricate, but both information types constitute major and distinct strategies in the Kubokota men-and-tree games; the differences between them will be discussed in more detail in §8.4.2 and §8.4.3.

8.4.1.2.3 Relative orientation

Relative frame of reference is best understood as the projection of the intrinsic frame of reference onto an object that is not ego. In Kubokota, as in English, this means that (at least some of) the terms used for intrinsic frame of reference are also used relatively. In Kubokota, however, only some speakers make use of the relative frame of reference, and there is considerable variation in how the terms are applied; this suggests that the relative frame of reference is not a major coordinate system in Kubokota.

As described by Levinson (2003b), the intrinsic areas of ego denoted by terms such as 'front' and 'back', 'left' and 'right', can be mapped from ego onto a ground object in three ways: by reflection, as in English, where 'left' and 'right' correspond to the intrinsic left and right sides of ego but 'front' and 'back' are reversed; by rotation, where both left and right, and front and back are rotated 180° with respect to ego; and by translation, where ego's 'front' and 'back', 'left' and 'right' are mapped directly onto the ground with no rotation or reflection.

Figure 8.10: Relative mapping of ego's intrinsic axes onto a ground, by rotation, translation and reflection (adapted from Levinson 2003b:86-88)



As already mentioned in §8.4.1.1.1, a small number of participants use *kale matua* 'right side' and *kale meri* 'left side' relatively, mainly to describe the side on which the man is holding the stick (see (11)), or occasionally to locate the tree (44).[14]

(44) ***Kale*** ***meri=na*** *za* *kole* *vei* *na* *suvege.*
side **left=3SG.POS** 3SG.R be.LOC be.like DET tree
'The tree is towards the left side.' (e016HM2_041; inland)

One speaker uses *kale meri* to describe the orientation of the two men (45); her usage seems to involve 180° rotation, the figures facing to the right side of the picture (in English relative terms). Another speaker uses *kale meri* to describe the direction in which the pigs are circling in one of the distractor pictures (46); his usage could be interpreted as either translation or reflection.

[14] Examples such as (44) often create confusion as to whether the tree is at the man's (intrinsic) left or at the (relative) left side of the picture. It is worth noting that when speakers use *kale meri* and *kale matua* to locate the walking sticks, they often confuse left and right.

(45) *qari* *bata* *lao* *vei* *pa* *maka* *kale=na* *gu.* *qari* *bata* *lao*
3PL.R see go be.like IN.PRP one side=3SG.POS LIM 3PL.R see go

vei *pa* ***kale*** ***meri.***
be.like IN.PRP **side** **left**
'they face to just one side, they face to the left.' (e016HM3_055; inland)

(46) *qe* *livutu* *vei* *pa* *kale...* ***kale*** ***meri,*** *na* *ka=vonomo*
3PL.R go.around be.like IN.PRP side **side** **left** DET CARD=six

borogo.
pig
'they go around towards the left, the six pigs.' (e018RG2_087-88; coastal)

Figure 8.11: Photos described in (44) to (46)

'tree on left' (translation or reflection) (44)

'facing left' (180° rotation) (45)

'going around to the left' (translation or reflection) (46)

The terms *momoe* 'front' and *liguligu* 'behind' also sometimes occur with relative meaning, although it is not always straightforward to distinguish relative from intrinsic usage. It is common, for instance, to find propositions such as (47), where both the figures and the speech act participants face in the same direction (inland), and *momoe* 'front' might be either the intrinsic front of the figures, or ego's front translated onto them. Phrases such as *bata lao pa momoe* 'face to the front' are sometimes used where the figures are oriented laterally to the speaker's viewpoint, or even towards the speaker; such examples must be understood as using *momoe* as intrinsic to the figure, although because *bata lao pa momoe* does not anchor the figure's gaze to a ground, it is not very informative in distinguishing one array from another.[15]

(47) *Vani=ziu* *na* *piksa* *kori* *marene* *qari* *bata* *zae* *pa*
give.APPL.SG=1SG.POS DET picture two male 3PL.R see go.up IN.PRP

mo-moe.
REDUP-front
'Give me the picture of two men who face up to the front.' (e019HN3_021-22; inland)

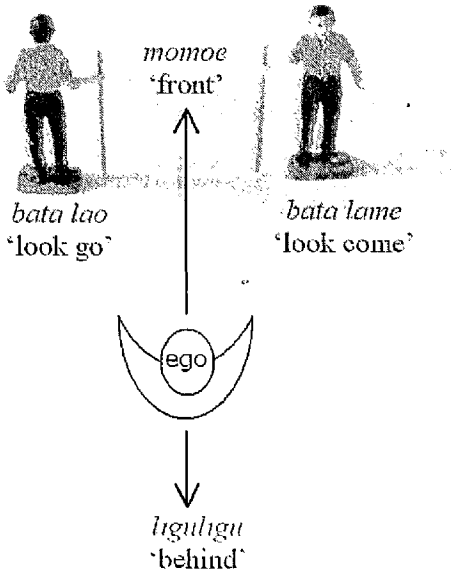
[15] Intrinsic (and relative) frame of reference tends only to be used successfully where explicit deictic information is also provided.

(48) is a further possibility: for two figures facing in opposite directions, one is described as facing to the front (*momoe*) and the other as facing (with *lame* 'come') to the back (*liguligu*). Here is a clear case the speaker's intrinsic 'front' and 'back' facets being translated relatively onto the figures, with complete disregard for the intrinsic facets of the figures themselves. The figures can be conceptualised as being oriented along a path that has its origin at the speaker's location; intrinsic facets of the speaker (back and front) are extended to describe directions along this path.

(48) *maka* *za* ***bata*** ***lao*** *vei* *pa* ***mo-moe,*** *maka* *za* ***bata***
one 3SG.R **see** **go** be.like IN.PRP **REDUP-front** one 3SG.R **see**

lame *vei* *pa* ***ligu-ligu*** *tu.*
come be.like IN.PRP **REDUP-back** FOC
'one looks away forward, one looks back this way.' (e021DZ4_035; coastal)

Figure 8.12: Translation of speaker's intrinsic axes onto two figures (48)



Descriptions containing the terms *momoe* and *liguligu* in their relative usage tend not to rely on these terms to distinguish between pictures; they usually co-occur with directionals or other disambiguating information. This is in contrast to their intrinsic usage, where a facet of the man is oriented to the picture-internal tree in a binary relationship that disregards the viewpoint of the speaker; here, identifying the correct picture depends on interpreting the intrinsic terms correctly, and rarely leads to confusion.

The low frequency of *momoe* and *liguligu*, *meri* and *matua* in the relative frame, and the high degree of inconsistency in their usage, strongly suggests that these terms do not constitute major frame of reference coordinates, and that the relative frame of reference itself is not a major system in Kubokota.

8.4.1.2.4 Locational strategies

Although orientational strategies (both deictic and geocentric) are the primary means used for describing the men-and-tree pictures in Kubokota, locational descriptions do occur. I have mentioned some of these in §8.4.1.1.1: non-faceted objects (such as trees and the men's sticks), which cannot easily be oriented, are sometimes located with regard to intrinsic facets of the man (see examples (7) to (9)), although it is more usual to orient the man with regard to the tree (i.e. 'The man looks towards the tree' is preferred over 'The tree stands in front of the man').[16]

A figure or ground may also be located with regard to a geocentric reference point. These points may be geographical local nouns such as *ivere* 'sea', *nole* 'beach' and *tokutoku* 'forest'; *zagere tapo* 'sunrise' and *suvu tapo* 'sunset' are also used (49). *Ketapulu* 'bushward side' and *ketapulu* 'seaward side' are specialised geocentric terms with a locational function (50). Geocentric locational descriptions are sometimes used for locating the men's walking sticks on one side or the other (e.g. *ketapulu* 'bushward side' in (50); cf. *kale matua* 'right side' or *kale meri* 'left side', discussed in §8.4.1.1.1 and §8.4.1.2.3).

(49) *na tinoni za turu, za aru=a na kolu pa...* ***kale***
DET person 3SG.R stand 3SG.R hold=3SG.OBJ DET walking.stick IN.PRP **side**

ivere, *za kole vei na kolu za aru=a.*
sea 3SG.R be.LOC be.like DET walking.stick 3SG.R hold=3SG.OBJ
'the person stands, he holds the stick on the seaward side, that's where the stick is that he holds.' (e020EI2_043; coastal)

(50) *qari makarai bata zae pa mo-moe qe aru=a*
3PL.R together see go.up IN.PRP REDUP-front 3PL.R hold=3SG.OBJ

keta-pulu *na kolu.*
LOC-bushward DET walking.stick
'they both face up to the front (and) they hold their sticks on the bush side.' (e019HN4b_016; inland)

[16] The animacy of one or both entities may also be a factor affecting whether an entity is likely to be oriented or located.

In pictures containing a man and a tree, the tree may be geocentrically located. The man is usually oriented, as in (51); (52), however, is an exceptional example in which tree, man and stick are all geocentrically located and no orientational information is provided.[17]

(51) *mu* *teku* *vani=ziu* *na* *tinoni* *za* ***bata*** ***gore*** *vei*
2.IRR take give.APPL.SG=1SG.OBJ DET person 3SG.R **see** **go.down** be.like

pa *nole,* *na* *suvege* ***pa*** ***tokutoku*** *za* ***kole*** *vei.*
IN.PRP beach DET tree **IN.PRP** **forest** **3SG.R** **be.LOC** **be.like**
'give me the person who faces down to the beach, the tree is in the direction of the forest.' (e020EI2_017; coastal)

(52) *mu* *teku* *vani=ziu* *na* *pepa* *za* *kole=a* *na*
2.IRR take give.APPL.SG=1SG.OBJ DET paper 3SG.R be.LOC=3SG.OBJ DET

suvege ***kale*** ***keta-kota=na,*** *na* *tinoni* *za* *turu* *vei*
tree **side** **LOC-seaward=3SG.POS** DET person 3SG.R stand be.like

keta-pulu, *za* *aru* *vei=ni* ***keta-kota*** *na* *kolu.*
LOC-bushward 3SG.R hold be.like=APPL.SG **LOC-seaward** DET walking.stick
'give me the paper that has the tree on the seaward side, the person stands bushward, he holds his stick seawards.' (e020EI2_033-35; coastal)

Pairs of non-faceted objects, such as two balls, may also be geocentrically located, although it is more common to treat these pictures as two-dimensional and restrict the description to picture-internal information (see §8.4.1.1.4).

(53) *Jemere* *za* *peki,* *yellow* *lavata,* *ba* *na* *jemere* *pa* ***kale*** ***suvu***
red 3SG.R small yellow big but DET red IN.PRP **side** **dive**

tapo,
sun
'The red one is small, the yellow is big, but the red one is to the sunset side,' (e010SM3_016; inland)

(54) *na* *kala* *yellow* *pa* ***kale*** ***zale*** ***tapo.***
DET colour yellow IN.PRP **side** **come.up** **sun**
'the yellow one is on the sunrise side.' (e010SM3_017; inland)

Only very rarely do Kubokota speakers use locational information to distinguish between two differently oriented men on the transverse axis. (55) is an (unsuccessful) attempt to do so for a particularly problematic pair of photographs (shown in Figure 8.13).

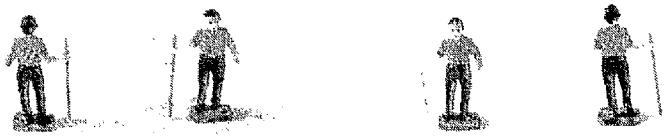
[17] This particular pair of players made more reference to geocentric location (not orientation) than any other participants. In (52), however, the matcher gave the wrong response: although the tree and the man were correctly located, the man was rotated by 180°.

(55) *Ba aza za bata lame ta=qu za turu vei pa*
but 3SG 3SG.R see come AN.PRP=1SG.POS **3SG.R** **stand** **be.like** **IN.PRP**

kale suvu tapo, aza bata lao vei ti Mary za turu
side **dive** **sun** 3SG see go be.like AN.PRP.PERS Mary **3SG.R** **stand**

pa=na zagere tapo.
IN.PRP=DET **ascend** **sun**
'But the one that faces towards me stands on the sunset side, the one that faces Mary stands on the sunrise (side).' (e022JP4_039; coastal)

Figure 8.13: Differentiating orientation on the transverse axis (55)



Target **Response**

Locational strategies in Kubokota are used predominantly, therefore, for describing the locations of non-faceted objects, such as balls and trees. Non-faceted objects may be located either intrinsically ('The tree is in front of the man') or geocentrically ('The tree stands on the seaward side of the man'). Otherwise they tend to act as a ground for the picture-internal orientation of the man ('The man is facing the tree').

8.4.2 Orientation and speaker-axis

In §8.4.1 I demonstrated that the major strategies for describing the men-and-tree spatial arrays in Kubokota involve the orientation of a faceted object to picture-internal and picture-external cues. Picture-internal cues involve the orientation of an intrinsic facet of the man to a non-faceted ground, or of two men's facets to each other, i.e. there is a binary (often intrinsic) relationship between two objects with no reference to the speaker's viewpoint. Picture-external cues may involve either the absolute orientation of the man (or men's) facets to geocentric directions or absolute landmarks (geocentric orientation), or a binary intrinsic-deictic relationship between the men and the speech act participants (deictic orientation).

The starting point of this study was a hypothesis that, as Kubokota has an up-down opposition on the inland-seaward axis of the local scale, but a transverse axis that can only be differentiated by the deictic terms 'come' and 'go', there might be

differences in the way speakers describe motion or orientation along these two axes. A further hypothesis was that changing the orientation of speakers themselves with regard to the axes might affect how they describe the orientation of a figure in a spatial array. In the remainder of this chapter I will focus on these issues, assessing whether and how the men-and-tree data supports these hypotheses.

Table 8.1 presents the results of a word count of orientational motion verbs (i.e. motion verbs serialised with *bata* 'see') in men-and-tree descriptions in the coastal condition, and Table 8.2 in the inland condition.

Table 8.1: Orientational motion verbs in the coastal condition (in descending order of frequency)

verb	frequency	% of tokens	verb type
lao 'go'	50	34	deictic 'go'
lame 'come'	40	27	deictic 'come'
zae 'go up'	16	11	geocentric + 'go'
paja '(go) inland'	15	10	geocentric
oqavotu '(go) seaward'	13	9	geocentric
gore 'go down'	8	6	geocentric + 'go'
lagere 'come down'	5	3	geocentric + 'come'
zale 'come up'	0	0	geocentric + 'come'
total	**147**	**100**	

Table 8.2: Orientational motion verbs in the inland condition (in descending order of frequency)

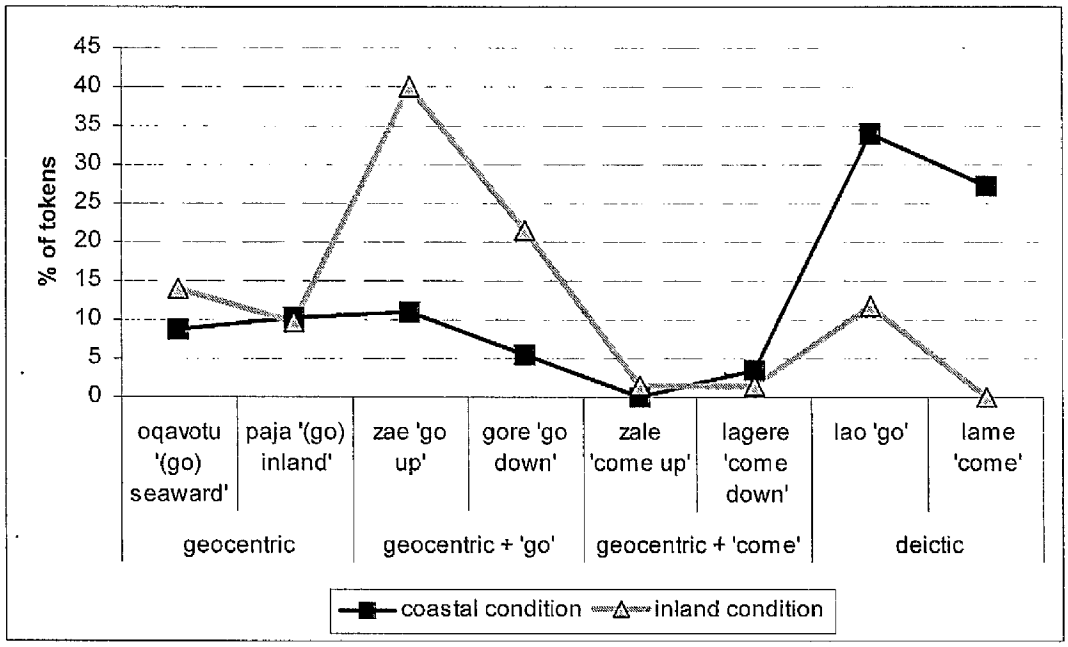
verb	frequency	% of tokens	verb type
zae 'go up'	54	40	geocentric + 'go'
gore 'go down'	29	22	geocentric + 'go'
oqavotu '(go) seaward')	19	14	geocentric
lao 'go'	16	12	deictic 'go'
paja '(go) inland'	13	10	geocentric
zale 'come up'	2	1	geocentric + 'come'
lagere 'come down'	2	1	geocentric + 'come'
lame 'come'	0	0	deictic 'come'
total	**135**	**100**	

The eight motion verbs in the above tables contrast in terms of whether they express deictic or geocentric oppositions or both. Six express geocentric oppositions (*zae, gore, zale, lagere, oqavotu* and *paja*) while two are geocentrically neutral (*lao* and *lame*); three express motion away from deictic centre (*zae, gore, lao*), three express motion towards deictic centre (*zale, lagere, lame*), and two are deictically neutral (*paja, oqavotu*). Two interesting patterns are immediately evident from the data above: firstly, that within each condition each pair of verbs is distributionally grouped together (i.e. the frequencies for *zae* and *gore*, for instance, are more similar

to each other than to any other verbs in the same condition), and secondly, that the inland and coastal conditions show distinctly different frequency patterns for each pair.

The data is reproduced in Table 8.3, which shows the contrasts between the two conditions.

Table 8.3: Comparing orientational motion verbs



In the inland condition, the geocentric 'go' verbs (*zae* 'go up' and *gore* 'go down') are by far the most frequent, the geocentric verbs *oqavotu* and *paja* and the neutral 'go' verb *lao* having a relatively low frequency. The geocentric 'come' verbs are very rare and the deictic 'come' verb *lame* does not occur at all. In the coastal condition, conversely, the deictic verbs *lao* and *lame* have much the highest frequency, and the geocentric verbs (deictic and otherwise) have only a low frequency (the geocentric 'come' verbs being lowest of all).

An important point to note is that in neither condition is there anything approximating a 50-50 split between the non-geocentric and the geocentric 'go' verbs, which might equate to one verb type being used on the primary axis (whichever that might be) and another on the transverse. For instance, it is clearly not the case that in the inland condition, the geocentric 'go' verbs are used for the inland axis and the neutral 'come' and 'go' verbs on the coastal axis, as might be predicted from our understanding of the local geocentric scale. There appears to be a strong tendency in

the inland condition to use the geocentric 'go' verbs on both axes, disregarding the deictic centre (as described in §8.4.1.2.2 above). In the coastal condition, speakers are far more likely to use the neutral than the geocentric verbs on both axes, and they differentiate them using the deictic centre as a ground.

In support of this point, Table 8.4 shows the distribution of ad hoc landmarks used by speakers to distinguish between axes. Speakers in the inland and coastal conditions use landmarks to about the same extent. In the inland condition, however, speakers are highly likely to use geographical landmarks external to the speech situation, in particular the locations of the sunrise and sunset. In the coastal condition, speakers may use geographical landmarks, but they also tend to use themselves and other human participants (such as the researcher) in the speech situation, which speakers in the inland condition never do.

Table 8.4: Comparing landmarks

landmark type	landmark term	axis	coastal condition	inland condition
local landmark	*nole* 'beach'	inland-seaward	4	2
	ivere 'sea'	inland-seaward	2	
	tokutoku 'forest'	inland-seaward	4	
universal landmark	*tapo* 'sun(rise/set)'	inland-seaward	14	43
place/area name	*Kubokota* (language area)	along coast	2	
	Luqa (language area)	along coast	1	
	Pienuna (village)	along coast		1
	Suava (village)	along coast		1
locational	*ketapulu* 'bushward side'	inland-seaward	2	3
	ketakota 'seaward side'	inland-seaward	9	1
English cardinal directions	*north*	along coast		6
	south	along coast		10
	west	inland-seaward		1
total geographical landmarks:			**38**	**68**
speech act participant	*gita* '1PL.IN'	along coast	2	
	Mary	along coast	7	
	ta=qu 'AN.PRP=1SG.POS'	along coast	16	
	tini=da 'body=1PL.IN.POS'	along coast	2	
total speech act participants			**27**	**0**
total landmarks			**65**	**68**

Table 8.4 also shows differences in the types of geographical landmarks that speakers tend to use, although the numbers are probably too small to draw any strong conclusions. In the inland condition, speakers almost exclusively use the sunrise and sunset as landmarks; a small number of speakers also use English cardinal directions. In the coastal condition, the sun may be used as a landmark, but speakers more commonly use local geographical features such as the beach, the sea and the forest. Not only do speakers make more reference to the speech act situation in the coastal condition, but they also tend to use local landmarks which are physically closer to the speech act situation, rather than universal landmarks like the sun.

It is also evident that particular types of landmarks are, in general, restricted to either the coastal or the inland-seaward axis (i.e. speech act participants are only used as landmarks on the coastal axis in the coastal condition, and the sun can only be a landmark on the inland-seaward axis in either condition). Interestingly, speakers in the inland condition are significantly more likely to make use of landmarks on the inland-seaward axis than on the coastal axis (50 inland-seaward landmarks versus 18 coastal); this imbalance is not evident in the coastal condition (35 inland-seaward landmarks versus 30 coastal) for reasons that are discussed further in §8.4.3.2.

8.4.3 Scales

In §8.4.2 I demonstrated that there are significant differences in which terms are used to describe orientation, depending on the orientation of the speakers themselves. In this section I address the issue of which geocentric scales are used, how this choice is affected by speaker orientation, and how speakers distinguish one scale from another.

Table 8.5 compares how each compass direction is lexicalised in the two conditions and ranks the terms in order of frequency (errors in responses are ignored, but will be discussed in more detail in §8.4.3.3).

Table 8.5: Lexicalisation of compass directions in inland and coastal conditions

	inland condition			coastal condition		
	term	**scale**	**frequency**	**term**	**scale**	**frequency**
east/seaward	*zae* 'go up'	land-sea	14	*lao* 'go'	transverse to S	12
	oqavotu '(go) seaward'	intermediate	14	*gore* 'go down'	local	8
				oqavotu '(go) seaward'	intermediate	8
	gore 'go down'	local	2			
	lagere 'come down'	local + deictic	1	*lagere* 'come down'	local + deictic	1
				gazavotu '(go) seaward'	intermediate	1
west/inland	*zae* 'go up'	local	9	*lao* 'go'	transverse to S	9
	paja '(go) inland'	intermediate	9	*paja* '(go) inland'	intermediate	9
	gore 'go down'	land-sea	7	*zae* 'go up'	local	5
	lao 'go'	?	1	*lame* 'come'	deictic	1
north/coastal	*gore* 'go down'	intermediate	15	*lame* 'come'	local + deictic	24
	lao 'go'	local	7	*lagere* 'come down'	intermediate + deictic	6
	zae 'go up'	?	1			
				gore 'go down'	intermediate	5
				oqavotu '(go) seaward'	intermediate	4
south/ coastal	*zae* 'go up'	intermediate	22	*lao* 'go'	local + deictic	20
	lao 'go'	local	7	*zae* 'go up'	intermediate	12
	zale 'come up'	intermediate + deictic	2	*paja* '(go) inland'	intermediate	4

The table shows that speakers vary between the two conditions in their preferences for lexicalising a given direction. Most obviously, in the inland condition, *zae* 'go up' is the dominant term in every direction but north (for which *gore* 'go down' is used), while, in the coastal condition, *lao* 'go' is dominant in every direction except north (for which *lame* 'come' tends to be used, north being directly towards the deictic centre). Further differences between the two conditions are explored in §8.4.3.1 and §8.4.3.2 below.

8.4.3.1 Inland condition

In the inland condition, the local, intermediate and land-sea boundary scales are all available. The terms *zae* and *gore* may be used for north-south orientation along the coast, inland-seaward orientation on the local scale, or seaward-landward orientation on the land-sea boundary scale. The term *lao* is found predominantly on the transverse axis of the local scale (i.e. for north and south, which also happens to be transverse to

the participants), while the terms *paja* and *oqavotu* are used unambiguously on the inland-seaward axis.

Apart from *paja* and *oqavotu*, it is therefore necessary for speakers to disambiguate between the scales in order to identify the correct picture. Ad hoc landmarks are the typical means of doing this.[18]

If the land-sea boundary scale is used, the sun is mandatory as a landmark: there are no uses of the land-sea boundary scale where either sunrise or sunset is not mentioned, and the use of the sun as a landmark can be regarded as conventionalised rather than ad hoc. It should be noted that the land-sea boundary scale is more likely to be used for seaward (east) than landward (west) orientation. The dataset contains nine descriptions in which *zae* is used for east (56) and only three containing *gore* for west (57); there are five descriptions in which the two terms are used contrastively (58). This is presumably due to the salience of the sea to the east; what is surprising that *gore* is ever used for west (particularly in examples such as (57) where there is no eastward orientation to contrast it with), given that orientation to the west does not involve a path across the land-sea boundary at all.

(56) *qe* *bata* ***zae*** *pa* ***zagere*** ***tapo.***
3PL.R see **go.up** IN.PRP **ascend** **sun**
'they face up (east) to the sunrise.' (e009BN4a_003; inland)

(57) *beto* *ža* *bata* ***gore*** *pa* *kale* ***suvu*** ***tapo.***
and 3SG.R see **go.down** IN.PRP side **dive** **sun**
'and he faces down (west) to the sunset.' (e009BN2_030; inland)

(58) *maka* *za* *bata* ***gore*** *pa* *kale* ***suvu*** ***tapo,*** *maka* *bata* ***zae***
one 3SG.R see **go.down** IN.PRP side **dive** **sun** one see **go.up**
pa *kale* ***zagere*** ***tapo,***
IN.PRP side **ascend** **sun**
'one faces down (west) to the sunset, one faces up (east) to the sunrise,' (e009BN3_010; inland)

I will, of course, be asked if this scale is actually based on the rising and setting of the sun ('up' being associated with the sunrise and 'down' with the sunset) rather than having anything to do with the sea. However, the land-sea boundary scale as

[18] Other information such as the orientation of the man to the tree may also be used (see §8.4.1); these descriptions are ignored for the purposes of this discussion. It should be noted that the need to disambiguate the various axes is affected by the number of photos remaining at any point in the game, the number of relevant distinctions being reduced each time a photo is removed.

described in §7.3.2.1 is clearly based on 'descending' to the shore and 'ascending' onto the sea, such that the scale is normally only used on the sea where motion is either directly towards the shore ('down') or out to sea ('up'). What is unanticipated about its usage in the men-and-tree games is that the scale is extended to describe the direction of the men's gaze, and that the sun (not the sea) becomes a conventionalised landmark with which to identify and anchor the axis. This is presumably only possible because the human gaze is not affected by geographic boundaries (such as the shoreline) in the same way that motion is: the path of the human eye can travel from land up onto the sea and all the way to the sunrise without interruption. The opposite direction, 'down towards the sunset', is probably defined in contrast to 'going up to the sunrise', hence the lower frequency of use and the fact that it occurs mainly in examples where the two directions are used contrastively (58).

The sun is also used to identify the local scale inland-seaward axis; out of ten descriptions that use this axis, seven refer to the sun (59) and one to the beach (curiously, the description referring to the beach is about the orientation of a bunch of bananas, not of men (60)); in the remaining two, both of which describe inland orientation, no landmark is mentioned (61).

(59) *maka* *za* *bata* ***zae*** *pa* *kale* ***suvu*** ***tapo,*** *maka* *za* *bata*
one 3SG.R see **go.up** IN.PRP side **dive** **sun** one 3SG.R see

gore *pa* *kale* ***zagere*** ***tapo.***
go.down IN.PRP side **ascend** **sun**
'one faces up to the sunset side, one faces down to the sunrise side.'
(e016HM4_068; inland)

(60) *Kori* *vudi* *zara* *na* *batu=di* *qari* *bata* ***gore*** *vei* *pa*
two banana MED.PL DET head=3PL.POS 3PL.R see **go.down** be.like IN.PRP

nole.
beach
'The heads of those two bananas face down towards the beach.'
(e010SM3_081; inland)

(61) *qari* *makarai* *bata* ***zae*** *pa* *mo-moe.*
3PL.R together see **go.up** IN.PRP REDUP-front
'they both face up (inland) to the front.' (e019HN4a_003; inland)

For orientation of the figure along the coastal axis, some speakers use the English cardinal terms 'north' and 'south' to identify the axis (ten descriptions) (62). The nearby villages of Pienuna (north) and Suava (south) are referred to in one description each (63). In the 24 remaining descriptions of orientation along the coast, no landmark

is used. Fourteen of these descriptions use the intermediate scale terms *zae* and *gore* (64); the other ten use *lao* for either north or south (65).

(62) *maka za bata* ***gore*** *vei pa kale* ***north,*** *maka za bata*
one 3SG.R see **go.down** be.like IN.PRP side **north** one 3SG.R see

zae *vei pa kale* ***south.***
go.up be.like IN.PRP side **south**
'one faces down towards the north, one faces up towards the south.' (e010SM3_074; inland)

(63) *qari makarai bata* ***gore*** *vei pa kale...* ***Pienuna*** *qari bata*
3PL.R together see **go.down** be.like IN.PRP side **Pienuna** 3PL.R see

gore *vei beto kori koburu ari.*
go.down be.like finish two **child** PROX.PL
'they face down (north) together towards... Pienuna the two children both face down.' (e016HM4_050-1; inland)

(64) *Maka bata* ***gore*** *vei rari, maka bata* ***zae*** *vei rari,*
one see **go.down** be.like DIST.PL one see **go.up** be.like DIST.PL
'One faces down (north) that way, one faces up (south) that way,' (e010SM3_093-4; inland)

(65) *Qari turu, maka za bata* ***lao*** *va-zou nana, maka bata* ***lao***
3PL.R stand one 3SG.R see **go** CAUS-far 3SG.POS one see **go**

va-zou nana, qari vari-kiju tari kori marene ari.
CAUS-far 3SG.POS 3PL.R RECIP-back.of.head GOAL two male PROX.PL
'They stand, one looks far away (north), one looks far away (south), these two men have the backs of their heads to each other.' (e016HM3_022; inland)

Interpreting *lao* as referring to the coastal axis is straightforward enough: with only one exception, *lao* always refers to this axis, which is transverse not only to the primary inland-seaward axis of the local scale but also to the speakers themselves (the importance of this point will become clear in §8.4.3.2).

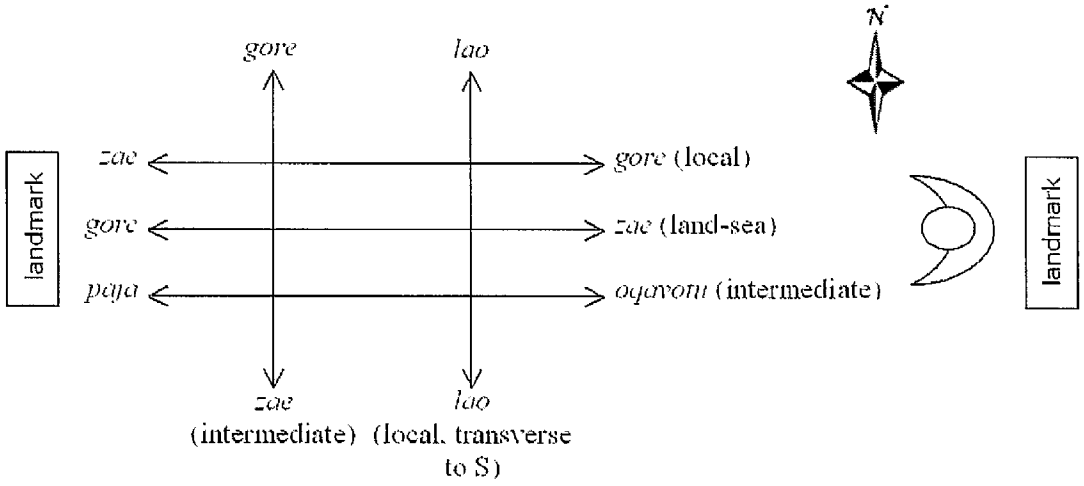
The fact that, in the absence of any landmark, the default interpretation of *zae* and *gore* is that they also refer to north and south (on the intermediate scale), is less easy to explain, and is not what I would have predicted from my observations in §7.3.4. There I suggested, on the basis of participant observation and elicited data, that the default interpretation of 'up' is 'inland'. One might expect, particularly in the semi-enclosed domestic space within which this experiment was conducted, that the local scale would predominate throughout, and would not need identification by landmark.

There are two possible factors involved in this. The first is that, although the photos themselves are small objects in domestic space, the men are being treated as if they were real people in the physical world, not as tiny figures on two-dimensional paper. They are described in terms of the orientation of their gaze, not of actual motion, and the human gaze is not limited to small scale domestic space, nor is it stopped by geographical barriers such as the boundary between land and sea. Human vision is able to extend at least to intermediate distances, if not beyond. There is no a priori reason, therefore, why it should be limited to the smallest available scale.

The second factor is that inland and seaward orientation can be lexicalised in at least three different ways in the inland condition (*zae* and *gore* on the local scale, *gore* and *zae* on the land-sea boundary scale, and *paja* and *oqavotu* on the intermediate scale) and it is therefore necessary to make an explicit distinction at least between the first two of these with reference to landmarks. For the coastal axis, however, there are only two possibilities: *lao*, as discussed above, and *zae/gore*. Having found it necessary on the inland-seaward axis to be very explicit about scale and precise about landmarks, speakers are able to use *zae* and *gore* on the coastal axis without further specification. If no landmarks are mentioned, matchers are able to assume that *zae* and *gore* refer to the coastal axis.

Figure 8.14 shows the scales available to speakers in the inland condition, and the complexity of the inland-seaward axis in comparison with the coastal axis.

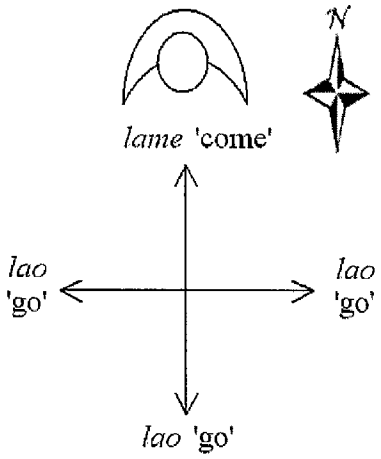
Figure 8.14: Scales available to speakers in the inland condition



8.4.3.2 Coastal condition

The first and most significant observation to be made about choice of scales in the coastal condition is that *lao* and *lame*, the transverse axis deictic verbs, are the most frequently occurring in every direction. Unlike *zae* and *gore* in the inland condition, which may be used regardless of where the figure's gaze is oriented in relation to the speaker (see Figure 8.8 in §8.4.1.2.2), *lao* is used with deictic reference: for orientation to the south (away from the speaker) and to the east and west (transverse to the speaker).[19] The 'come' verb *lame* is used for orientation to the north (directly towards the speaker). This is shown in Figure 8.15.

Figure 8.15: The coastal condition and the deictic verbs *lao* 'go' and *lame* 'come'



The use of *lao* and *lame* on the north-south axis corresponds to the (geocentrically) undifferentiated transverse axis of the local scale, the contrast between the two directions being expressed with deictic rather than geocentric information: orientation is either directly towards (*lame*) or away from (*lao*) the deictic centre. On the east-west axis, *lao* may be used for either direction, which is not consistent with any of the geocentric scales identified in Chapter Seven. I propose that the use of *lao* for east and west in the coastal condition represents an axis which is transverse to the speaker but makes no reference to any geocentric scale, i.e. it is purely deictic.

In §3.3 it was suggested that *lao* and other 'go' verbs can be deictically neutral, whereas 'come' verbs always contain deictic information. There is some evidence in support of this claim in the inland condition data, where, as I have shown, the

[19] Note that in the inland condition *lao* tends only to occur on the north-south coastal axis, which is also transverse to the speaker.

geocentric 'go' verbs *gore* and *zae* are used with complete disregard for the location of the deictic centre. It seems that the geocentrically neutral *lao*, however, is nearly always used with some reference to the deictic centre (at least in this experiment): in both conditions *lao* refers either to an axis transverse to the axis along which the speakers are facing, or, in the coastal condition only, it is opposed to *lame* along the coastal axis.

Where *lao* is used for east and west, transverse to the speaker, landmarks tend not to be used, although terms such as *momoe* 'in front' (usually intrinsic to figure) and *makalena* 'one/other side' (relative) may occur (66). The sun is the only geographical landmark referred to with *lao* on this axis, and only in three descriptions (67).

(66) *maka* *za* *bata* ***lao*** *vei* ***makale=na*** *tu,* *maka* *bata* ***lao***
one 3SG.R see **go** be.like **one.side=3SG.POS** FOC one see **go**

vei ***makale=na*** *tu.*
be.like **one.side=3SG.POS** FOC
'one faces to one side, one faces to (the other) side.' (e021DZ3b_046; coastal)

(67) *maka* *za* *bata* ***lao*** *vei* *pa* ***suvu*** ***tapo,*** *maka* *za* *bata*
one 3SG.R see **go** be.like IN.PRP **dive** **sun** one 3SG.R see

lao *vei* *pa* ***zagere*** ***tapo.***
go be.like IN.PRP **ascend** **sun**
'one faces towards the sunset, one faces towards the sunrise.' (e022JP3_024; coastal)

Where *lao* and *lame* refer to south and north on the coastal axis, only the speech act participants are used as landmarks, i.e. *Mary* for orientation to the south (with *lao*), *taqu* 'to me' or *tinida* 'our bodies' to the north (with *lame*) (68). This is consistent with an axis based on deixis rather than orientation to geographical features. Landmarks may also be omitted (69). Note that the absence of landmarks in (69) does not create an ambiguity because *lame* must refer to north (i.e. to orientation towards the speaker). It is rare for *lao* to occur on its own referring to south; it tends to co-occur with *lame* for north, and where it does occur alone is likely to be interpreted as east or west.

(68) *Qe* *bata* ***lame*** *vei* *pa* ***tini=da*** ***gita-kori,*** *tinoni.*
3PL.R see **come** be.like IN.PRP **body=1PL.IN.POS** **1PL.IN-two** person
'They face towards our bodies, the people.' (e020EI4_031; coastal)

(69) *maka za pokoto* ***lao,*** *maka za pokoto* ***lame.***
one 3SG.R back **go** one 3SG.R back **come**
'one has his back away (from us), one has his back towards (us).'
(e021DZ4_086; coastal)

The geocentric 'up' and 'down' terms may be used on both axes. On the coastal axis, the 'go' terms *zae* and *gore* are comparatively infrequent, and nearly always require an ad hoc landmark, such as the language area names *Kubokota* and *Luqa* (70) (not a speech act participant; see §8.4.1.2.2 for discussion of this). Alternatively, *zae* and *lagere* may be contrasted on this axis, and speech act participants are used as landmarks (71).

(70) *Ba qari bata* ***gore*** *vei pa* ***Kubokota***
but 3PL.R see **go.down** be.like IN.PRP **Kubokota**
'But they face down towards Kubokota' (e018RG4_122; coastal)

(71) *maka za bata* ***zae*** *vei pa... ti* ***Mary,*** *maka za*
one 3SG.R see **go.up** be.like IN.PRP AN.PRP.PERS **Mary** one 3SG.R

bata ***lagere*** ***ta=qu.***
see **come.down** **AN.PRP=1SG.POS**
'one faces up towards Mary, one faces down to me.' (e022JP4_047-8; coastal)

On the inland-seaward axis, *zae* and *gore* tend to occur without landmarks (72) (in contrast with the inland condition). Ad hoc geographical landmarks such as *nole* 'beach', *ivere* 'sea', *tokutoku* 'bush', are occasionally mentioned (73), as is the sun, but speech act participants are not available for use as landmarks on this axis, nor do 'come' verbs such as *lagere* and *lame* ever occur.

(72) *maka za bata* ***zae,*** *maka za bata* ***gore,***
one 3SG.R see **go.up** one 3SG.R see **go.down**
'one faces up (west), one faces down (east),' (e020EI3_002; coastal)

(73) *mu teku vani=ziu na tinoni za bata* ***gore*** *vei*
2.IRR take give.APPL.SG=1SG.OBJ DET person 3SG.R see **go.down** be.like

pa ***nole,*** *na suvege pa tokutoku za kole vei.*
IN.PRP **beach** DET tree IN.PRP forest 3SG.R be.LOC be.like
'give me the person who faces down (east) towards the beach, the tree is towards the forest.' (e020EI2_017; coastal)

In the absence of a landmark, *zae* and *gore* in the coastal condition are therefore likely to be interpreted as inland and seaward, whereas in the inland condition *zae* and *gore* without landmarks are interpreted as referring to the coastal axis (see Figure 8.14 and Figure 8.17). There is less discrepancy between the number of landmarks used on

each axis in the coastal condition, compared with the inland condition (see Table 8.4), because where 'come' verbs are used on the coastal axis it is not necessary to specifically identify a speech act participant as a landmark.

In the coastal condition, both *gore* and *lagere* can be used for northward orientation in the coastal condition (in contrast with *zae* for south); this implies that, unlike *lao*, both deictic and non-deictic interpretations are available for the geocentric verbs. Figure 8.16 contrasts these uses of *gore* and *lagere*: deictically neutral *gore* extends the figure's gaze 'down' along the coast beyond the speaker, whereas deictic *lagere* anchors the figure's downward gaze to the speaker, utilising both geocentric and deictic information.

Figure 8.16: *Gore* 'go down' (geocentric) and *lagere* 'come down' (geocentric + deictic) for northward orientation in the coastal condition

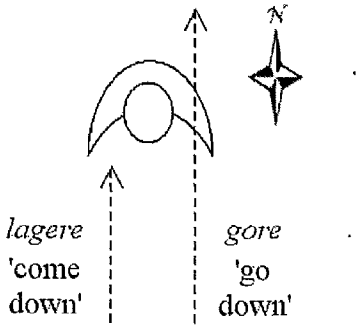
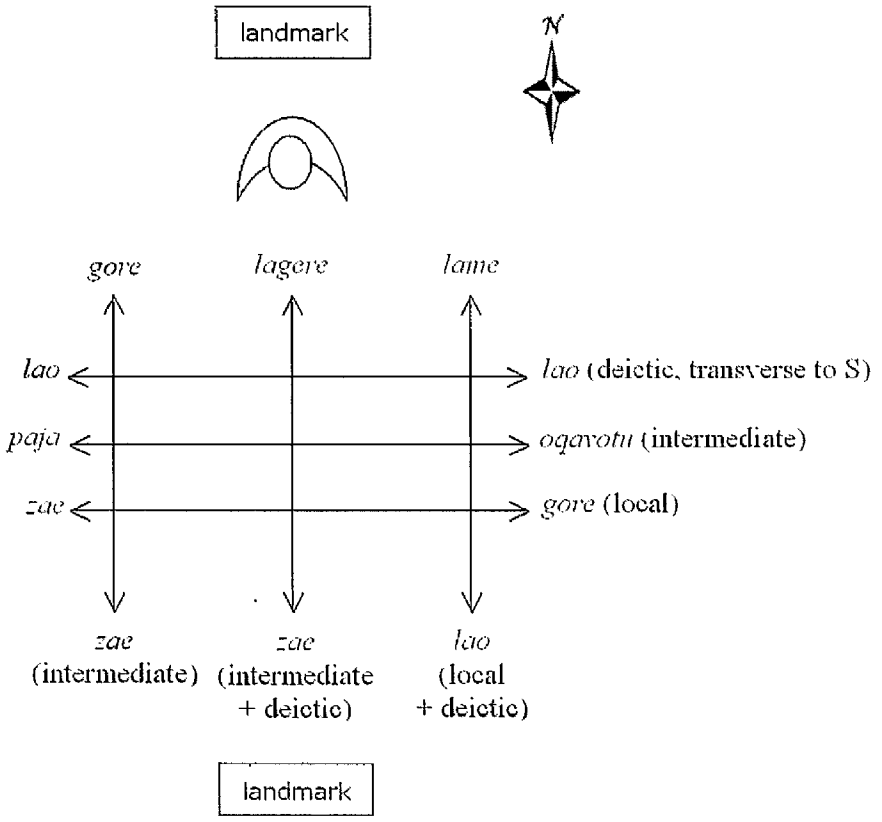


Figure 8.17 shows the scales available to speakers in the coastal condition.

Figure 8.17: Coastal condition scales



8.4.3.3 Errors

In the preceding sections I have occasionally referred to the kind of descriptions that are likely to produce wrong responses: for instance, *lao* referring to south in the coastal condition tends to be interpreted as east or west unless a landmark is present to disambiguate it. Errors give further clues as to how the various terms are most naturally interpreted, and they also highlight contrasts between the two conditions.

It is not my intention to make a full and systematic study of players' erroneous responses. As Pederson et al. point out:

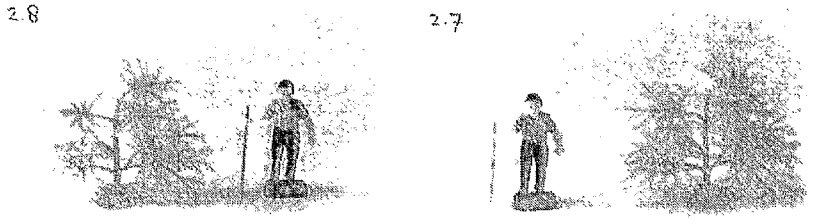
> *As the game proceeds, the set of possible choices becomes smaller. If we were concerned with an error analysis here, the reduced degrees of freedom (and the variable order of play) in this design would become critical.* (Pederson et al. 1998:567)

Such a study would be extremely complex to design and would require considerably more data than is available. I therefore restrict my comments to a few general observations.

Senft (2001:537-8) notes the high number of errors in Kilivila men-and-tree games, and points out that photo-photo matching games are a very Eurocentric tool; people who rarely encounter photographs may not appreciate the rather subtle distinctions depicted in the men-and-tree photos, and may take some time to realise the need to produce as detailed and exact descriptions as possible. Many of the errors produced in the Kubokota men-and-tree games can be accounted for in terms of inadequate descriptions, insufficient attention to relevant details (such as orientation and the location of the tree), and too much attention to irrelevant details (such as the stone on which the man is standing, and the stick that he holds in his right hand).

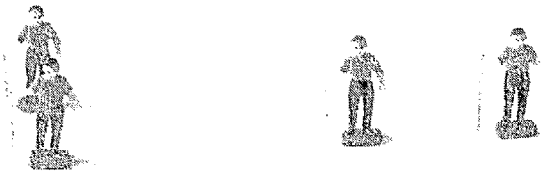
Men-and-tree studies have tended to focus on transverse relationships, i.e. relations between objects on an axis lateral to the speaker (e.g. Pederson et al. 1998, all studies in Wilkins and Levinson 2006). Kubokota resembles languages such as Mopan Maya and Kilivila where, typically, no information is provided about transverse locational relationships (i.e. *The man is to the left of the tree* or *The tree is at the man's left*, or even *The man is seaward of the tree*), but merely about the orientation of the man, either with regard to the tree and/or with regard to the external world (cf. Terrill and Burenhult 2008). The result of this is that pictures such as the pair in Figure 8.18 are often cross-matched.

Figure 8.18: Transverse relational error



Kubokota speakers also tend to mistake the axis along which the figures are located; it is common for the figures to be oriented correctly but to be standing behind each other along the axis sagittal to the speakers, rather than side by side along the lateral axis.

Figure 8.19: Sagittal-lateral error



In both of the above scenarios the individual figures are in a right relationship to the external world (in terms of their orientation) but in a wrong relationship to each other (in terms of their location along the intrinsic axes projected off their own bodies), i.e. these are picture-internal errors.

Our primary concern in this chapter, however, is with picture-external information, and specifically with orientation. In Figure 8.20, the intrinsic relationship of the figures to each other is correct, but both axis and orientation are wrong. In Figure 8.21, the axis is correct but the intrinsic relationship and the orientation are wrong.[20]

Figure 8.20: Orientational and axis error

Figure 8.21: Orientational and intrinsic error

The inland condition data contains 8 descriptions that produced orientational errors. Of these, 3 involved the rotation of the figures by 180° (e.g. north was

[20] Note that if there is an orientational error, there will always be an internal error (either axis or intrinsic relationship between the figures) as well.

interpreted as south, or east as west); in the other 5 descriptions, the figures were rotated 90° in either direction (e.g. north was interpreted as east or west).

In the coastal condition there were 11 orientational errors. In all of them, the figures were rotated by 90°; there were no 180° rotations.

Errors occur for two main reasons: the confusion of the geocentric terms *zae* and *gore* between the local and intermediate scales (geocentric errors); and the confusion of the deictic verb *lao* (deictic errors[21]) in a variety of ways set out below.

In the inland condition there are 6 geocentric errors and only one deictic error; by contrast, in the coastal condition there are 4 geocentric and 5 deictic errors. Although these numbers are too small to be statistically significant, it is interesting that there is a roughly even split between error types in the coastal condition, whereas errors in the inland condition are predominantly geocentric; this reflects the fact that both deictic and geocentric information are used in the coastal condition, whereas deixis is largely irrelevant in the inland condition.

The one possible deictic error that does occur in the inland condition is given in (74). It involves a 180° rotation of the figures along the undifferentiated transverse axis of the local scale (i.e. north to south); the error is a consequence of the fact that this axis is undifferentiated, and has nothing to do with either a mismatch of scales nor with deictic reference to the speaker, i.e. it is best regarded as another geocentric error.

(74) *Piksa kori marene qari makarai bata* ***lao***
picture two male 3PL.R together see go
'(Give me a) picture (of) two men who face (that way) together'
(e019HN4b_022; inland)

Deictic errors in the coastal condition are rather different. All involve a 90° rotation, either from the local scale undifferentiated transverse axis (where *lao* refers to north or south) to a deictically defined axis lateral to the speaker (where *lao* refers to east or west), or vice versa. Nearly all of these descriptions also involve the intrinsic term *momoe* 'front' which, as discussed in §8.4.1.2.4, can be interpreted in several different ways: it may be intrinsic to the speaker (i.e. the figure faces the

[21] Note that *lao* is sometimes also used with non-deictic reference on the transverse axis of the geocentric local scale.

speaker's front), intrinsic to the figure (i.e. the figure can face in any direction) or translated onto the figure (i.e. the figure's front is oriented in the same direction as the speaker's front). In (75), the figures in the target picture face east, but those in the response picture face north (towards the speaker's front). In (76), the target figures face south (with their backs to the speaker) and the response figures face east. Such errors clearly owe more to a misinterpretation of the relationship between figure and speaker, than to confusion between geocentric scales.

(75) *qari bata* ***lao*** *beto pa* ***mo-moe.***
3PL.R see **go** finish IN.PRP **REDUP-front**
'they both face to the front.' (e021DZ4_006; coastal)

(76) *qari makarai bata* ***lao*** *beto pa* ***mo-moe***
3PL.R together see **go** finish IN.PRP **REDUP-front**
'they both face together to the front' (e021DZ4_064; coastal)

Geocentric errors are largely similar between the two conditions. *Zae* referring to south is often interpreted as west, and *gore* for north is interpreted as east (i.e. the intermediate and local primary axes are confused), or vice versa. For instance, in (77), the target figures are oriented north and south (intermediate scale) but the response figures face east and west (local scale). In (78), *gore* and the landmark *nole* 'beach' orient the figure to the east (local scale), but the response figure is oriented north (intermediate scale); conversely, in (79), the target figure is oriented 'up' west to the sunset (local scale), but the response figure is oriented south (intermediate).

(77) *maka za bata* ***gore*** *vei rari, maka za bata* ***zae***
one 3SG.R see **go.down** be.like DIST.PL one 3SG.R see **go.up**
vei ari.
be.like PROX.PL
'one faces down (north) that way, one faces up (south) this way.'
(e010SM3_022; inland)

(78) *Za bata* ***gore*** *vei pa* ***nole.***
3SG.R see **go.down** be.like IN.PRP **beach**
'He faces down (east) towards the beach.' (e018RG2_018; coastal)

(79) *qari bata* ***zae*** *vei pa kale* ***suvu*** ***tapo*** *beto.*
3PL.R see **go.up** be.like IN.PRP side **dive** **sun** finish
'they both face up (west) to the sunset side.' (e010SM4_022; inland)

In just one inland condition description, the land-sea boundary scale and the local scale are confused. In (80), *zae* refers to east (land-sea boundary scale), but in the response photo, the figure is rotated 180° to west (local scale), in spite of the use of

the sunrise as a landmark. This description occurred relatively early in the game, and the matcher seems not to have been expecting the use of the land-sea boundary scale, hence the error; later in the game, all her responses to descriptions utilising the land-sea boundary scale are correct (this is an instance of how learning, and priming via error correction, may affect the matcher's accuracy in identifying a photo; similar effects can be observed elsewhere in the data, but as indicated above, such effects are unlikely to have had a significant impact on the overall results).

(80) *Za* *bata* ***zae*** *pa* ***zagere*** ***tapo.***
3SG.R see **go.up** IN.PRP **ascend** **sun**
'He faces up (east) to the sunrise.' (e016HM2_052; inland)

8.4.4 Conclusions

The Kubokota men-and-tree study has demonstrated that there are significant differences in how speakers describe the orientation of a figure, depending on how the speakers themselves are oriented.

Kubokota PATHD verbs co-lexicalise both geocentric and deictic information, but the degree to which these information types are highlighted is variable. For 'come' verbs, a deictically-defined point of reference (i.e. a speech act participant) is mandatory, whereas 'go' verbs only optionally make reference to a speech act participant as a ground. The 'up' and 'down' verbs are always used with geocentric reference, whereas the meaning of the neutral 'come' and 'go' verbs is more likely to be defined in deictic terms and to ignore geocentric cues.

This dichotomy is reflected in speakers' behaviour between the two conditions. Speakers facing along the coastal axis are much more likely to use geocentrically-neutral deictic terms such as *lao* 'go' and *lame* 'come'; this axis corresponds to the undifferentiated transverse axis of the local scale. *Lao* is used not only for the orientation of a figure away from the speaker along this coastal axis, but also for orientation of the figure on an axis lateral to the speaker (i.e. inland and seaward). Conversely, speakers oriented along the inland-seaward axis are much more likely to use geocentric terms such as *zae* 'go up' and *gore* 'go down', and to avoid using the deictic centre as a cue to the figure's orientation. Speakers in this condition use *zae* and *gore* on as many as three geocentric scales – the local scale, where 'up' is west

(inland), the intermediate scale, where 'up' is south (along the coast), and the land-sea boundary scale, where 'up' is east (seaward).

In both conditions, the unambiguous, non-deictic geocentric terms *oqavotu* '(go) seaward' and *paja* '(go)' inland' are available.

We might have predicted that, in either condition, speakers would consistently assign one set of terms (e.g. the geocentric *zae* and *gore*) to one axis and another set of terms (e.g. the deictic terms *lao* and *lame*) to another, and that if there were differences between the two conditions, this would most likely be realised in a preference for the local scale in one and the intermediate scale in the other. This is not the case, however. Speakers' preferences in both conditions lead to an ambiguous situation where, in the inland condition, any of three directions is likely to be expressed as *zae* 'go up', and in the coastal condition, any of three directions can be expressed as *lao* 'go'. Speakers deal with this potential ambiguity by using landmarks (or the absence of landmarks) to differentiate between scales. In the inland condition, landmarks (usually the sun) are used on the inland-seaward axis to differentiate the local and land-sea boundary scales, while on the coastal axis landmarks tend to be omitted. In the coastal condition, speakers use speech act participants (themselves and the researcher) as landmarks on the coastal axis, and local geographical features (such as the forest and the beach) to identify inland and seaward.

The literature is unclear on where landmarks fit in frames of reference, Senft (2001:539-40) suggesting that ad hoc landmarks in Kilivila are part of an absolute system, while Levinson et al (2002:173) and Pederson (2003) suggest that in some languages they are absolute, and in others intrinsic. Levinson (1996a) notes:

> *we know one way in which this tripartite typology [of frames of reference] may be incomplete: some languages use conventionalized landmark systems that in practice grade into absolute systems, although there are reasons for thinking that landmark systems and fixed-bearing systems are distinct conceptual types.* (Levinson 1996a:161, footnote 35)

Pederson (1993) makes a useful distinction between a conventional landmark system *'which has become a conventional part of the linguistic system and which typically involves landmarks at or beyond the horizon of common places of communication'*, and a situationally based local landmark system, in which *'the points are stable only for a select set of universes of discourse'* (Pederson 1993:295). The Kubokota data

provides grounds for suggesting that conventional landmarks (such as sunrise and sunset) form part of an absolute, geocentric system, while the intrinsic, deictic system utilised by speakers in the coastal condition is able to make use of any available ad hoc landmark, be that a speech act participant or a local geographical feature (such as the beach, the sea and the forest). The former are used by speakers in the inland condition, the latter by speakers in the coastal condition.

Senft (email communication, 19/06/2008) reports that '*Systems that have an absolute system with a specified axis... usually use other means (e.g. ad hoc landmarks) to refer to objects on this [undifferentiated] traverse axis.*' This makes sense of the use of speech act participants and local geographical features as landmarks in contexts where the deictic orientational terms predominate. It presumes, however, the existence of a single geocentric scale consisting of one geocentrically specified axis and one undifferentiated transverse axis. The Kubokota local scale has this form, but it does not operate in isolation from other possible scales. Therefore, we do not find Kubokota players of the men-and-tree game using a geocentric primary axis versus an deictic transverse axis – rather, they seem to prefer a geocentric system containing three geocentric axes, versus a deictic system containing two deictic axes, depending on their own orientation with regard to the geocentric and transverse axes of the local scale. It seems logical to suggest that the contrast between the geocentric and deictic axes of the local scale motivates the variation between the two conditions, but this scale does not necessarily provide the terms that speakers then use.

The guidelines for playing the men-and-tree game (Hill 1993) advise varying the orientation between games so that players face towards different points of the compass or different locally significant orientation points. Burenhult (in Terrill and Burenhult 2008) varies the orientation of two of his four pairs of players by 180°; he also compares an indoors condition with outdoors in the village and outdoors in the forest (the indoor vs. outdoor contrast is explored in more detail by Li and Gleitman (2002) and Levinson (2002); other sociocultural contrasts such as urban vs. rural setting are discussed by Wassmann and Dasen (1998), Dasen and Wassmann (2004) and Pederson (1993)). I am not aware, however, of any study that has systematically explored the contrast between two orientations varied by 90° along a primary

geocentric versus an undifferentiated (or deictic) transverse axis.[22] As discussed in §7.2, such systems are common among Oceanic languages, and it would be interesting to investigate whether this variation between geocentric and deictic systems can be replicated in languages such as Kilivila and the Papuan isolate Lavukaleve; it would also be interesting to consider whether languages lacking differentiated coastal terms on an intermediate scale (François' (2004) Stage I) or those that have independent terms for the inland-seaward axis (François' Stage IV) behave in similar ways. It is evident that in Kubokota, the interaction of mixed frames of reference for expressing motion and orientation is very much more complex than expected, and further exploration of this issue in other mixed languages, both within and beyond Oceania, would be well worthwhile. Senft presents the following "revised hypothesis" regarding speakers' preferences for frames of reference where more than one is available:

> *The relative, intrinsic, and absolute frames of reference can all be found and can be utilized for verbal spatial references in a given language. However, languages seem to prefer certain frames of reference in particular contexts that ask for different spatial tasks and that may require different means and ends of spatial reference, like, for example, expressing the location of objects with respect to each other,* ***and/or with respect to the space and the spatial configuration in which the speaker and hearer are in relation to these objects****, and/or expressing the orientation of these objects in space. Thus different means and tasks within the realm of spatial reference may evoke the preferred use of similarly different frames of reference in a given language.* (Senft 2001:545-6, emphasis mine)

The nature of the Kubokota men-and-tree data raises interesting challenges for the discipline of language documentation. Much of my understanding of the Kubokota directional system is based on participant observation data. When I collected this data, I recorded as much contextual detail as seemed relevant, paying particular attention to issues such as where the interlocutors were located in relation to each other (near, far), their location in space (indoors, outdoors, etc.), the distance and orientation of the paths of motion they referred to, etc. It did not occur to me to record the orientation of the interlocutors themselves. This information can sometimes be reconstructed from my notes and sketches, and this data, where available, is not inconsistent with the findings of the men-and-tree study. However, the study does beg questions about the

[22] Brown and Levinson (1993) conducted a series of non-linguistic experiments varying the orientation of speakers along an absolute (uphill-downhill) versus an undifferentiated transverse axis in Tzeltal. They do not report on the linguistic implications of this.

type of linguistic data that we collect, and the amount of contextual, extra-linguistic information that should be recorded in a "thick" documentation of a language (particularly where the focus of the study is a topic as context-dependent as the linguistic expression of space). Language documentation requires the linguist to make choices about what is likely to be of interest, because it is never possible to record everything. To some extent, it will be obvious what kind of contextual details are worth recording: if the object of study is deictic demonstratives, it makes sense to record the relative distances of the speaker and addressee from the entity referred to; if the object of study is geocentric directionals, it makes sense to record the direction in which the figure is moving, and the locations of source, goal and other grounds. But the potential relevance of other contextual information may be less immediately apparent. The men-and-tree study has demonstrated that speaker orientation is pertinent to an account of Kubokota geocentric directionals; perhaps other contextual influences are also significant, and I have yet to discover them.

8.5 Summary

The Kubokota men-and-tree study demonstrates that there are significant differences in how speakers describe the orientation of a figure, depending on how the speakers themselves are oriented.

- In the inland condition, speakers use primarily geocentric information (geocentric terms such as *zae* and *gore*, and conventional landmarks such as the sunrise and sunset) to describe the figure's orientation; reference to the deictic centre is avoided.
- In the coastal condition, speakers describe orientation using primarily intrinsic-deictic information (deictic verbs such as *lao* and *lame*, and ad hoc landmarks such as local geographical features and speech act participants).
- The local scale contrasts a geocentric primary axis with a deictically defined transverse; the speaker's orientation with regard to these axes may explain the variation between the two conditions.
- While the Kubokota data suggests that deictic information is variably relevant (depending on context), the data cannot be explained purely in terms of frames

of reference; the interaction between frames of reference and deixis is fundamental to an adequate account of the Kubokota system.

- Kubokota men-and-tree performances demonstrate that contextual information is vital to understanding linguistic behaviour. This raises challenges about the nature of the linguistic data that we collect and base our analyses on, and how much contextual detail it is necessary to record (particularly in participant observation) in a thick documentation of a language.

CHAPTER NINE

Conclusions

9.1 Overview

This thesis has investigated the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic behaviour of Kubokota motion verbs and motion event clauses. Part One presented background information on the language, including a sketch grammar which is the first detailed linguistic description of the Kubokota language based on primary data.[1] Part Two explored the packaging of motion event information within the clause, the division of motion verbs into distinct semantic categories, and the reflection of semantic contrasts (such as manner and path, source and goal) in syntactic domains such as aspect-mood marking and the distribution of motion verbs in the verb complex. Part Three examined how Kubokota motion verbs are used to express motion and orientation in real physical space, presenting a multi-scalar geocentric system that Kubokota speakers negotiate using a variety of linguistic and extra-linguistic cues and strategies; these include contextual and sociocultural information such as the distance over which a path extends, the salience of the sea, the use of landmarks to differentiate scales, and the physical location and orientation of the speakers themselves; the latter factor also has implications for a choice between two available frames of reference, absolute (geocentric) and intrinsic-deictic (egocentric).

9.2 Syntactic-semantic issues

Several categories of motion verbs can be identified in Kubokota, on the basis of both semantic and syntactic behaviour:

- deictic path (PATHD) verbs lexicalise a path oriented with respect to a deictic centre as either a source or a goal; they may be directionally neutral or may contain 'up'/'down' information.

- path+ground (PATHG) verbs (similar to Slobin and Hoiting's "ground-focussed path verbs") are deictically neutral and lexicalise a path configured with respect to a non-deictic ground. They include boundary-crossing verbs such as *luge* 'enter' and *votu* 'exit', geographic path verbs such as *paja* '(go)

[1] Kettle's (2000) analysis of the Kubokota verb complex is based on locally published collections of parallel texts.

inland', *oqavotu* '(go) seaward' and *poana* 'travel along beach', and various other complex path-ground configurations.

- MANNER verbs express manner of motion; this may be an atelic activity or process of moving in a particular manner (walking, running, etc.), or it may be the manner in which a figure moves along a bounded path, usually expressed by a PATHD or PATHG verb in a serial verb construction.
- SOURCE verbs lexicalise the start of a path, or departure from a source.
- GOAL verbs lexicalise the end of a path, or arrival at a goal.

These semantic categories are shown to have a syntactic reality in the order of motion verbs in a motion event serialisation (§5.5). The ordering of categories in a concurrent motion event serialisation is MANNER + PATHG + PATHD (or any combination of two of these); a second concurrent motion event may be sequentially ordered after the first. A GOAL verb or a verb expressing purpose of motion may follow sequentially after all path information, but SOURCE verbs typically only occur in mono-verbal clauses. The majority of motion event serialisations contain at least one verb expressing path information; path is an obligatory component of a motion event, while manner information may be optional (Slobin 2004:238) (§6.4.1). In Kubokota, even a MANNER verb may convey information about the nature of the path traversed (*keza* 'climb', for instance, can be used only for upward climbing).

9.2.1 Verb-based information packaging

Crucial to an understanding of the Kubokota motion event is the fact that information is heavily concentrated in the verb; prepositions (*pa* and *ta*) are semantically bleached, and ground-denoting nominals (e.g. *leo ruma* 'inside house') identify only a region or part of the ground, not its thematic role (e.g. source or goal). The interpretation of a ground phrase (i.e. a prepositional phrase or object noun phrase licensed by a motion verb) is therefore dependent either on the semantics of the verb or on pragmatic factors. 'Go' verbs, for instance, allow a goal but not a source as a ground, whereas a 'come' verb may allow either a source or a goal. Other motion verbs, such as *jola* 'pass' and *livutu* 'go around', may license a route (a reference point on or near a path). The verbs *toka* 'accompany' and *tuti* 'follow' express comitative relationships between their subjects and objects, but *tuti* may also license a path (e.g. 'to follow a

road') or a means of transport ('to go by canoe'), as may a 'go' verb ('to go down the road', 'to go up (board) a canoe'). The GOAL verb *kamu* 'arrive' permits less variation; its direct object can only be a goal. There is, therefore, considerable variation between verbs in terms of whether the role of a ground phrase can be determined on the basis of verbal semantics alone, and how much its interpretation is dependent on pragmatic context and shared knowledge about the typical path a given figure may traverse with regard to a particular ground.

Kubokota motion verbs not only encode thematic information about ground-denoting nominals, they also express both path and manner of motion within the verb complex, typically in a serial verb construction, as described above. This is contrary to Talmy's (1985 etc.) prediction that a given language will lexicalise either path or manner in the verb, and the other in a verbal satellite. The Kubokota data supports Slobin's (2004) proposal for a third category of "equipollently-framed" languages, in which path and manner are expressed by equivalent grammatical forms. In Chapter Five I presented syntactic evidence that Kubokota PATHD, PATHG and MANNER verbs are of equal status; all three contribute to the transitivity of the clause in a way that verbal modifiers (such as auxiliaries and adverbs) do not; all are able to occur as the main verb in a mono-verbal clauses; and all are able to occur in serialisations.

9.2.2 The importance of source and goal

The semantic category to which a verb belongs, and the roles it may license within that category, have syntactic implications in terms of the aspectual categories to which the verb belongs, and particularly the marking of modality, as described in Chapter Four. PATHD 'go' verbs, which can license a goal but not a source, can only be marked as realis when the goal has been reached; while in process, they must be marked as prospective irrealis. This is in contrast with other bounded process verbs such as *uke* 'die', which may be marked either as realis or prospective irrealis while in process. Goal-oriented 'come' verbs behave in a similar way to 'go' verbs; source-oriented 'come' verbs, on the other hand, can be marked as realis while in process, or as soon as the figure has departed from the source.

The contrasting nature of sources and goals is also reflected in the distribution of SOURCE and GOAL verbs across motion event clause types (§3.5, §6.4.1). GOAL verbs (such as *paro* 'go ashore', *kamu* 'arrive') typically occur in serial verb constructions,

sequentially or iconically ordered after path and manner information. The GOAL verb *kamu* 'arrive' can never be prospective irrealis; arrival is a liminal state involving no process, and must either be future or realis. SOURCE verbs (such as *taloi* 'depart', *koko* 'set out') are more likely to occur in mono-verbal clauses, with no path information (there are no instances in my database where *taloi* 'depart' occurs in a serialisation). It appears that, where a motion event expresses departure from a source, the completion of the path is irrelevant; in the case of 'come' verbs, the event is already realis; in the case of SOURCE verbs, the path is unlikely even to be mentioned in the same clause. The relationship between a path and its goal is much closer; the speaker can provide considerable information, within the same clause, of the manner and/or path of motion leading up to the goal. Arrival at the goal itself is an instantaneous change of state; and if path is expressed with a 'go' verb (as is frequently the case), the event is only marked as realis when the path has been completed.

9.3 Semantic-pragmatic issues

The anchoring of a motion path in physical space involves an interaction between geocentric up-down axes on several scales, and a complex deictic relationship between the embodied speaker, the geocentrically neutral (but not undifferentiated) transverse axis of the local scale, and a further axis, deictically defined as transverse to the speaker.

Geocentric direction can be viewed as a set of idealised semantic schemas, based on a prototypical reference point at the centre of the village; the scales are differentiated from each other in terms of size (large or small scale) and domain (land or sea). The real world inhabited by Kubokota speakers, however, is very much more complex; as Bubandt notes for Buli (Indonesia):

> *the application of a particular spatial marker (such as for instance "on the landside") is not consistently oriented toward a particular feature in the landscape, as I had vaguely expected. Rather, as one's position in space moves, so too do the possibilities for assigning features in the landscape to act as reference points. Deictic terms are oriented and applied within a matrix of space that changes as one moves around it* (Bubandt 1997:136).

Chapter Seven describes an incredible range of micro-variation between scales, depending not only on where one happens to be in space, but also on factors such as village layout, the salience of the sea, and the activity in which one is engaged; thus,

the logic of the system cannot be derived from data abstracted from the context in which it was produced. Chapter Eight reveals that the situation is still more complex: the scales available, the frame of reference that a speaker chooses, and the linguistic strategies with which a speaker differentiates between the scales, may be affected not just by the speaker's location but also by the direction in which he or she is oriented.

9.3.1 Centring the world: the importance of deixis

For Lakoff and Johnson (1999), our perception of the world and our ability to reason are inherently embodied and centred. Hanks (1990:296-7) stresses that the language used to describe spatio-temporal orientation must be used in a centred way, even when abstracted away from the embodied speaker as centre. Deictic reference and the anchoring of path and motion information to the speaker's location is pervasive in Kubokota. We see this, first of all, in the high frequency of PATHD verbs in the database: as noted above, nearly every motion event serialisation involves a verb expressing path; the majority of these express deictic path. PATHG verbs, which are deictically neutral, are far more likely to be serialised with a PATHD verb than to occur mono-verbally.

This is not to say that the path is always oriented towards or away from the speaker, nor that the speaker is always embodied in the world constructed by the discourse. As rational beings, we have the ability to abstract away from our embodied selves to a decentred schema (Hanks 1990:296). Chapter Three discusses Wilkins and Hill's (1995) study of 'come' and 'go' verbs, which suggests that there is not necessarily a binary opposition between 'come' and 'go': 'come' verbs are always used with reference to some sort of deictic centre (not necessarily the speaker), but 'go' verbs are often deictically neutral. In Kubokota, a 'come' verb expresses a path that is oriented towards the deictic centre, although it need not necessarily reach the centre; 'go' verbs express paths that are oriented in any other direction, including past and beyond the centre. 'Go' verbs, therefore, cover a far greater range of path configurations than 'come' verbs, and are often used without reference to the deictic centre at all.

In Chapter Six I showed that the degree to which deictic reference (especially 'come' verbs, but also geocentric reference) is used to anchor a narrative to the time and space of the speaker depends on how far the narrative is removed from that time

and space. A route description path oriented towards the speaker will make extensive use of 'come' verbs and geocentric reference, but a frog story, located in an unknown environment, may use 'come' verbs only where a figure emerges from a contained space (e.g. the owl, coming out of the hole in the tree, into the world inhabited by humans), or where the protagonist is treated as the deictic centre; geocentric 'up' and 'down' terms are avoided almost entirely. A traditional narrative located in an environment that is familiar, but not anchored to the current time and place, sits between these two extremes: as in the frog stories, 'come' verbs may be used for motion towards the protagonist, but the village may also be treated as a prototypical deictic centre and as the goal of an archetypal path that 'comes down' from the bush. The geocentric terms are used extensively to construct the known island landscape in which the protagonist moves.

The contrast between deictic 'come' verbs and (potentially) non-deictic 'go' verbs becomes more evident in Chapter Eight. 'Come' verbs can use only the deictic centre (in the men-and-tree games this is always the speaker) as a landmark (e.g. *bata lagere ta=qu* 'see come.down to me'). While a 'go' verb may occasionally use a speech act participant as a landmark, this is usually only possible where it contrasts with a 'come' verb in a similar construction (e.g. *maka za bata lame taqu, maka za bata lao ti Mary* 'one see come to.me, one see go to Mary'). More usually, a geographical landmark, often the sun, is used with 'go' verbs, and the deictic centre can be ignored as a potential reference point: the orientation of a figure can be described as *bata zae pa zagere tapo* ('see go.up to sunrise'), even if the figure is also facing directly towards the speaker; the path of the figure's gaze 'goes up' beyond the location of the speaker to a more distant endpoint.

Spatial reference in Kubokota, therefore, depends on two things (following Hanks (1990:296) and Hallowell (1955:92)): a knowledge of the geographical environment, with an understanding of how motion verbs and other spatial terms are applied to that environment in a culturally defined way; and an understanding of one's own position in that environment, physically and socially, and how language can be used to describe one's location, activities and movement as they interact with geocentric scales and the available frames of reference. As Foley observes:

> *The environment talked about in spatial language is practically known to us; it exists for and through our active engagement with it in structural*

> *coupling. The spatial understanding of the world is not arrived at by some passive bird's eye mapping of our environment, but by understandings of it worked out by practical interaction with it and in it, through knowledge stored in labor, myth, ritual, kinship and other activities* (Foley 1997:228).

9.4 Context, genre, methodology and documentation

In Chapter One I presented the range of data types that I have utilised in this thesis, ranging from formal elicitation questionnaires to participant observation data. Staged communication data such as the men-and-tree photo matching game and the frog stories have had a significant part to play in this study. Participant observation has been a key methodology and data source in understanding the complexities of the Kubokota geocentric system. I have also accessed a diverse range of other narrative genres, which, I argue, occupy a multidimensional space between staged and observed communicative events, depending on the recording circumstances, the speaker's motivation for telling the story, and various other factors (see §1.2.1).

As discussed in Chapter Six, both narrative genre and the methodology through which a text was obtained may influence the nature of the data produced. Foley (2003) warns of the risks of relying on frog story data; the frog story methodology may impose literate-like features on the narrative (such as high lexical density) that are absent from more traditional oral texts. I propose that texts vary not just in terms of naturalness, or of where they are located along the literate-oral continuum, but also in terms of the demands of the particular genre to which they belong: a route description requires the identification of a high number of grounds because it would be impossible to follow the route without this information; a traditional narrative requires less because it is located in a landscape that is familiar, but is more or less abstracted from the speaker's own; a topogeny or a migration history would presumably require even more grounds to be named or specified.

Chapters Seven and Eight highlight further the value of a multi-faceted methodology and database in attempting to understand a highly complex linguistic system. My understanding of the Kubokota geocentric system developed, over a period of time, through a combination of elicitation and participant observation. Participant observation, for me, meant not only observing language in use but also asking questions about observed usage, informing my observations through further inquiries, which I pursued in an informal way during everyday activities in the village.

These observations and inquiries enabled me to formulate further questions about the system, which could not easily be answered either through observation or through asking my consultants.

It was at this stage that it became appropriate to use the men-and-tree game as a more structured approach to understanding the interactions within the system. The men-and-tree game provided quantitative data about how speakers use geocentric and deictic motion verbs to address a particular issue. The data is "unnatural" in that the event was highly staged, and the problem was not one that the speakers would encounter in their everyday lives. The advantage, however, of a controlled situation, was not only the quantitative results that it produced, but that it revealed an entirely new aspect of the system – the importance of speakers' own physical orientation for their choice of frame of reference.

I have already reviewed, in §9.3.1, the influence of context and genre on the choices speakers make about the use of deictic and geocentric terms to anchor a path of motion to the time and space in which the deictic centre is located (particularly apparent in Chapter Six). The men-and-tree study further emphasises that contextual information is crucial. The case studies in Chapters Six and Eight highlight the advantages of a wide range of data sources, genres and methodologies to a "thick documentation" of a language or an area of study within a language.

9.5 Theoretical implications and areas for further research

Current research on spatial language, cognition and the linguistic expression of motion events is both supported and challenged by the Kubokota data. At the level of syntax and semantics, Kubokota, like other verb-serialising languages, poses a problem for Talmy's (1985, 2000) binary typology of motion event lexicalisation, and lends support to proposals for a third category of equipollently-framed languages, as proposed by Slobin (2004); the Kubokota data is also consistent with Báez and Bohnemeyer's account of the "radically verb-framed" semantic composition of motion events in the Mesoamerican languages Yucatec and Juchiteco (Báez and Bohnemeyer under review). There is potential for considerably more research on the characteristics of motion and location events in such languages.

Levinson's frames of reference typology provides a helpful framework within which to describe the anchoring of motion events within the physical environment.

Recent studies such as Pederson et al. (1998) and Terrill and Burenhult (2008) have recognised that two or more frames of reference may interact in a mixed system, and that environmental cues (such as an urban versus a rural context (Pederson 1993)) may affect the degree to which they do so. The Kubokota data, particularly the men-and-tree study, contributes to this research with a detailed account of multiple scales that combine both geocentric and deictic information to varying degrees, emphasising that even within an absolute frame of reference, the embodiment of the speaker within geographic space is of central importance.

Appendix One
Glossary of Kubokota motion verbs

verb	gloss	semantic category
abutu	'run'	MANNER
adu	'chase'	MOTION
ale	'float'	MANNER
are	'go above, take higher road'	PATHG
babata	'travel along coast (on sea or land)'	PATHG
epepe	'sail'	MANNER
gaja	'climb down'	MANNER
garumu	'send'	MOTION
gavere	'crawl'	MANNER
gazavotu	'(go) seaward'	PATHG
gona	'steer/throw'	MANNER
gore	'go down'	PATHD
jola	'pass'	PATHG
kamu	'arrive'	GOAL
karovo	'cross'	PATHG
kaurai	'go below, take lower road'	PATHG
keni	'go away'	PATHD
keza	'climb up'	MANNER
koko	'set out'	SOURCE
lagere	'come down'	PATHD
lame	'come'	PATHD
lao	'go'	PATHD
lekoleko	'stroll'	MANNER(?)
livutu	'go around'	PATHG
loi	'leave'	SOURCE
lotu	'fall'	MOTION
luge	'enter'	PATHG
mae	'come to speaker'	PATHD
mule	'return'	PATHG
nogoto	'stop'	MOTION
obokoroto	'take direct route through bush'	PATHG
olapa	'channel, go through channel'	PATHG
ole	'drift'	MANNER
oqa	'jump'	MANNER
oqavotu	'(go) seaward'	PATHG
ovulu	'lift'	MOTION
paja	'climb, (go) inland'	PATHG
paro	'(go) ashore'	GOAL
peka	'dance'	MANNER
poana	'travel along beach'	PATHG
podaka	'surface out of water'	MOTION
podalai	'start'	SOURCE
pogozo	'carry'	MOTION
ponyu	'swim'	MANNER
rerege	'walk'	MANNER
rijo	'move'	MANNER

soqolo	'jump'	MANNER
surana	'load, transport'	MOTION
suvu	'dive'	MANNER
taloi	'depart'	SOURCE
tatava	'fly'	MANNER
teku	'take'	MOTION
toka (INTR.)	'launch, set out across sea'	SOURCE
toka (TR.)	'accompany'	MOTION
tuti	'follow'	MOTION
tuvizi	'(go) straight'	PATHG
uku	'run away'	MOTION
vidulu	'turn, return'	PATHG
votu	'exit'	PATHG
voze	'paddle'	MANNER
zae	'go up'	PATHD
zagere	'ascend'	GOAL
zale	'come up'	PATHD
zolozo	'travel through bush'	PATHG

Appendix Two
List of audio narrative recordings

The following table contains a small amount of metadata for the monologue audio narrative recordings on which much of my analysis is based. Full metadata for audio and other material is provided in the archival deposit with the Endangered Languages Archive of the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Programme.

text ID	speaker	date created	genre	description
a001BN	Betsy Nose	30/10/2006	diary story	Betsy's story about my first day in the village, during which we visited Derek at Qiloe, the school on the hill and Mule by the beach.
a002MD	Mule Duri	31/10/2006	traditional narrative	Story about a time of famine and making a sacrifice to the spirits.
a003MD	Mule Duri	31/10/2006	procedure and traditional description	Story about a medicinal drink which Mule makes, the *kastom* drink of her tribe, which healed wounds, made people walk and talk again, and even brought people back to life.
a004MD	Mule Duri	31/10/2006	traditional description	How people gave birth in the time of darkness.
a005MD	Mule Duri	31/10/2006	song	A song to be sung by old women as they crush their betelnut and lime. The explanation is in Kubokota but the song itself is in Luqa.
a006BN	Betsy Nose	1/11/2006	diary story	Betsy and Mary go to the garden.
a007BL	Boas Liti	1/11/2006	procedure	How to make *kastom* cloth *poko* from the root of the *ezana* tree.
a008BL	Boas Liti	1/11/2006	traditional description	*Kastom* marriage and how it differs from now.
a009BL	Boas Liti	1/11/2006	traditional narrative	Story of the migration of the Vitu tribe and the adventures of their warrior Leqata.
a010LP	Caleb Lamupule	3/11/2006	personal story	Lamu goes to Pienuna to visit his family.
a011SM	Stephen Mamikera	5/11/2006	personal story	Mamikera talks about bamboo band music and the Vivirua Bamboo Band, which he leads.
a012LP	Caleb Lamupule	8/11/2006	personal story	Lamu goes to Gizo for shopping and has an adventure with the Solomon Airlines wheelbarrow.
a013BN	Betsy Nose	8/11/2006	diary story	Betsy and Mary visit family land along the coast from Obobulu.
a014SP	Solomon Pio	9/11/2006	traditional description	The benefits of *kastom* massage.
a015IL	Ilikera Levi	12/11/2006	traditional description	Ilikera's explanation of a number of *kastom* objects, including the *ragomo*, a spirit object of which he is the keeper.

text ID	speaker	date created	genre	description
a016SM	Stephen Mamikera	14/11/2006	traditional narrative	Story of how Obobulu people bought the bakua (a fungal skin infection, *tinea imbricata*) from Santa Isabel so it would protect them from their enemies by keeping them awake at night.
a017SM	Stephen Mamikera	14/11/2006	personal story	Various anecdotes about Jack Hawkins, an English VSO volunteer who came to teach at Pienuna Primary School in the late 1960s.
a018LP	Caleb Lamupule	15/11/2006	traditional narrative	Spider and Lizard go to the garden. Spider carries her children with her but Lizard leaves hers at home, with the result that they all get burnt.
a019BN	Betsy Nose	16/11/2006	diary story	Betsy's story about a day out in Gizo with Mary.
a020MD	Mule Duri	18/11/2006	traditional narrative	How the Kubokota people discovered fire.
a021MD	Mule Duri	18/11/2006	procedure	Mule's explanation of how she makes her *kastom* medicine *ragomo*.
a022MD	Mule Duri	18/11/2006	traditional narrative	Story about a baby crying for its mother; when she doesn't come it turns into a bird whose call sounds like a crying baby.
a023SM	Stephen Mamikera	19/11/2006	traditional narrative	Three short stories about the Maloku tribe, of whom only a very few are left because they are always doing stupid things.
a024EL	Elosi Lini	20/11/2006	procedure	Elosi's explanation of how to make pandanus leaf mats.
a025SM	Stephen Mamikera	21/11/2006	route description	Route from Obobulu Church to Stephen's house, accompanied by map.
a026GR	Gago Rove	22/11/2006	route description	How to get to Patu from Obobulu, accompanied by sketch map of island.
a027DP	David Pio	22/11/2006	route description	How to get to David's house from the church.
a028AT	Andrew Toqe	22/11/2006	route description	Route from Sabala to Obobulu.
a029MP	Mirida Piukera	22/11/2006	route description	How to get to Pienuna.
a030IB	Ian Beta	22/11/2006	route description	Route from Pienuna to Obobulu, accompanied by map.
a031SM	Stephen Mamikera	23/11/2006	personal story	Mamikera has a scary encounter with a spirit.
a032IP	Isaac Pojakera	23/11/2006	local history	Where the people of Obobulu came from.
a033JW	John Wesley Geli	23/11/2006	procedure and traditional description	How to make a gaili for catching bonito.
a034MZ	Martin Zamakera	23/11/2006	non-traditional narrative	Monkey and Turtle are friends, but when Turtle plants a banana, Monkey eats all the fruit.
a035JT	Jebedee Toribule	23/11/2006	traditional description	Story about the four rivers at Pienuna. Two have healing properties and the merging of the other two is a sign that adultery is being committed.
a036LP	Caleb Lamupule	23/11/2006	personal story	An old man, Tuta, is attacked by devils.

text ID	speaker	date created	genre	description
a037SM	Stephen Mamikera	23/11/2006	personal story	Stephen takes chloroquine and develops an itch, which keeps him up all night and leads to an encounter with a wild dog.
a038JW	John Wesley Geli	23/11/2006	traditional narrative	A young boy steals breadfruit from a tree belonging to a giant.
a039JT	Jebedee Toribule	23/11/2006	local history	Digging up the graves of the chiefs, and the arrival of Christianity.
a040SM	Stephen Mamikera	23/11/2006	traditional narrative	Story about two brothers and a giant.
a041CV	Cornelius Velopala	24/11/2006	procedure	How to make fire by rubbing sticks together.
a042BN	Betsy Nose	28/11/2006	diary story	Betsy and Mary wake up late and have to go by canoe to catch up with the rest of the group walking to Paqe.
a043BN	Betsy Nose	28/11/2006	traditional description	Different types of local baskets and their uses.
a044BN	Betsy Nose	3/12/2006	diary story	Betsy and Mary walk to Pienuna and meet lots of people along the way.
a045BN	Betsy Nose	3/12/2006	personal story	An old man on his way to Sabala is asked where he is going, and takes the opportunity to make a metalinguistic comment about the idiomatic greeting.
a046M	Matepitu	11/12/2006	personal story	Story about going fishing.
a047M	Matepitu	11/12/2006	personal story	Matepitu is crippled by polio and can only get around by canoe; he talks about his prowess as a fisherman.
a048TN	Timothy Nake	18/02/2007	traditional story	Veonona plays a trick on jealous Seleveni to get rid of him.
fs001LP	Caleb Lamupule	24/02/2007	frog story	A boy and his dog search for a frog.
a049JM	June Munapiqe	25/02/2007	traditional story	Story about a hungry dog who takes revenge on women who are unkind to him.
a050SM	Stephen Mamikera	25/02/2007	non-traditional narrative	Story about a chicken, a dog, a duck and a bird.
a051LR	Linette Romeolo	25/02/2007	traditional narrative	A family goes to the bush, leaving their daughters behind.
a052EM	Ellison Mark	26/02/2007	non-traditional narrative	Monkey and Shark are friends, but when Shark tries to eat Monkey, Monkey soon gets the better of him.
fs002EM	Ellison Mark	26/02/2007	frog story	A boy and his dog search for a frog.
a053BN	Betsy Nose	26/02/2007	traditional narrative	Story about four brothers, a sister and a giant.
a054JV	Julianne Vaida	26/02/2007	traditional narrative	Two brothers travel to another island by canoe and meet a woman there.
a055TV	Tina Vojatako	26/02/2007	traditional narrative	Three sisters to go get water and meet an old woman.
a056IP	Isaac Pojakera	26/02/2007	local history	The historical origins of Obobulu, which was settled quite recently by Isaac's tribe.
a057RK	Robert Ken	11/03/2007	personal story	A father and son go fishing.
a058MG	May Gita	11/03/2007	local history	A meeting of the chiefs of Ranongga, Simbo and Kolobangara.

text ID	speaker	date created	genre	description
a059SM	Stephen Mamikera	17/03/2007	traditional description	What happens when a chief dies.
a060BS	Bebi Sasa	30/03/2007	route description	How to get to Patu from Vonga.
a061EG	Eunice Golo	30/03/2007	local history / personal story	How Eunice and her husband settled at Vonga.
fs003GJ	Gladys Jack	30/03/2007	frog story	A boy and his dog search for a frog.
fs004VS	Veronica Sesebo	30/03/2007	frog story	A boy and his dog search for a frog.
a062BN	Betsy Nose	04/04/2007	earthquake story	Betsy was potting peppers under the house when the earthquake struck.
a063SR	Samavido Reva	14/04/2007	earthquake story	Sama was on her way to Gizo to market when the earthquake struck.
a064LP	Caleb Lamupule	30/04/2007	earthquake story	Lamu was the driver of the market canoe when the earthquake struck.
a065JP	John Prata	05/05/2007	earthquake story	John lost his paddle while fishing at night, and the earthquake brought it floating back to him.
a066SM	Stephen Mamikera	17/05/2007	earthquake story	Mamikera recounts his journey to a wedding in Munda, and the earthquake that followed.
a067LP	Caleb Lamupule	30/05/2007	procedure	How to build a house.

Appendix Three
Sample texts

Text One: *Na iliganigani*

'The giant'

Narrated by John Wesley Geli, Pienuna, 23/11/2006 (a038JW)

This story is a traditional narrative about a boy getting the better of a giant. The story is set in the familiar island landscape, although no specific locations are identified. Aspects of the story are discussed in §6.5.

Ego,	*suve-suvere*	*dia*	*tu*	*ari*	*ka=made*	*tatamana,*
therefore	REDUP-stay	3PL.POS	FOC	PROX.PL	CARD=four	family

'Now, there lived four family members,'

pa=na	*dia*	*guguzu*	*pa=na*	*tokutoku.*
IN.PRP=DET	3PL.POS	village	IN.PRP=DET	forest

'in their village in the forest.'

Ego,	*na*	*suvere=na*	*ta=di*	*ari*	*ka=made*	*tatamana*	*qari*	*suvere,*
therefore	DET	life-NMLZ	AN.PRP=PL	PROX.PL	CARD=four	family	3PL.R	stay

'Now, the life of those four family members that they lived,'

roiti=ni	*dia*	*inuma,*	*qari*	*keni*	*rave-rave,*	*qari*	*vei.*
do=APPL.SG	3PL.POS	garden	3PL.R	go.away	REDUP-catch.fish	3PL.R	be.like

'they did their garden, they went fishing, they did thus.'

Za	*kamu=a*	*maka*	*rane,*	*za*	*gazavotu*	*pa*	*nole,*
3SG.R	arrive=3SG.OBJ	one	day	3SG.R	go.seaward	IN.PRP	beach

'It arrived at one day, he came seaward to the beach,'

pa=na	*dia*	*va-va-paro*	*mola,*	*maka*	*tu=di*	*marene.*
IN.PRP=DET	3PL.POS	CAUS-CAUS-go.ashore	canoe	one	offspring=3PL.POS	male

'to their canoe landing place, one of their sons.'

Ego,	*za*	*gore*	*ko*	*za*	*gore*	*voqa=i*	*na*	*mola.*
therefore	3SG.R	go.down	so	3SG.R	go.down	launch=3SG.OBJ	DET	canoe

'So, he went down and he went down and launched the canoe.'

Beto	*za*	*zae*	*ko*	*za*	*podalai*	*voze*	*zana*	*koburu.*
then	3SG.R	go.up	so	3SG.R	start	paddle	MED.SG	child

'Then that child went up and he started to paddle.'

Za	*voze*	*aza*	*ko*	*za*	*voze,*	*za*	*voze*	*babata,*
3SG.R	paddle	3SG	so	3SG.R	paddle	3SG.R	paddle	travel.along.coast

'He paddled and he paddled, he paddled along the coast,'

ko za lao, za lao livut-i=a na kelekele,
so 3SG.R go 3SG.R go go.around-TR=3SG.OBJ DET point
'and he went, he went and went around the point,'

beto za gore-i=a zana koqu=na.
then 3SG.R go.down-TR=3SG.OBJ MED.SG harbour-NMLZ
'then he went down (into) the bay.'

Tonai za voze gore aza pa=na paro-paro=na,
when 3SG.R paddle go.down 3SG IN.PRP=DET REDUP-go.ashore=NMLZ
'When he had paddled down to the landing place,'

za gore va-paro-i=a nana mola.
3SG.R go.down CAUS-go.ashore-TR=3SG.OBJ 3SG.POS canoe
'he went down and landed his canoe.'

Za suvere nana pa ketakoi maka pitikole.
3SG.R stay 3SG.POS IN.PRP there one willy.wagtail
'A willy wagtail lived there.'

Na pitikole za paranga zana pitikole. "Pit pit pit!
DET willy.wagtail 3SG.R speak MED.SG willy.wagtail tweet tweet tweet
'The willy wagtail spoke. "Tweet tweet tweet!'

Mu piko=ni galava na mua mola. Na galava=na na vudi,"
2.IRR tie=APPL.SG plant.fibre DET 2SG.POS canoe DET plant.fibre=3SG.POS DET banana
'Tie up your canoe with a fibre. The fibre of the banana (plant).'"

za poja=i aza. Azae, za paranga na koburu ani.
3SG.R tell=3SG.OBJ 3SG so.then 3SG.R speak DET child PROX.SG
'said that one. Then, the child spoke.'

"Koi! I zei pu juki=ni piko mola zana galava=na
hey PERS who DUB use.inappropriately=APPL.SG tie canoe MED.SG plant.fibre=3SG.POS

na vudi? Mu=ke tuturu," za gua.
DET banana 2.IRR=NEG naughty 3SG.R say
'"Hey! Who would use a banana fibre to tie a canoe? Don't be naughty," he said.'

Ko za lao teku=a aza na gazoro=na na buna,
so 3SG.R go take=3SG.OBJ 3SG DET plant.fibre=3SG.POS DET vine.SP
'So he went and took the fibre of the buna vine,'

ko za teku=a na patu ko za piko=a
so 3SG.R take=3SG.OBJ DET stone so 3SG.R tie=3SG.OBJ
'and he took a stone and he tied it'

beto za zae piko=a pa nana mola
then 3SG.R go.up tie=3SG.OBJ IN.PRP 3SG.POS canoe
'then he went up and tied it to his canoe'

beto za va-titi=a nana mola.
then 3SG.R CAUS-hang=3SG.OBJ 3SG.POS canoe
'then he anchored his canoe.'

Za tuti=a paja zana zona ta=na iliganigani.
3SG.R follow=3SG.OBJ go.inland MED.SG road AN.PRP=DET giant
'He followed the road of the giant inland.'

Za zae kamu=a na guguzu ta=na iliganigani ani,
3SG.R go.up arrive=3SG.OBJ DET village AN.PRP=DET giant PROX.SG
'He went up (and) arrived at the village of the giant,'

za dogor-i=a aza na bateu pa=na sebesebe ta=na
3SG.R see-TR=3SG.OBJ 3SG DET breadfruit IN.PRP=DET house.garden AN.PRP=DET

iliganigani.
giant
'he saw the breadfruit tree in the giant's garden.'

Ae za lao na koburu ani, ko za keza-i=a.
so 3SG.R go DET child PROX.SG so 3SG.R climb-TR=3SG.OBJ
'So the child went and he climbed it.'

Za keza-i=a zana bateu, beto za gore.
3SG.R climb-TR=3SG.OBJ MED.SG breadfruit then 3SG.R go.down
'He climbed the breadfruit tree, then he went down.'

Za korapa keza=i aza zana bateu zana za,
3SG.R PROG climb=3SG.OBJ 3SG MED.SG breadfruit MED.SG PRO
'While he was climbing that breadfruit tree,'

za lagere gazavotu na iliganigani za gila-gila=i aza
3SG.R come.down go.seaward DET giant 3SG.R REDUP-know=3SG.OBJ 3SG
'the giant came down from the bush (and) he knew'

maka tinoni korapa keza=i na bateu pa nana sebesebe.
one person PROG climb=3SG.OBJ DET breadfruit IN.PRP 3SG.POS house.garden
'a person was climbing the breadfruit tree in his garden.'

Ko za lagere, "Ni ni ni mu adono=ziu tu ko ma vai=go,"
so 3SG.R come.down fee.fie.foe.fum 2.IRR wait=1SG.OBJ FOC so 1SG.IRR kill=2SG.OBJ
'So he came down, "Fee, fie, foe, fum, you wait for me and I'll kill you,"'

za gua. Aeza, za lagere na iliganigani,
3SG.R say then 3SG.R come.down DET giant
'he said. Then the giant came down,'

azae za lagere enga pa kuta bateu.
so.then 3SG.R come.down look.up IN.PRP base breadfruit
'so then he came down and looked up from the base of the breadfruit tree.'

Ba na koburu za tori va-gore=ria tu na vua=na
but DET child 3SG.R already CAUS-go.down=3PL.OBJ FOC DET fruit=3SG.POS

na bateu.
DET breadfruit
'But the child had already made the fruit of the breadfruit go down.'

Eo ko za gore na koburu, za paranga na iliganigani,
therefore so 3SG.R go.down DET child 3SG.R speak DET giant
'So the child went down, the giant spoke.'

"Mu gore lagere tu ko ma vai=go," za gua.
2.IRR go.down come.down FOC so 1SG.IRR kill=2SG.OBJ 3SG.R say
'"You come down and I'll kill you," he said.'

Azae "Leana, mu adono tu ao," za gua na koburu zana,
so good 2.IRR wait FOC 2SG 3SG.R say DET child MED.SG
'So "Okay, you wait," said that child,'

ko za teku-i=a aza maka bateu na pebe.
so 3SG.R take-TR=3SG.OBJ 3SG one breadfruit DET ripe.fruit
'and he took a ripe breadfruit.'

Na mumu=na ba na bateu za ta-poja na pebe.
DET ripe=3SG.POS but DET breadfruit 3SG.R PASS-call DET ripe.fruit
'It was ripe but ripe breadfruit is called *pebe*.'

Teku-i=a aza ko za pogoz-i=a gore,
take-TR=3SG.OBJ 3SG so 3SG.R carry-TR=3SG.OBJ go.down
'He took it and he carried it down,'

ko za gore, tata pa=na kae kotakota beto mina gore
so 3SG.R go.down close IN.PRP=DET branch lowest.branch then 3SG.FUT go.down

aza.
3SG
'and he went down, close to the lowest branch.'

Za poja=ni na iliganigani, "Mu enga zale."
3SG.R call=APPL.SG DET giant 2.IRR look.up come.up
'He called to the giant. "Look up."

Ko za enga zae vei ari na iliganigani,
so 3SG.R look.up go.up be.like PROX.PL DET giant
'So the giant looked up like that,'

ko za teku-i=a na koburu zana zana bateu,
so 3SG.R take-TR=3SG.OBJ DET child MED.SG MED.SG breadfruit
'and that child took that breadfruit,'

ko za gona=ni na izu-mata=na na iliganigani.
so 3SG.R throw=APPL.SG DET nose-eye=3SG.POS DET giant
'and he threw it at the giant's face.'

Ko za gona=ni ko za lao na bateu
so 3SG.R throw=APPL.SG so 3SG.R go DET breadfruit
'And he threw it and the breadfruit went'

ko za ramat-i=a zana izu-mata=na ko za=ke boka
so 3SG.R stick-TR=3SG.OBJ MED.SG nose-eye=3SG.POS so 3SG.R=NEG able

bata-bata.
REDUP-see
'and it stuck to his face and he couldn't see.'

Za gaja gore na koburu, teku=a nana bateu.
3SG.R climb.down go.down DET child take=3SG.OBJ 3SG.POS breadfruit
'The child climbed down, took his breadfruit,'

gore zae pa mola, ko za gore pa mola
go.down go.up IN.PRP canoe so 3SG.R go.down IN.PRP canoe
'went down (and) boarded the canoe, and he went down to the canoe'

ko za vizu=a na piko beto za voze kenana.
so 3SG.R separate=3SG.OBJ DET tie then 3SG.R paddle go.away.3SG.POS
'and he snapped the string and he paddled away.'

Voze keni, ko za lao pa dia guguzu, lao paro,
paddle go.away so 3SG.R go IN.PRP 3PL.POS village go go.ashore
'He paddled away, and he went to their village, went ashore,'

za pogoz-i=a na bateu, ko qari zae pa=na dia ruma,
3SG.R carry-TR=3SG.OBJ DET breadfruit so 3PL.R go.up IN.PRP=DET 3PL.POS house
'he carried the breadfruit, and they went up to their house,'

qari va-tunu=a ria zana bateu ko qari gani-gani ria
3PL.R CAUS-be.cooked=3SG.OBJ 3PL MED.SG breadfruit so 3PL.R REDUP-eat 3PL

na tatamana.
DET family
'they cooked that breadfruit and the family ate.'

Ko qari gani-gani beto za kamu=a na totozo bongi
so 3PL.R REDUP-eat then 3SG.R arrive=3SG.OBJ DET time night
'So they ate and the nighttime arrived'

ko qari puta ria na tatamana.
so 3PL.R sleep 3PL DET family
'and the family slept.'

Za *gua* *aza* *na* *vavakato* *papaka* *ve-vei=na* *na* *koburu*
3SG.R say 3SG DET story short REDUP-be.like=3SG.POS DET child

za *keza-i=a* *na* *bateu* *ta=na* *iliganigani.*
3SG.R climb-TR=3SG.OBJ DET breadfruit AN.PRP=DET giant
'That's what the short story says about the child who climbed the giant's breadfruit tree.'

Beto *tu=gu=e.* *Leana.*
finish FOC=LIM=*E* good
'That's all. Thank you.'

Text Two: *Pae qu suvere?*

'Where have you been?'

Narrated by Betsy Nose, Obobulu, 3/12/2006 (a045BN)

This story is a metalinguistic comment about the Kubokota word *suvere* 'stay', which can also be translated as 'live'. *Pae qu suvere?* 'Where have you been?' is a common question when two people meet on the road, but the man in the story deliberately misinterprets the question as 'Where do you live?' See §3.5.1 for further discussion of *koko* 'set out' and *suvere* 'stay'.

Ego,	*maka*	*rane,*	*za*	*taloi*	*pa*	*Sabala*	*i*	*Mosi,*
therefore	one	day	3SG.R	depart	IN.PRP	Sabala	PERS	Mosi

'So, one day, Mosi departed from Sabala,'

ko	*za*	*rerege*	*zae*	*vei*	*nana*	*pa*	*Suava.*
so	3SG.R	walk	go.up	be.like	3SG.POS	IN.PRP	Suava

'and he walked up towards Suava.'

Ae,	*korapa*	*nyumu*	*mami*	*pa*	*zona*	*gami-kori*	*maka*	*reko.*
so	PROG	sit	1PL.EX.POS	IN.PRP	road	1PL.EX-two	one	female

'Now, a woman and I were sitting by the road.'

Za	*nanaza*	*na*	*reko*	*aza.*
3SG.R	ask	DET	female	3SG

'The woman asked.'

Zale	*kamu*	*i*	*Mosi,*	*za*	*nanaza,*
come.up	arrive	PERS	Mosi	3SG.R	ask

'Mosi came up and arrived, she asked,'

"Mosi!	*Pae*	*qu*	*suvere?"*	*za*	*gu=ni.*
Mosi	where	2SG.R	stay	3SG.R	say=APPL.SG

'"Mosi! Where have you been?" she said to him.'

Ae	*za*	*paranga*	*i*	*Mosi.*
so	3SG.R	speak	PERS	Mosi

'Then Mosi spoke.'

"Pa	*Obobulu*	*tu*	*qa*	*korapa*	*suvere*	*ara,"*	*za*	*gua.*
IN.PRP	Obobulu	FOC	1SG.R	PROG	stay	1SG	3SG.R	say

'"I live in Obobulu," he said.'

Ae	*za*	*nanaza*	*soga*	*mutu*	*na*	*reko*	*aza.*
so	3SG.R	ask	again	again	DET	female	3SG

'So the woman asked again.'

"Mosi,	*pae*	*qu*	*suvere?"*	*za*	*gu=ni.*
Mosi	where	2SG.R	stay	3SG.R	say=APPL.SG

'"Mosi, where have you been?" she said to him.'

"Pa Obobulu tu ko taqe kopa suvere gita," za gua.
IN.PRP Obobulu FOC EMPH 1PL.IN.R PROG stay 1PL.IN 3SG.R say
'"You and I live in Obobulu," he said.'

Palu za paranga qera-qera i Mosi za gua,
maybe 3SG.R speak REDUP-happy PERS Mosi 3SG.R say
'Maybe Mosi is joking, she thought,'

ko vina-ue totozo za nanaza soga na reko nari,
so ORD-three time 3SG.R ask again DET female DIST.SG
'so that woman asked again a third time,'

"Mosi! Pae qu suvere?" za gu=ni.
Mosi where 2SG.R stay 3SG.R say=APPL.SG
'"Mosi! Where have you been?" she said to him.'

Ae za paranga i Mosi.
so 3SG.R speak PERS Mosi
'So Mosi spoke.'

"Koi, za sela na nanaza ta=mu," za gu=ni.
EXCL 3SG.R wrong DET ask AN.PRP=2SG.POS 3SG.R say=APPL.SG
'"Hey, your question is wrong," he said to her.'

Ae za paranga na reko nari.
so 3SG.R speak DET female DIST.SG
'So that woman spoke.'

"Ura ae za vei?" za gu=ni.
because Q 3SG.R be.how 3SG.R say=APPL.SG
'"Because how's that?" she said to him.'

Za paranga i Mosi. "Ura ari vei," za gua.
3SG.R speak PERS Mosi because PROX.PL be.how 3SG.R say
'Mosi spoke. "Because this is how," he said.'

"Vei bu nanaza ago Mosi, pae qu koko, bu gua ago,
if 2.HYP ask 2SG Mosi where 2SG.R set.out 2.HYP say 2SG
'"If you had asked, Mosi, where did you start from, you had said,'

ba ule vani=go ara ketakoi qa koko lame vei.
1SG.HYP tell BEN.APPL.SG=2SG.OBJ 1SG there 1SG.R set.out come be.like
'I would have told you where I set out and came from.'

Goto "Mosi, pae qu suvere?" qu gua ao,
but Mosi where 2SG.R stay 2SG.R say 2SG
'But "Mosi, where have you been?" you said,'

gita pa Obobulu tu taqe korapa suvere
1PL.IN IN.PRP Obobulu FOC 1PL.IN.R PROG stay
'we live in Obobulu'

ko za sela na nanaza ta=mu," za gua i Mosi.
so 3SG.R wrong DET ask AN.PRP=2SG.POS 3SG.R say PERS Mosi
'and your question is wrong," said Mosi.'

Ketakoi za lame okoto.
there 3SG.R come end
'There it comes (and) ends.'

Text Three: *Na mami rerege pa Gijo*

'Our trip to Gizo'

Narrated by Betsy Nose, 16/11/2006 (a019BN)

This story belongs to the genre that I have called "diary stories" (see §1.2.1). The narrator recounts how she and I went to Gizo to meet her daughter-in-law and grandchild off the ship from Honiara. While we wait, we wander 'up' (south) and 'down' (north) along the Gizo main street, doing some shopping and encountering various people. It should be noted that most of the PATHD motion verbs in this story refer to either the intermediate scale (on land) or the navigational scale (for the movement of the ship on the sea).

Rane Monday, ara beto i Mary gami zae pa Gijo,
day Monday 1SG and PERS Mary 1PL.EX.R go.up IN.PRP Gizo
'On Monday, I and Mary went up to Gizo,'

zae. adono=ria ari-kori tamatina mari lagere pa Honiara,
go.up wait=3PL.OBJ PROX.PL-two mother.and.child 3PL.IRR come.down IN.PRP Honiara

Rosie betoko i Gavin.
Rosie and PERS Gavin
'went up to wait for those two mother and child to come down from Honiara, Rosie and (her son) Gavin,'

Toka gami zae pa Gijo, kamu pa Gijo,
set.out 1PL.EX.R go.up IN.PRP Gizo arrive IN.PRP Gizo
'Setting out we went up to Gizo, arrived at Gizo,'

i Mary za va-lao=a na tabara ta=di gami-kori pan
PERS Mary 3SG.R CAUS-go=3SG.OBJ DET pay AN.PRP=PL 1PL.EX-two IN.PRP.DET

ti Dereki,
AN.PRP.PERS DEREK
'Mary gave our (canoe) fare to Derek,'

beto tabara, gami lao pa Post Office
finish pay 1PL.EX.R go IN.PRP Post Office
'having payed, we went to the Post Office,'

ko za posti=ria kaki nana leta garumu keni=di pa nana
so 3SG.R post=3PL.OBJ some 3SG.POS letter send go.away=APPL.PL IN.PRP 3SG.POS

tatamana.
family
'and she posted some letters of hers away to her family.'

Beto garumu keni=di na leta, paranga i Mary,
finish send go.away=APPL.PL DET letter speak PERS Mary
'Having sent away the letters, Mary spoke,'

"Ao muna adono pani, ara mana zae pa Hotel.
2SG 2.FUT wait here 1SG 1SG.FUT go.up IN.PRP Hotel
'"You wait here, I'm going up to the Hotel.'

Tonai mana mule lagere, mana lagere kamu=go pani," za gua.
when 1SG.FUT return come.down 1SG.FUT come.down arrive=2SG.OBJ here 3SG.R say
'When I come back down, I will come (and) meet you here," she said.'

Ko za zae pa Hotel i Mary, beto za mule lagere,
so 3SG.R go.up IN.PRP Hotel PERS Mary then 3SG.R return come.down
'So Mary went up to the Hotel, then she came back down,'

za lagere kamu=ziu ara, ko za paranga,
3SG.R come.down arrive=1SG.OBJ 1SG so 3SG.R speak
'she came down (and) met me, and she spoke,'

"Leana. Koviria tana gore gita-kori pa Dive Shop pan
good now 1PL.IN.FUT go.down 1PL.IN-two IN.PRP Dive Shop IN.PRP.DET
ti Danny,
AN.PRP.PERS Danny
'"Okay. Now let's we two go down to Danny's Dive Shop'

ko mana vai=ria kaki kadi," za gua.
so 1SG.FUT buy=3PL.OBJ some card 3SG.R say
'and I will buy some postcards," she said.'

Gami gore gami-kori, gore pa Dive Shop,
1PL.EX.R go.down 1PL.EX-two go.down IN.PRP Dive Shop
'We two went down, went down to the Dive Shop,'

gore vai=ria na kadi Mary, za beto vai=ria na kadi
go.down buy=3PL.OBJ DET card Mary 3SG.R finish buy=3PL.OBJ DET card
gami mule zale,
1PL.EX.R return come.up
'went down (and) Mary bought the cards, she finished buying cards (and) we came back up,'

zale kamu pa KHY gami-kori, manogori koloko na kota.
come.up arrive IN.PRP KHY 1PL.EX-two ten.two o'clock DET place
'we two came up and arrived at KHY (store), it was twelve o'clock.'

Ko za paranga i Mary, "Aria ko ta zae pa La Masa,
so 3SG.R speak PERS Mary let's.go so 1PL.IN.IRR go.up IN.PRP La Masa
'So Mary spoke, "Let's go up to La Masa (café)[1],'

[1] *La Masa* means 'go (to the) sea' in Roviana.

ketakoi tana zae teku-teku lunch maqalai," za gua. "Teku-teku
there 1PL.IN.FUT go.up REDUP-take lunch first 3SG.R say REDUP-take

korapa rane."
middle day
'there we will go up and eat lunch first," she said. "Midday meal."'

Gami zae gami-kori, pa La Masa, gami luge lao,
1PL.EX.R go.up 1PL.EX-two IN.PRP La Masa 1PL.EX.R enter go
'We two went up to La Masa, we went in,'

za vai=ria kori na buku lomozo, beto kori peleta gani-gani.
3SG.R buy=3PL.OBJ two DET drink cold and two plate REDUP-eat
'she bought two cold drinks, and two plates of food.'

Lao nyumu pa tevolo gami-kori ko gami teku-teku,
go sit IN.PRP table 1PL.EX-two so 1PL.EX.R REDUP-eat
'We two went (and) sat at a table and we ate,'

beto teku-teku, za paranga i Mary,
finish REDUP-take 3SG.R speak PERS Mary
'having eaten, Mary spoke,'

"Leana, aria koviria tana lao ko tana vai=ria ria na
good let's.go now 1PL.IN.FUT go so 1PL.IN.FUT buy=3PL.OBJ 3PL DET

zakaza qe kole pa=na list ari,
thing 3PL.R lie IN.PRP=DET list PROX.PL
'"Okay, now let's go and buy these things that are on the (shopping) list,'

beto tana mule zae pa maketi," za gua.
then 1PL.IN.FUT return go.up IN.PRP market 3SG.R say
'then we will go back up to the market," she said.'

Ko gami lao pa sitoa, gami vai=ria doru=di ria na
so 1PL.EX.R go IN.PRP store 1PL.EX.R buy=3PL.OBJ all=3PL.POS 3PL DET

gani-gani, qari ta-listi va-kole pa=na pepa,
REDUP-eat 3PL.R PASS-list CAUS-lie IN.PRP=DET paper
'So we went to the store, we bought all the food that had been listed on the paper,'

beto, gami mule zae pa maketi,
then 1PL.EX.R return go.up IN.PRP market
'then we went back up to the market,'

ko gami zae suvere adono ketakoi, adon-i=a na vaka.
so 1PL.EX.R go.up stay wait there wait-TR=3SG.OBJ DET ship
'and we went up (and) stayed (and) waited there, waited for the ship.'

Ko za zovai na kota qari=ke mule, qari=ke lame ari-kori
so 3SG.R long.time DET place 3PL.R=NEG return 3PL.R=NEG come PROX.PL-two

tamatina, qa paranga ara,
mother.and.child 1SG.R speak 1SG
'So a long time (passed in) the place (and) they didn't return, those two mother and child didn't come, I spoke,'

"Aria ko ta zae pa Solair Office, zae dogor-i=a i
let's.go so 1PL.IN.IRR go.up IN.PRP Solair Office go.up look-TR=3SG.OBJ PERS

Roland," qa gu=ni.
Roland 1SG.R say=APPL.SG
'"Let's go up to the Solair Office, go up and see Roland," I said to her.'

Ko gami zae gami-kori, zae pa Solair Office,
so 1PL.EX.R go.up 1PL.EX-two go.up IN.PRP Solair Office
'So we two went up, went up to the Solair Office,'

korapa i Roland, ko za nanaz-i=a i Mary,
stay PERS Roland so 3SG.R ask-TR=3SG.OBJ PERS Mary
'Roland was there, and he asked Mary,'

"Ae vei, leana na suve-suvere ketakoi qu suvere?" za gu=ni.
Q be.how good DET REDUP-stay there 2SG.R stay 3SG.R say=APPL.SG
'"How is it, is it good staying where you're staying?" he said to her.'

"E, qa suvere va-leana," za gua i Mary.
yes 1SG.R stay CAUS-good 3SG.R say PERS Mary
'"Yes, I stay well," said Mary.'

Beto gami kole baere suvere tu ketakoi,
then 1PL.EX.R CONT chat stay FOC there
'Then we stayed (and) chatted there,'

za zovai na kota, luge lame na Bikoi, za paranga i Jack,
3SG.R long.time DET place enter come DET Bikoi 3SG.R speak PERS Jack
'a long time (passed in) the place, the Bikoi (ship) came in, Jack spoke,'

"Ari-kori tamatina qari=ke lagere pa Bikoi, pa Isabella
PROX.PL-two mother.and.child 3PL.R=NEG come.down IN.PRP Bikoi IN.PRP Isabella

tu," za gua.
FOC 3SG.R say
'"Those two mother and child didn't come down on Bikoi, (they came) on Isabella," he said.'

"Ko... ba leana mu gore ko mu gore dogoro podeke=ria
so but good 2.IRR go.down so 2.IRR go.down look try=3PL.OBJ

ketakoi," za gu=di=gami
there 3SG.R say=APPL.PL=3PL.OBJ
'"So... but you had better go down and go down (and) look (and) check (if they're) there," he said to us'

ko gami gore, gore seke=ria ba kepore.
so 1PL.EX.R go.down go.down check=3PL.OBJ but not.exist
'so we went down, went down (and) checked for them but (they) weren't there.'

Kepore pa Bikoi, gami mule gami-kori,
not.exist IN.PRP Bikoi 1PL.EX.R return 1PL.EX-two
'They weren't on Bikoi, we two returned,'

ko gami mule lagere soga pa maketi, gami lagere kole
so 1PL.EX.R return come.down again IN.PRP market 1PL.EX.R come.down CONT

nyumu, zovai ba qari=ke kamu, za paranga i Mary,
sit long.time but 3PL.R=NEG arrive 3SG.R speak PERS Mary
'so we came back down again to the market, we came down and sat, a long time (went by) but they didn't arrive, Mary spoke,'

"Ae vei, qu burana?" za gua.
Q be.how 2SG.R hungry 3SG.R say
'"How is it, are you hungry?" she said.'

"Dai, leana gu," qa gua ara.
no good LIM 1SG.R say 1SG
'"No, (I'm) okay," I said.'

Za paranga i Mary, "Leana, aria ta gore vai kaki
3SG.R speak PERS Mary good let's.go 1PL.IN.IRR go.down buy some

keki ko ta teku-teku," za gua,
cake so 1PL.IN.IRR REDUP-take 3SG.R say
'Mary spoke, "Okay, let's go down (and) buy some cakes and eat," she said,'

ko gami gore pa sitoa, pa Hot Bread,
so 1PL.IN.R go.down IN.PRP store IN.PRP Hot Bread
'so we went down to the store, to the Hot Bread (Bakery),'

ko gami gore vai keki ketakoi, kori na keki gami teku=a
so 1PL.EX.R go.down buy cake there two DET cake 1PL.EX.R take=3SG.OBJ
'so we went down and bought cakes there, two cakes we took'

ko gami votu pa veranda, gami kole nyumu ko gami teku-teku,
so 1PL.EX.R exit IN.PRP veranda 1PL.EX.R CONT sit so 1PL.EX.R REDUP-take
'so we (came) out to the veranda, we sat and we ate,'

za dogoro=gami Kenneth ko za zale, zale kamu=gami,
3SG.R look=1PL.EX.OBJ Kenneth so 3SG.R come.up come.up arrive=1PL.EX.OBJ
'Kenneth saw us and he came up, came up (and) reached us,'

kole vavakato taviti=a i Mary,
CONT tell.story COMIT=3SG.OBJ PERS Mary
'he chatted with Mary,'

beto *vavakato* *taviti=a* *i* *Mary,* *gami* *taloi* *gami-kori,*
finish tell.story COMIT=3SG.OBJ PERS Mary 1PL.EX.R depart 1PL.EX-two
'having chatted with Mary, we two left,'

ko *gami* *zae,* *zae* *dogoro* *podek-i=a* *na* *vaka,* *pa* *vuapu,*
so 1PL.EX.R go.up go.up look try-TR=3SG.OBJ DET ship IN.PRP wharf

gami *gua.*
1PL.EX.R say
'and we went up, went up (to) look (and) check for the ship, at the wharf, we said.'

Ko *gami* *zae* *tu* *kamu* *pa* *toto=na* *pa* *Hotel* *gami-kori,*
so 1PL.EX.R go.up FOC arrive IN.PRP align=3SG.POS IN.PRP Hotel 1PL.EX-two
'So we two went up and (had) arrived opposite the Hotel,'

za *luge* *lame* *na* *Isabella.*
3SG.R enter come DET Isabella
'(when) the Isabella came in.'

Tonai *za* *luge* *lame* *na* *Isabella* *ko* *za* *titi,* *beto* *gami* *zae*
when 3SG.R enter come DET Isabella so 3SG.R anchor then 1PL.EX.R go.up

gami-kori,
1PL.EX-two
'When the Isabella had come in and anchored, then we two went up,'

zale *kamu=gami* *i* *Melissa,* *rerege* *zae* *gami-kue,*
come.up arrive=1PL.EX.OBJ PERS Melissa walk go.up 1PL.EX-three
'Melissa came up (and) joined us, we three walked up,'

gami *zae* *luge* *pa* *vaka* *ko* *gami* *kole* *nyaqo=ria* *ari-kori*
1PL.EX.R go.up enter IN.PRP ship so 1PL.EX.R CONT seek=3PL.OBJ PROX.PL-two

tamatina.
mother.and.child
'we went up (and) entered the ship and we looked for those two mother and child.'

Beto, *za* *votu* *lame* *i* *Douglas* *ko* *za* *lame* *kamu=gami,*
then 3SG.R exit come PERS Douglas so 3SG.R come arrive=1PL.EX.OBJ
'Then, Douglas came out and he came and joined us,'

gami *lao* *ko* *gami* *qaqiri* *vadi,* *teku=ria* *na* *dia* *mane,*
1PL.EX.R go so 1PL.EX.R prepare BEN.APPL.PL take=3PL.OBJ DET 3PL.POS basket

doru *dia* *zakaza*
all 3PL.POS thing
'we went and prepared for them, took their bags, all their things'

ko *gami* *su-surana* *pa* *mola,*
so 1PL.EX.R REDUP-load IN.PRP canoe
'and we loaded (them) into the canoe,'

ko za surana gore=di Dereki pa maketi na zakaza
so 3SG.R load go.down=APPL.PL Dereki IN.PRP market DET thing

ta=di ari-kori tamatina vei tu ti Douglasi,
AN.PRP=PL PROX.PL-two mother.and.child be.like FOC AN.PRP.PERS Douglas
'and Derek transported down to the market the things of those two mother and child (and) likewise (those) of Douglas,'

gami ka=made gami poana, ko gami lame pa maketi,
1PL.EX.R CARD=four 1PL.EX.R travel.along.beach so 1PL.EX.R come IN.PRP market
'we four walked along the shore, and we came to the market,'

pa igana, ko vai igana mule i Mary.
IN.PRP fish so buy fish again PERS Mary
'to the fish, and Mary bought again fish.'

Ka=vitu na igana za vai=ria, kori na peki=di, ka=lima
CARD=seven DET fish 3SG.R buy=3PL.OBJ two DET small=3PL.POS CARD=five

na lavata=di.
DET big=3PL.POS
'Seven fish she bought, two small ones, five big ones,'[2]

Kori peki=di zara vitu dola maka ko manoga made dola,
two small=3PL.POS MED.PL seven dollar one so ten four dollar
'The two small ones were seven dollars each so fourteen dollars,'

ka=lima, ka=lima kori-kori dola, ko manoga dola.
CARD=five CARD=five REDUP-two dollar so ten dollar
'the five, five (for) two dollars each, so ten dollars.'

Gami taloi ketakoi beto gami gore pa maketi.
1PL.EX.R depart there then 1PL.EX.R go.down IN.PRP market
'We left there and we went down to the market.'

Half past made za kamu na vaka
half past four 3SG.R arrive DET ship
'(It was) half past four (when) the ship arrived'

ko na bongi gami mule kamu pa Obobulu. Leana.
so DET night 1PL.EX.R return arrive IN.PRP Obobulu good
'so (it was) night (when) we got back to Obobulu. Thank you.'

[2] This should probably be 'two large fish and five small ones'.

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